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Irish

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal,

UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION.

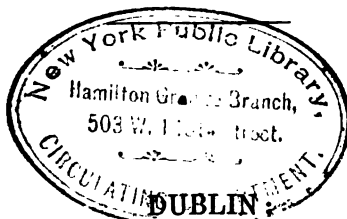
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“ Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

“ As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

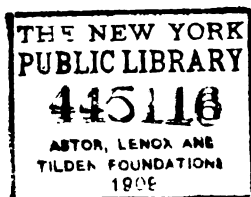


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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1891.

THE SOURCES OF THEOLOGY.

AMONG the classic works on theology which saw the light in the latter half of the sixteenth century, Melchior Cano's *De Locis Theologicis* holds a prominent place. Like many other classics it is probably but little read at the present day. Still its name, at any rate, is known to most students of theology as that of a standard authority; and it has a real though indirect influence on their studies. The importance of this book has been recognised from the first. The censor appointed to examine it is loud in its praise, both for the classic purity of its language and the deep learning which it displays. Few readers will be likely to dispute its claim to high praise on both of these grounds. Yet, I would venture to say that neither the one nor the other can be considered the chief merit of this "golden book," as Cardinal Pallavicino has justly called it. For learning and theological acumen, Cano stands in the foremost rank. His Latin, again, is that of the humanist rather than that of the schoolman. But his book was something more than all this. It was the word in season. We can give no higher praise to a writer than this, that he has treated fully and successfully that which is the burning question of his day. And this is the real merit of Cano's work.

True, the doctrines of the faith are not of an age, but for all time. In every period of her history the Church sets before her children the same sacred mysteries; and all, or

well-nigh all her dogmas have been repeatedly assailed and called in question. Nevertheless, in each age there is generally some one doctrine which holds the foremost place. None of the others are forgotten by the Church, and few escape the profane hands of her enemies. But this one is at once the chief object of heretical assault and of patristic exposition. It is scarcely necessary to dwell here on the question of doctrinal development. The very phrase reminds us of one of the chief writings of that great teacher whom we have so lately lost. And who can hope to add anything to what Cardinal Newman has said in that masterly essay? It will be enough here to point out the order which is discernible in the course of that development. We can hardly fail to see it, if we look at the grand array of General Councils, and the great works of the early Fathers and others of each succeeding age, and mark what dogmas chiefly occupy their attention, or what errors they are refuting and condemning.

The whole history of Catholic theology may, indeed, be likened to a scholastic course, wherein the doctrines of the faith are unfolded one by one in due succession. First comes the preliminary work of the early apologists, St. Justin, and Athenagoras, and St. Theophilus. Then follows the theology, properly so called. The doctrine concerning the nature of God, and distinction of the Divine Persons, is unfolded by the Fathers of the third and fourth centuries. St. Dionysius and St. Gregory the Wonderworker, vindicate the distinction of the Persons against the Manichean heretics; and their labours are followed up and completed by St. Athanasius and St. Hilary, and their great compeers. These defend the divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, denied by Arians or Macedonians. And the doctrines they expound and vindicate are set forth in authoritative form by the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople.

The theology is naturally followed by the economy or the doctrine of the divine Incarnation; and St. Cyril of Alexandria succeeds to the chair of St. Athanasius. The Nestorian separation is condemned and refuted by St. Cyril and the Fathers of Ephesus. And their work is, in turn, completed by the labours of St. Leo and the Council of

Chalcedon, where the opposite error of Eutyches is rejected, and the Catholic doctrine is more clearly and explicitly defined. At the same period, the doctrine on grace was being assailed by the Pelagians, and receiving its vindication and exposition at the hands of St. Augustine and his disciples.

For a considerable time after this Fathers and Councils were engaged in refuting and proscribing the various offshoots of the great heresies of Nestorius, Eutyches, and Pelagius. And then writers like St. Anastasius of Sinai, and St. John of Damascus began to bring together and consolidate the work of their predecessors; a task which was continued in the succeeding period. The chief work of the mediæval schoolmen was their careful consideration and lucid exposition of the sacramental system; to which must be added the improvement in form and ordered arrangement which theology received at their hands.

Now it may be observed that in these earlier controversies the point at issue is generally some portion of the objective truth delivered to us by revelation, and not the channels whereby that truth is conveyed. It is, indeed, true, that from the first the heretics were often in error concerning the Holy Scripture or the authority of the Church. As Moehler tells us, a false conception of the office of Scripture and tradition was the one common principle of the most widely-different heresies. Still these sources of theology were not as yet the main subject of discussion. The heretics, whatever their real principles, were often so far from open self-denial of such authorities, that they appealed to tradition as well as to Scripture in support of their teaching; and instead of disputing the power of Councils they summoned Councils of their own. For a time, at least, these questions were removed from the region of controversy. But their turn was to come. Like the mysteries of the faith which they guard and convey, the sources of theology were to become the object of attack from the enemies of truth, to be ably defended, and to have their nature and their office more clearly set forth and defined. Herein lies the real battle-ground between truth

and falsehood in these latter days. To see this we need only take up the *De Locis Theologicis*, and glance at the headings of the various books and chapters. The authority of Holy Scripture, of Apostolic traditions, of the Catholic Church, of the Councils, of the Holy See, of the Fathers and theologians, the arguments of natural reason, of philosophy, and of history: such are the topics treated by Melchior Cano. In any age, these questions would be full of interest and worthy of attention. But their momentous importance, and the advantage of an ordered treatment of them can be better appreciated now than at any other time. We look at the book with other eyes, and read it by the light of recent history. For us it contains not merely truth and order; it sets forth those very truths against which later heretics have directed their chief assaults, and the order whereof the violation has wrought such havoc around us. These various authorities and sources of theology are, as it were, the marks on which the succeeding waves of anti-religious revolt have been beating for the last four hundred years.

While the Fathers of the fifth and sixth centuries were unfolding and systematizing the Catholic doctrine on the Incarnation, the heretics of that day were putting forth a series of varying and conflicting views on the same great mystery. The doctrinal development was accompanied by a ceaseless variation in the opposing heresies. These two movements on the field of doctrine present a singular and striking contrast in their character, their methods, and what may be called their laws of motion. The one is marked by its unity and harmony; the other is all chaos and contradiction. Such is certainly the case here, with the sources of theology. In the Catholic system, as it is put before us by Cano, the various authorities are all bound together, and bear witness in one voice to the unchanging truth. What light flows forth from the sacred writings while the Church is by to guard and interpret them! The message of the written word is further supplemented and elucidated by the Apostolic traditions. The Councils establish and declare the truth; while they bear witness at the same time to the

authority of the successor of St. Peter, who calls them together and sanctions their decisions. Peter speaks, and the cause is ended. And then the heart of the faithful people takes up and echoes the words of its teachers. Natural reason, philosophy, and history have each their rightful office, humbler though it be. All are parts of one harmonious whole. They work in unison; they result in unity.

When we turn to the other camp, the first thing that strikes us is the violation of this order and harmony. Here there has ever been a tendency to set up some one of the authorities or sources of truth, and disparage the others. Undercurrents were, no doubt, at work long before the open revolt. We may, however, conveniently date the movement from its outbreak in the days of the Western schism.

The first stage is the attempt of certain theologians at Pisa, Constance, and Basle to set the Councils above the Pope. Following close on this we have the Reformers setting up Scripture as the sole authority to the disparagement of Pope and Council, Church and tradition. And more recently, we find one of the secondary sources—natural reason—exalted above all the others. Such are, in brief outline, the chief stages of this fatal movement. It is hardly necessary to add that in every case the exaltation was really illusory. To sever the Councils from their true head and ruler, is to degrade them. To wrest the Bible from the guardian hands of the Church, and give it to the fickle multitude, that they may interpret and misinterpret it as they list, is, after all, a strange kind of honour.

The real character of the whole movement is best seen when we come to consider the connection of each wave with that which follows it. The leaders themselves may be loth to acknowledge this relationship, but it exists for all that. Gallican theologians may condemn the errors of the Reformers, and raise their voices in defence of divine tradition and the Councils of Holy Church: Bible Christians may cry out with horror at the treatment which Holy Scripture suffers at the hands of modern rationalists: yet the errors they both condemn, are none the less the natural outcome of their own principles, and of the course which

they and their forerunners have pursued. What authority can hope to escape in the struggle when once the due order is disturbed?

“Take but degree away, untune that string,
And, hark! what discord follows! each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy; the bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores,
And make a sop of all this solid globe . . .
Then everything includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite;
And appetite, an universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and power,
Must make perforce an universal prey,
And last eat up himself.”

What Shakespeare here says, may well be applied to the revolution in theology, wherein rebellious reason plays the part of lawless appetite. Those who, from whatever motive, began in the troublous days of the great schism to set themselves against the due pre-eminence of the Holy See were entering on a path fraught with danger. A Catholic who has a true sense of the Pope's divine commission can hardly wonder at the evils which have followed from this attack on his authority. But even without this light it is possible to see the vast importance of this initial revolt. One of the most learned and acute of modern Protestant historians has pointed to the course adopted at the Council of Pisa as the real beginning of the Reformation.¹

The relationship between the Reformers and modern rationalists is even more easily recognised. Some of the latter are wont to honour Luther and his comrades as the men who first freed the mind of Europe from the trammels of authority, and became the forerunners of the greater prophets of this enlightened age. In one sense, indeed, this is very far from the truth. There is much in the theology of the early Reformers which would sound strangely in the ears of Rationalists or Liberals. Characterized by a narrow-minded dogmatism, they scout the schoolmen as rationalists,

¹ Gregorovius (*Geschichte der Stadt Rom.*, B. vi., G. B. 12, c. 5), speaking of the action of the Pisan Council, says “Es war bereits die Reformation.”

and condemn the very name of reason. Nevertheless, by their assault on the Catholic Church they were opening the way to others who would go to greater lengths. Nor is it matter of wonder if the attempt to make the Bible the sole source of religious truth has led to the practical rejection of that divine authority. Here, at least, Hegel's doctrine holds good. A principle isolated and carried to its extreme limit culminates in its own negation.¹ Already, in the Reformation days there were some theologians who could see whither the movement was really tending. Gregory of Valentia, writing in the sixteenth century, says that the principles of the sectaries of his time, would lead to absolute unbelief, if only they were followed up consistently; and he expresses some wonder that those who rejected the teaching of the Church, from which we receive the Scripture itself, should continue to believe anything.² The justice of his language can be more easily felt now that the revolt against authority has, in so many places, reached that consistent development of which Valentia speaks. There are still many individuals or religious bodies, lingering in the preliminary stages—"frozen up between Protestant principles and their legitimate conclusions," to use a figure of Cardinal Newman's. But such is no longer the dominant spirit in the world of thought outside the Church and over against her. It is not the papal authority alone that is now assailed; Church and Councils, Scripture and tradition, all are called in question or openly rejected. We have reached—if we have not already passed—the last stage of theological decay, when all supernatural authority is made subject to mere natural reason, or to something which usurps that name.

And here again the Hegelian principle is exemplified. The worship of reason ends in its negation. Like "appetite, an universal wolf," rebellious reason has made "an universal prey, and at last eats up himself." It began by rejecting the authority of revelation and claiming to judge of all things, human or divine; and it ends by doubting of its own powers—nay, its own existence. Rationalism is fitly

¹ *Encyklop.*, i. 81.

² *Analysis Fidei Catholicae*, line i., cap. i.

succeeded by a crude materialism, which is the negation of reason, or a hopeless agnosticism which despairs of knowing anything.

Such is the ultimate issue of the religious revolution of the last four centuries. And it is, surely, disheartening enough. But there is, withal, a brighter side to the picture. There is nothing so bad that good is not eventually drawn from it. In the ceaseless ever-shifting struggle between truth and falsehood, the victory lies with the truth; and, moreover, it is no barren victory. The assailants of the faith are beaten back; but this is not all: positive gain accrues to the cause of truth from the conflicts they have provoked. In the words of St. Augustine, the Church makes use of them for her own advancement. When St. John was thrown into the cauldron of boiling oil, he came forth with fresh beauty and vigour. And the same may be said of those truths which are cast into the fiery crucible of religious controversy. They come out from it whole and sound, but brighter and fairer than before. Not that they are changed in their nature: God forbid! But they are more fully expressed and more clearly defined. The searching questions of heretics have drawn forth timely answers from the champions who are never wanting in the hour of need. And the period of controversy is followed by some decision of Pope or Council which sets its seal upon the more complete and luminous statement of the doctrine which the discussion has elicited. We are thus in some sense beholden to the importunate questions or attacks of heretics for many of the chief Conciliar definitions, and many of the treasures of patristic literature. So was it in the age of Arius and Nestorius; and so it is with the errors of these later days.

I. Thus the long-continued assault on the papal authority has borne its measure of fruit. In the rich literature on this topic we find the true office and prerogatives of the successor of St. Peter clearly set forth and vigorously defended. The earlier onslaught was met by Bellarmine and the other great controversialists of his age. And the questions which they handled with such conspicuous success had

further light thrown upon them towards the end of the last century, when the attacks of Hontheim—better known as Febronius—summoned fresh champions to the field. At length the long and exhaustive discussion drew to a close, and the doctrine thus ably vindicated and lucidly explained received its final sanction in the Vatican Council.

II. Much the same may be said of the doctrine concerning the nature and office of the Church. Here also the false teaching of the Reformers has drawn forth from Catholic writers a large amount of valuable work. We are perhaps somewhat apt, nowadays, to under-estimate the task which fell to the lot of these champions of the truth. They have done their work so thoroughly, that we who have entered into their labours can scarcely realize the state of things at the opening of this great controversy. The theologian of to-day who has to deal with this question has not far to seek for information or for arguments. In the countless treatises on the Church he will find this doctrine treated with scholastic precision, and supported by a goodly array of arguments brought together from the sacred text or the writings of the Fathers. The subject has been considered in all its aspects : the reasons weighed and sifted, the objections encountered, the difficulties cleared up. But how much of all this was done in the days of the mediæval schools? Cardinal Bellarmine, in the opening chapter of his treatise on the Church gives us a list of those who had laboured before him in this field—or rather of those among them whose writings he had read. And the first name after the early Fathers St. Cyprian, St. Optatus, and St. Augustine, is that of the English Carmelite Thomas Netter, of Walden, who flourished in the days of the Council of Pisa. The fact is rarely significant. The treatise *De Ecclesia* opens along with the revolt against Church authority ; the discussion was becoming the need of the age.

And here also the Vatican Council comes to set its seal upon the theological work which had gone before it. Earlier Councils had already put forth more than one canon bearing on this doctrine, for the most part indirectly or in disciplinary decisions. But here the Church of Christ is the subject of

one of the main dogmatic decrees. Unhappily, the interruption of the Council robs this decree of its due completeness.

III. In like manner, the errors concerning the authority of Holy Scripture have led to a clearer explanation of the real office of the sacred writings, and their relation to the Church, which guards and interprets them. And the doctrine which our great controversialists have set forth and vindicated receives its sanction in the Tridentine and Vatican decrees on Holy Scripture.

At the same time Catholic commentators came forward to meet the false interpretations of the Reformers by giving a sound and solid exposition of the sacred text. Cornelius à Lapide and Maldonatus have found worthy successors in the late commentators of Catholic Germany—men like Thalhofer and Reithmayr, and many more, who combine the advantage of modern scholarship with loyalty to the teaching of the Church.

IV. Still more remarkable is the good work which has been done in setting forth the true office of divine tradition. The errors of the heretics on this subject have led their opponents to dwell on the importance of this channel of revealed truth, explaining its nature, and meeting the objections brought against it. Meanwhile the labours of Petavius and Thomassinus, and still more those of the Benedictines of St. Maur, threw a flood of light on the writings of the early Fathers, and displayed the treasures therein contained. Nor were the other monuments of antiquity neglected. Génér directed the attention of theologians to the Catacombs, and their inscriptions as a further witness to the doctrines of the ancient Church. And the more recent researches of de Rossi and others have made this source of information accessible to all. A fresh field was opened by the study of the ancient liturgies, to which Renaudot and Assemani, and more lately Denzinger, have devoted themselves with such happy results. Their labours supply the theologian with a fund of valuable information and cogent arguments.

And in setting up the unanimous consent of the Fathers, as a standard of Scripture interpretation which may not be gainsaid, the Council of Trent has given its sanction to the

true view of tradition—a sanction which has been renewed in the Vatican Council.

V. Much the same may be said concerning the authority of Councils. Bellarmine and the other opponents of the Reformers have been at pains to explain the nature and office of the Councils of Holy Church, and vindicate their authority against the attacks of the heretics. At the same time such men as Hardouin, Labbé, and Mansi, and in our own days, Hefele, have done for the Councils what Petavius and the Benedictines did for the patristic writings.

And in the bull wherewith he opened the Vatican Council, Pope Pius IX. solemnly teaches the Catholic doctrine concerning the Councils of the Church and their authority.

VI. The controversy on the office of reason in theology has, naturally enough, been fought out in the present century. While the rationalism, in which the Lutheran revolt culminated, was finding an echo in certain schools within the Church, the so-called traditionalists went to the other extreme, and denied that reason had any power of arriving at the knowledge of religious truth without the aid of revelation. As Scheeben truly says, this was the old struggle stirred up by Jansenists in the one extreme, or Pelagians in the other; only that the conflict was removed from the field of ethics to that of knowledge. And in both cases the solution lay in the distinction between two orders, whether of holiness or knowledge, the natural and the supernatural. In spite of his weakness and liability to err, man is able by the native light of reason to come to some knowledge of natural theology. But there is a whole world of supernatural truth beyond his ken, and some knowledge of this is vouchsafed him by revelation and faith. At the same time fresh light is thrown upon those religious truths which are within the range of reason, and they are now seen with a fulness and freedom from error to which unaided reason had never attained. And then, purified and elevated by supernatural light, man's reason has the office of arranging in order the heavenly truths delivered by revelation, and entering, so far as may be, into their meaning, though their depths can never be fathomed.

Such is the true office of reason in religious science, as it is set forth and vindicated by Catholic theologians. And this doctrine, again, has been enunciated and sanctioned by the Vatican Council. Seldom has a controverted question been so completely cleared up in the authoritative teaching of the Church as is the case here. With this luminous decree before us, who shall say that the discussion which elicited it has been in vain?

VII. Another of these secondary and subsidiary sources of theological argument is philosophy, or the authority of the philosophers. This is a source of which the mediæval schoolmen availed themselves very largely, to the great advantage of theological science. In its turn this became the subject of many erroneous views. There were those among the Reformers who sought to banish philosophy from the field of theology, and roundly condemned the schoolmen for the use they made of it. That noble philosophic system which had grown up under the shelter of the Church, combining and harmonizing all that was best in the two great philosophers of antiquity, was rudely thrust aside by the Reformers and their followers. And even some Catholic writers have been found to swell the ranks of its enemies, and cultivate instead some one of those fragmentary, and so far erroneous systems, which have arisen in its place.

But here, as elsewhere, good is drawn from the evil. The office of philosophy, as the handmaid of theology, has been explained and defended by the Catholic champions, and the need of a sound system has been often insisted upon. Such writers as Balmes and Kleutgen have done much to restore the supremacy of the true philosophy of the schools; while the recent course of philosophic development outside the Church has tended, at least indirectly, towards the same result.

Here we could not well look for the same ecclesiastical sanction which has been given in the other cases. A system of philosophy can hardly be made the subject of a Conciliar or papal definition, like an article of the faith. Nevertheless, even here the voice of authority has not been wanting. Various errors on this question were from time to time

condemned by Pope Pius IX. And, at last, the work done by the champions of the scholastic system was worthily crowned and sanctioned by the noble encyclical on Christian philosophy, issued by the present Pontiff in the earlier years of his reign.

VIII. From philosophy it is only natural to pass to history, which is philosophy teaching by example. This is the last of the sources enumerated by Cano; and it may, perhaps, be reckoned last in the order of importance. Nevertheless, it has its use, and may often stand the theologian in good stead. Profane history affords many tokens of divine providence, and so adds its voice to those of the other witnesses of natural theology. The history of the Church in the midst of the world is of far greater importance, and plainly speaks of her divine origin, and shows us that she is ever upheld by the hand that fashioned her.

And here, again, we meet with the same story of error on the one hand, and defence of truth on the other; and, once more, the issue of the conflict is the same. Breaking with the past, the leaders of the Reformation could look for little comfort from this quarter; and some, at least, of their successors seem so far conscious of their position that they fight shy of history. Though they boast of their primitive Christianity, and condemn the "innovations" of Rome, they often neglect to seek any historical basis for their claims. Others, however, have made a bold attempt to supply the deficiency. From the days of the Magdeburg Centuriators we have had a series of polemical histories, wherein the prejudice, if not the downright bad faith, of some writers, and the ignorance or credulity of others, combine in presenting a strangely distorted picture of the past. In the well-worn words of De Maistre: "History has been, for the last three centuries, a conspiracy against truth."

Besides those who neglect history and those who thus write it backwards, there are others who have erred in their conception of its office. We have heard much in recent years of the "appeal to history," and an attempt has been made to set up this otherwise neglected source as the sole arbiter of controversy, and to judge the living Church of the

present by that of some earlier centuries chosen at will—or, rather, by a misconstruction of the past.

Here, once more, the bane is speedily followed by the antidote. Baronius entered the field against the Centuriators, and many others have been found to carry on the work so worthily begun, and paint a faithful picture of the early Church. Meanwhile, Petavius and the Benedictines of St. Maur, by their labours in chronology, and their study of ancient documents, were laying the foundations of modern historical criticism; and Bossuet, following in the footsteps of St. Augustine, was taking a broad and deep view of the whole course of history, and reading its meaning, thus giving the world a religious philosophy of history, while Herder and Hegel were yet unborn. Other writers in our own days have known how to profit by these labours, and build on the foundations thus securely laid.

And while the real importance of history is thus recognized by our foremost champions, they have at the same time repudiated that view of its office which sets it above the living Church. Cardinal Newman has raised his voice against this error, in the latest, and not the least remarkable of his books. And who has had more of the true historian's spirit, or has felt the force of the historic agreement, more vividly than he?

Nor are the labours of our historians left without some share of that ecclesiastical sanction which has been given in the case of philosophers and theologians. The present Holy Father has followed up his encyclical on philosophy by his letter on historical studies.¹ And by opening the treasures of the papal archives and the Vatican Library he has done much to advance those historical studies which he enjoins by his words.

The above record, imperfect as it needs must be, is yet enough to show something of the advantage gained by Catholic theology in the course of the last three centuries. The advance has been continuous and consistent. Fresh light has surely been thrown on those questions to which

¹ *Letter to Cardinals de Luca, Pitra, and Hergenröther, August 18, 1883.*

Cano's sagacity called the attention of theologians three hundred years ago. And it may be seen that the recent acts of the Holy Father are not arbitrary or isolated, but a continuance, or rather a part of the development, of theological science. He is crowning, and in a manner completing, the work of centuries.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

THE CATHOLIC TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT: THE SUREST WAY TO ITS SUCCESS.—I.

THE inauguration of this movement on Passion Sunday last, was hailed with hopeful joy by our people and their friends, all the world over. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster sent to the Archbishop of Dublin the cheering augury:—"On St. Patrick's Day I said Mass for Ireland and for your great work on Passion Sunday. It will, I believe, save Ireland." Are these hopes sure to be realized, and how soon? Indeed a grand and elaborate plan has been put before us; but for success, we require energetic, and some say even enthusiastic action upon the surest lines. Upon these points the readers of the I. E. RECORD will allow a fellow-worker to submit the following thoughts.

THE TRUE ISSUE.

No small harm may result if public attention be diverted from the real object of this movement. This object does not involve the question whether we are not so bad as other people. Neither are we concerned about the abstract merits of total abstinence. Again, it is not to our purpose to impugn the liberty, or dispute the security of persons who use God's gifts with conscientious discretion. These and other questions may come indirectly before us; but our true issue is, *the promotion of the glory of God and the salvation of souls by the suppression of intemperance*

amongst our respective flocks. This end is thus set forth by the pastoral of the Leinster prelates :—

“ We aim at nothing but to secure the fulfilment of the law of God. Our only purpose is to bring about a more general and more exact observance of the great Christian virtue of temperance ; and, in so far as it may please God to bless our work with so large a measure of success, to root out from amongst our people every vestige of the degrading and soul-destroying vice of drunkenness.”

Let us now particularize the branches of reform essential to this general end. They are three : first, the rescue of the intemperate, and of those who are in immediate danger ; secondly, the preservation of the temperate, especially the children ; and thirdly, the elevation of society in general above the numerous and fatal temptations to intemperance which have become established and deeply rooted by the customs of previous generations.¹ Success on each and all of these three points is necessary for the achievement of our purpose ; and therefore they constitute the true issue, not to be lost sight of throughout our task.

Here attention, serious attention, to the urgency of our case may be requested. This urgency has long been confessed by all, and often expressed in impressive style by the best authorities. Well, it increases up to the present hour. The arrests for drunkenness in 1888 were 87,582 ; in 1889 they were 92,137. The consumption of spirits and beer in 1888-89 was £10,486,330 ; and in 1889-90, £11,381,602. And the cases of drunkenness on Sundays in 1888-89 were 3,395 ; but in 1889-90 they were only a little less, 3,329—although the police in Dublin, and likely in other cities, have been directed to prevent overcrowding the prisons on Saturdays and Sundays, by allowing inebriates to take care of themselves, whom in other circumstances they should arrest. These sad facts, and the sadder inferences to be drawn from them by all who know their consequences to individuals and to families, and who feel at heart for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, are but too fully confirmed

¹ These customs have been set forth in the I. E. RECORD, December, 1889, vol. x., page 1107, &c.

by missionary experience in every part of Ireland. Nowhere are you spared the grief of finding many persons of every class made guilty of many sins and scandals, enslaved by habits of intemperance, and sometimes hurried out of life in appalling circumstances. Let any priest keep a register of the cases of depravity and ruin and untimely deaths resulting exclusively from intemperance which come within his own experience, and he will find his book, as others have found it, being rapidly filled. The question, then, is of the utmost urgency, and if an appeal hereon should be addressed to the readers of the *I. E. RECORD*, it could be neither too forcibly conceived, nor too earnestly expressed. Such an appeal may be borrowed from an address delivered in the Cathedral of St. Paul, United States, by the Most Rev. John Ireland:—

“What is to be done? Anything, O God; but something. I speak to those who by position, influence, talent, or office, ought to take interest in the people. In the name of humanity, of country, of religion; by all the most sacred ties that bind us to our fellow-men; for the love of Him who died for souls, I beseech you, declare war against intemperance; arrest its onward march. If total abstinence does not appear to you the remedy, adopt some other. If you differ from me in the means you propose, I will not complain; but I will complain in the bitterness of my soul, if you stand by, arms folded, while this dreaded torrent is sweeping over the land, carrying with it ruin and misery. The evil, as it exists, is extraordinary—an extraordinary remedy is needed. I hear it said the sacraments of the Church suffice to combat the evil; the Church’s ministrations cannot be supposed to have failed. Who knows better than I the power of the sacraments, the necessity of the Church’s ministrations in all moral reforms? But there is the question of fitting men for the sacraments; of removing the occasion of sin, that the effects of the sacraments remain. God does not dispense in moral efforts with our own energies, and the very history of the Church tells of unusual and extraordinary evils. Those who hold the language I am condemning are doing injury to religion by striving to shield beneath its mantle their own apathy.”

These words are candid, and full of the fearless fortitude of the Baptist; may they prove salutary to us. They are certainly right. St. Paul could declare of himself: “Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is scandalized, and I am

not on fire?"¹ And the great leader of God's people in the olden dispensation, hearing them weeping by their families, every one at the door of his tent, deemed his lot insupportable and complained to the Lord:—

"Why hast Thou afflicted Thy servant? Wherefore do I not find favour before Thee? and why hast Thou laid the weight of all this people upon me? Have I conceived all this multitude, or begotten them, that Thou shouldst say to me: carry them in thy bosom as a nurse is wont to carry the little infant . . . I am not able alone . . . But if it seem to Thee otherwise, I beseech Thee to kill me, and let me find grace in Thy eyes, that I be not afflicted with so great evils"²

THE MEANS TO BE ADOPTED.

Understanding the nature of our purpose, and alive to its urgency, we cannot but seek with all earnestness the direct and immediate means of success. As it should be folly for one dangerously ill to hesitate in calling a physician, or to limit his physician in the exercise of his skill: so should we be blamable for the people's ruin and our own were we to fail in seeking the most efficacious remedies, and in adopting those that are at the same time practical. The duty thus implied is set forth with admirable effect by St. Ignatius Loyola in his exercise upon the "Three Classes or Pairs of Men." All three, he supposes, desire a given end. Now the men of the first class rest in the mere desire, and give various excuses for doing nothing. Well, these men are sluggards, "who will, and will not." Their will is not operative, and shall serve but to justify their condemnation. "Out of thy own mouth I judge thee, thou wicked servant." The men of the second class deliberately object to certain means because of personal dislike, although these very means are the surest, or even the only sure means. Such men cannot expect any good measure of success, if they do not, indeed, fail entirely. They sow sparingly, and shall also reap sparingly. Yes, and when, as in our case, spiritual interests are at stake, we are compelled to apply here the denunciations found in sundry places of sacred Scripture; for example:—

"Woe to the foolish prophets that follow their own spirit, and

¹ 2 Cor. xi. 29.

² Numbers xi. 10-15.

see nothing. Thy prophets, O Israel, were like foxes in the deserts. You have not gone up to face the enemy, nor have you set up a wall for the house of Israel, to stand in battle in the day of the Lord . . . Because they have deceived my people, saying: Peace, and there is no peace: and the people built up a wall, and they daubed it with dirt without straw," &c.¹

Then the men of the third class, having "*a great heart and a willing mind*" cast aside all side issues, and, like the merchant seeking precious pearls, sell all they have, and do not count the cost, if only their desire be obtained. These men, if but persevering, infallibly succeed.

St. Ignatius intends this exercise to enable every man of sound reason to gauge the degree of earnestness which actuates him; and, moreover, to excite every man of true spirit to aspire to the highest degree. We must admire his practical skill, and may be expected to embrace the line of action which shall be self-dictated when we shall have applied the above considerations to the end proposed in the Catholic temperance movement. Now this general end embraces the three essential works already determined, and we proceed to inquire what are the surest means by which each of them may be carried on with success.

THE MEANS FOR THE RESCUE OF THE INTEMPERATE AND OF THOSE IN IMMEDIATE DANGER.

The intemperate, and those in danger of becoming intemperate, are numerically legion; socially, belonging to every rank and profession; and, regarding this vice, in various and progressive stages of thralldom, what will cure such persons? Will the easy, generous, and undefined prescriptions of moderation suit: "*not to get drunk*," "*not to drink too much*," "*to stop at what is good for you*," &c.? Is this sufficient? Or, shall we find the remedy in a fixed allowance for each day: not "*two drinks*," which might be made an equivalent for many, but a determined quantity, and, for some cases, at regulated intervals, &c.? No; these remedies have been tried everywhere and among all classes, and for a long time, and never with success. It has been

¹ *Ezekiel* xiii. 3-10.

under the *régime* of these and similar practices—while the above prescriptions were enforced by the Church and accepted by the people—that intemperance has grown to its actual prevalence and power. True, “sober drinking is health to soul and body,” but here we have to deal with an occasion of sin, with a proximate occasion, and with a proximate occasion of extraordinary and most fatal fascination. As long as any of our strong drinks are taken by persons belonging to the above-named classes so long will they be assaulted by the temptation to drink more and more; so long will they be rendered unfit for prayer; so long will they be kept away from the sacraments, and so long will they be led into the most dangerous occasions of their sin—the place where drink is sold, and the company of the intemperate. Unless in total abstinence, there is practically no chance of deliverance for these persons; and this they themselves feel and confess. Once lately, as often before, a case of this kind was met by the writer. It was that of a man, of genuine Irish faith and spirit, a village tradesman, who, though seldom if ever intoxicated, was a heavy drinker—a typical case. He said:—

“Father, if it were to cost me my life I must give up drink. If I die sober, I’ll be saved; but if I go on drinking, I’ll die through drink, and be damned. I can’t do any good while I am drinking. When I begin, a pint of whiskey is nothing to me in the course of a day, and in the morning I’m out watching for the opening of the public-house. As to my means, I have been at a loss of more than £100 a-year by my drinking.”

No “moderation” pledge has ever rescued such a drunkard in any stage of his sad career—incipient, proficient, or confirmed. Total abstinence is of necessity here; total abstinence all at once, and, if possible, even from the very sight of drink. The sacred Scripture itself prescribes total abstinence for such cases:—

“Challenge not them that love wine, for wine hath destroyed very many;”¹ and “Look not upon wine when it is yellow, when the colour thereof shineth in the glass: it goeth in pleasantly, but in the end it will bite like a snake, and spread abroad poison like a basilisk . . . And thou shalt say . . . when shall I . . . find wine again?”²

¹ Eccli. xxxi. 30.

Prov. xxiii. 31, 35.

Furthermore, the sacred Scripture classes the occasions in question among those which cannot be rendered "remote" by procuring additional grace, because the direct and immediate effect of their action is to hinder the employment of those means by which grace is ordinarily obtained—prayer and the sacraments, with consideration upon the truths of faith. We shall quote a few passages in proof. By the prophet Osee God declares:—"Fornication and wine and drunkenness take away the understanding;"¹ by another prophet we are warned that "wine deceiveth him that drinketh it;"² or, as St. Augustine puts it, "robs him of himself;" and our divine Lord in person has warned us, saying: "Take heed to yourselves, lest perhaps your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness."³ The truth of our proposition, so grave and far-reaching in its practical consequences, particularly in the sacrament of penance, is confirmed by the testimony of the Fathers, and in our own days by moralists of the highest authority. The words of Origen, Augustine, Bernard, and others, on this subject are at hand;⁴ the teaching of moral theologians also;⁵ and the recent pastoral instruction of our own prelates is still ringing in our ears.⁶ Yes, and, with regard to experience, what reader of the I. E. RECORD cannot tell of persons, belonging to the highest as to the lowest classes, who have fallen away while they were weekly or daily communicants, and who have not only failed to improve, but have gone from bad to worse during or immediately after the most extraordinary seasons of grace. In fact, because of the nature of modern drinks, and because of the frequency and quantity of their consumption, our experience outstrips in evil that of former times. Consequently, if we seek to save the sheep lost or endangered by intemperance, we have to induce them to enter the safe refuge of total abstinence, and afterwards to keep them within its barriers.

¹ Osee iv. 2.² Hab. ii. 5.³ Luke xxi. 34.⁴ See *The Discipline of Drink*. By Very Rev. T. E. Bridgett, chaps. i., ii.⁵ See Berardi, *De Occasionariis*, No. 22.⁶ See *Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Kildare and Leighlin, Ferns and Ossory*, Passion Sunday, 1890, pages 16 and 17.

Here, now, we are face to face with a twofold difficulty. Will the intemperate become total abstainers, and will they persevere in total abstinence? Reason and experience are convincing that they cannot be expected to do either one or the other without the aid of example on the part of those "who have no necessity," and without religious organization. They will admit their failure to keep any other pledge, and their happiness and prosperity while faithful to total abstinence. Theology teaches that although the pledge when broken does not excuse *them* from indirect sin, it considerably lessens the malice of their offence. Science and practice assure them that the habit of drink may be broken off at once with safety to health. Yet they think it "a hard saying," and refuse to be saved. We require then for the rescue of the intemperate the powerful influence of good example on the lines of genuine total abstinence, joined in by all classes, and maintained by religious organization. By these means, although but partially utilized, success most wonderful has been attained; and by the same, if now more generally used and favoured, we may hope for good results. In the days of Oliver Plunket and of Father Mathew, and from Father Mathew's time to the present hour, the leading and teaching and exhortation of the Church never failed to evoke even enthusiasm among the people for total abstinence, and to effect a reformation truly wonderful in individuals and in society. These efforts being only spasmodic, while the counteracting agencies were steadily employing their mighty power, intemperance largely regained its sway. Society as a whole, and individuals for the greater part, were, it may be said, re-entered by the unclean spirit which had been driven out. Yet, how much good was done! how many did keep the pledge! how many still survive to exemplify the advantages of life-long abstinence, and to testify not only to its feasibility but to its extreme facility! From all this the conclusion is, that reason and experience teach that we cannot reform our intemperate brethren without total abstinence associations spread over the whole land; and that these cannot be expected without the zealous, devoted, and patient co-operation of the entire body of the clergy. This is the need of the hour.

But on these points we are met by real difficulties, and by some objections not so real. Regarding both, who will not say, the wonder would be if there were none. "The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent bear it away." The late Cardinal Newman said, "No one ever proclaimed the truth to a deceived world, but was treated himself as a deceiver." Still, opposition may not be despised, and it is prudent to win over by sincere reasons those who honestly differ from our convictions. Hence we shall seek to secure our position more abundantly by setting forth at length how the seal of truth has been impressed upon our thesis, in all its parts, by him who sits in the chair of truth.

This declaration and instruction of the Holy See regarding total abstinence as a remedy for intemperance are contained in the Brief addressed to the Most Rev. John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota. It is dated March 27th, 1887, and, strangely, was not much spoken of among us till rather lately. The draft of this Brief was prepared by a very high official of Propaganda from a memorandum given by the Pope himself, and when prepared and presented to his Holiness was kept upon his table for consideration during several days. After this the Brief itself was written, signed, and delivered to Dr. Ireland and the Church, as we read it in the *I. E. RECORD*.¹

The following is a translation of the Brief:—

“(TRANSLATION)

“TO OUR VENERABLE BROTHER, JOHN IRELAND, BISHOP OF ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA, LEO XIII., POPE.

“VENERABLE BROTHER: HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENEDICTION.

“The admirable works of piety and charity, by which Our faithful children in the United States labour to promote not only their own temporal and eternal welfare, but also that of their fellow-citizens, and which you have recently related to Us, give to Us exceeding great consolation. And, above all, We have rejoiced to learn with what energy and zeal, by means of various excellent associations, and especially through the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, you combat the destructive vice of intemperance. For it is well known to Us how ruinous, how deplorable, is the injury, both to faith and to morals, that is to be feared from

¹ *I. E. RECORD*, Third series, vol. viii., page 476.

intemperance in drink. Nor can We sufficiently praise the Prelates of the United States who recently in the Plenary Council of Baltimore with weightiest words condemned this abuse, declaring it to be a perpetual incentive to sin, and a fruitful root of all evils, plunging the family of the intemperate into direst ruin, and drawing numberless souls down to everlasting perdition, declaring moreover that the faithful who yield to the vice of intemperance become thereby a scandal to non-Catholics, and a great hindrance to the propagation of the true religion.

"Hence, We esteem worthy of all commendation the noble resolve of your pious associations, by which they pledge themselves to abstain from every kind of intoxicating drink. Nor can it at all be doubted that this determination is a proper and truly efficacious remedy (*opportunum planeque efficax remedium*) for this very great evil; and that so much the more strongly will all be induced to put this bridle upon appetite, by how much the greater are the dignity and influence of those who give the example. But greatest of all in this matter should be the zeal of priests, who, as they are called to instruct the people in the word of life, and to mould them to Christian morality, should also, and above all, walk before them in the practice of virtue. Let pastors, therefore, do their best to drive the plague of intemperance from the fold of Christ, by assiduous preaching and exhortation, and to shine before all as models of abstinence, that so the many calamities with which this vice threatens both Church and State may, by their strenuous endeavours, be averted.

"And We most earnestly beseech Almighty God that, in this important matter, He may graciously favour your desires, direct your counsels, and assist your endeavours; and as a pledge of the Divine protection, and a testimony of Our paternal affection, We most lovingly bestow upon you, venerable brother, and upon all your associates in this holy League, the Apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, from St. Peter's, this 27th day of March, in the year 1887, the tenth year of Our Pontificate.

"LEO XIII., POPE."

Now what does His Holiness declare and teach concerning our present question? It is found in the second paragraph, and the sense of these words of weight may be expressed in the following propositions:—1. *A proper and truly efficacious remedy* ("*opportunum planeque efficax remedium*") *for the very great evil of intemperance is the noble resolve of your pious associations, by which they pledge themselves to abstain totally from every kind of intoxicating drink.* 2. *The efficacy*

of this remedy will be increased in proportion to the dignity and influence of those who give the example, and it shall be greatest when priests will, in conformity with their vocation, shine before all as models of abstinence. Upon some words and phrases of this part of the papal Brief have been raised questions which need not be discussed, because their bearing upon the true issue is not decisive. The whole context needs to be considered, and, in this light the readers will see that the Pope speaks herein as the teacher of all, and that he determines the remedy to be applied to intemperance wherever it has assumed the proportions of a great social evil. His instruction is not restricted to the means, which, if applied, will be efficacious in curing a drunkard, but extends to every phase of intemperance, and provides a remedy for society. He is not, it may be said, fishing for individuals, as with a single hook; but for multitudes, as with a net let down in the open sea.

To adduce additional authorities, in confirmation of what we have ventured to put forward, should be disrespectful alike to the readers of the I. E. RECORD and to the Holy Father, "*Roma locuta est, causa finita est.*" But our eyes must not be closed nor our ears shut to the difficulties and contrary opinions among us regarding total abstinence as the only sure means of rescue for the intemperate and for all in danger of intemperance. As to difficulties, there is but one, and, if it needs to be named in these pages, it is the difficulty of securing a duly zealous and unanimous effort on our own part. This is the key of the situation. We shall try to submit some arguments and facts to the purpose when our position shall have been strengthened yet further by what has to be written upon the second and third essential parts of the temperance reformation. Together with this difficulty we shall remit such objections as relate to the whole question *e.g.*, that total abstinence, as a social practice, is impossible or inadvisable, &c. Just now it seems best to confine our attention to what is objected by persons of position and influence against the proposition that a general organization of all classes in total abstinence associations is at present necessary for the rescue of the victims of intemperance.

This necessity is not admitted, and alternative remedies are proposed :—

1. The reception of the sacraments, without any pledge.
2. A partial or temporary pledge to be administered to children and to intemperate persons alone.
3. The improvement of the homes and of the general conditions of life among our people.
4. The ostracizing of the intemperate; the re-introduction of the public stocks; and the rigid infliction of legal chastisement.
5. Further restrictions by law of the licensed sale of drink, and greater fidelity to duty on the part of magistrates and police.

Our reply to these grounds of objection shall be both general and particular.

(a) In general it cannot be denied that all these foregoing and other similar remedies are good, and the greater our efforts in applying them, the greater will be the gain. But we have been looking to them for our cure now more than three centuries, and have not obtained it. No; but we are worse, and still, in many respects at least, sinking.

*Aetas majorum, pejor avis, tulit nos nequiores,
Mox laturos progeniem vitiosiore.*

Our remedy, then, does not lie in these prescriptions only. They are certainly insufficient for our need; and, besides, are often more difficult than the proper and efficacious remedy.

(b) Taking each alternative singly we can easily detect why each has failed.

1. It has been explained and proved above that the practices of religion are not to be expected from the intemperate so long as they continue to drink. Here it may well be claimed that the total abstinence pledge is essentially and eminently a practice of religion. In many of the cases under consideration it is identical with that purpose of amendment which is required for the pardon of sin; and in all it is blessed by the Church and enriched with indulgences.

2. We have previously shown¹ that pledges confined to the intemperate and children, by Drs. Leahy and Furlong, did not cope with the evil. All know that the intemperate alone will hardly take or keep a pledge; and we hope to satisfy the readers, in a future issue, that the pledges of children are generally and quickly broken, when unprotected and unsupported by the example and counsel of parents and others.

3. As to the remedy to be found in increased domestic comfort and general prosperity, there is much to be said. Summarizing the chief truths and facts, we submit that the victims of intemperance are numerous among *all* classes; that the immediate consequence of intemperance is the ruin of all domestic virtues, and a prodigal waste of means; and that our would-be happiest homes are made miserable by the intemperance of even one member of the family. What, then, of "the needy and the poor"? Thus we have misspent much more than £100,000,000 in buying beer and spirits alone during the last decade of our lives. As much again, *at least*, must be put down for the losses and indirect expenditure entailed by drink. These sums added together would well pay all our rents, relieve all our poor, endow all our schools, support many useful manufactories, and provide for our sick and afflicted brethren. Instead, however, of so applying our money we madly use it in what leaves to many almost nothing but misery and sin. Can we then earnestly think of promoting domestic comfort and social prosperity without seeking to stop this outlay as a first step?

4. Next it is said: stigmatize the drunkard; imprison him; put him in the stocks. But can the Christian priesthood counsel such things, and limit efforts to such counsel? Is it by such means that "other Christs" are to seek the glory of God and the salvation of souls? Shame is, indeed, cogent in urging us to self-correction, and should be utilized prudently. But this very thing will be best secured by organizing all classes of good people for the purpose of

¹ I. E. RECORD, vol. x., pages 632-635.

practising temperance "in its highest and most exemplary form," and so revealing the abominations and crimes of intemperance by the brightness of the opposing light of good example. Whenever this organization shall become fairly general our people will be disposed to hear the teaching of the Apostle: "If any man that is named a brother be . . . a drunkard: . . . with such an one, not so much as to eat."¹

At present they are not prepared. The sympathy of fellowship in the habits and customs which lead too many to excess renders all either unfit or unwilling to condemn the drunkard as he deserves. To very many of all classes might be quoted the words: "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone."²

5. It is the plain duty of a government to promote the common good by legislation. It is a responsible trust to magistrates to administer just and equitable laws with fidelity "without fear, favour, or affection." More might be added. But legislation apart from the will of the people is not worth a thought from us as a remedy for intemperance. It is hardly possible; it must be ineffectual. First apply welcome and direct agencies to public opinion. Excite reasonable enthusiasm; or, in other words, practical earnestness among the people for the suppression of this acknowledged evil. Then legislation will contribute its powerful aid, and must greatly help to success and permanent improvement.

The present essay cannot now be extended to comprise the other two essential parts of our work, but they shall gladly be taken up in the next number of the *I. E. RECORD*, with the editor's kind permission. Meanwhile the nature of our work and its ultimate end must urge us to seek by prayer the much required aid of divine grace. "Unless the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." In this respect there are two easy practices from which much good should follow—a daily memento at Mass, Office, visits to the Blessed Sacrament, and Rosary; and a request to penitents and others, especially children, to pray for the success of the Catholic temperance movement.

MICHAEL KELLY, M.SS.

¹ 1 Cor. v. 11.

² John viii. 7

PRIESTS AND POLITICS:

MAY PRIESTS SHOW AN ACTIVE INTEREST IN THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND MATERIAL WELFARE OF THEIR FLOCKS.

"Sancta atque inviolata apud omnes debet esse religio: imo in ipsa disciplina civitatum, quae a legibus morum officiisque religionis separari non potest, hoc est potissimum perpetuoque spectandum, quid maxime expediat Christiano nomini."

LEO, PP. XIII.

"L'hérésie du siècle, c'est la séparation; on veut séparer l'Eglise de l'Etat; les prêtres, du peuple. Un mot barbare caractérise la situation: il faut tout *laïciser*! On prétend enfermer le prêtre dans le sanctuaire. Le Pape est prisonnier au Vatican; tous les prêtres le sont aussi relegués dans la sacristie: on ne veut pas qu'ils sortent du temple parce qu'ils iraient conquérir les âmes!" (From a speech of Rev. P. Ludovic de Besse, O.S.F., at the *Congrès de Liège*, 1890.)

THAT a priest has a distinct right, under certain conditions, to take part in politics, and to discuss social, philanthropical, and other public questions, is perfectly clear. Nevertheless, it is equally clear that a very strong feeling exists in many quarters against his exercising this right. The real reason of this feeling is generally lost sight of. It is so easy and so convenient to ascribe it to nothing more nor less than to the natural and *prima facie* incongruity which must always be felt to exist between the peaceful character of a minister of the Gospel, the healer of wounds, and the redressor of wrongs, on the one hand, and the wrangling and fighting, the angry words and dissonant language on the other; which, though it need not, yet, as a fact, generally does accompany the heated discussions of all questions which are of a very strong and of a very wide-spread interest.

A more careful consideration of the subject, however, will probably lead to a modification of this view, and convince us that, whatever dexterous use may be made of the "incongruity" argument, the genuine cause of the hostility must be traced to a much less honourable source. Men,

especially men in authority, are jealous of a priest's power, and resent the influence he exercises over the masses. They note that this influence is very considerable; that his very position gives him a great, and in their eyes an unfair advantage; and that he is not merely one individual pitted against another in equal combat, which they would not so much resent, but that he is a man invested with extraordinary powers, and enjoying very special opportunities to which an ordinary layman can lay no claim. His very position is one of distinction; and the people are accustomed to receive the law from his lips. The priest is the duly accredited teacher and instructor of men, and the appointed interpreter of the divine will. In spiritual matters his voice is preferred before the voice of kings and governors; and he is obeyed rather than they, because, *ex officio*, at least, he does but expound the law of God; and "we must obey God rather than man."

For numberless generations the people have looked to the priest for direction, for counsel, and for encouragement. He has always proved himself their friend. He has stood by them in danger, has defended them from oppression, has openly rebuked their persecutors, and when he could not actually free his people, he, at least, shared their sorrows and their trials, and bore the heavier penalties of tyrannous governments in penal times, when confiscation, imprisonment, and even death, were the rewards of fidelity to the Catholic cause. The masses, through centuries of oppression, have learned to confide in the priest; long years of generous helpful sympathy, on the one side, and filial fire-tried confidence on the other, have welded pastor and people together by a thousand ties not easily broken; and each feels stronger in the support and sympathy of the other.

The consequence of all this is, that even at the present day, when persecution has ceased, and the rack no longer grates on its hinges, and the axe of the executioner lies a rusty relic in the Tower, the bulk of the people are still more ready to listen to the priest than to anyone else. They have inherited something of the enthusiasm that stimulated their forefathers in bygone ages, and still feel a

greater sense of security in following his advice than that of the most respectable and well-spoken layman in the country, because of their greater trust in the genuineness of his professions of interest in them.

It is not surprising, then, that a priest, in whom the faithful are accustomed to see the representative of the highest authority on earth or in heaven, should wield a degree of influence which looks unfair and out of all proportion to the very modest claim upon which he presumes to record his vote at the elections; viz., as a citizen who pays taxes and has a stake in the country. Nor is it surprising that he should often become an object of suspicion and jealousy to such as have reason to stand in fear of his opposition.

It may, of course, be freely admitted, that the multitude are little accustomed to delicate discernment or to the balancing of claims. They have never been taught to weigh and compare with any degree of nicety the various titles which the same person may have to their allegiance, or by which he may endeavour to influence their conduct. They have been accustomed to have their moral duties and spiritual obligations defined by the minister of God, and they have been taught that his lips shall guard wisdom. The voice that bids them attend Mass on Sundays, to fast in Lent, and to confess at Easter, is the same that may be heard soliciting their vote for a particular parliamentary candidate; and in the man who denounces a certain political measure from the hustings they may recognise the same Father X. or Y. who condemns drunkenness or theft in the parish church on the Sunday mornings. Hence, though it would not be at all true to say that the multitude deem the political speech of equal authority to the moral sermon, yet, the speech being uttered by the same man, and perhaps even with greater vehemence, may possibly acquire by the mere force of circumstances and associations—not indeed an authority—but *an air of authority* much beyond that which would attach to the selfsame words if uttered by a non-clerical opponent who stands outside the halo of these associations. But this we mention merely to show that the fact has not been forgotten.

The priest's right to take part in politics and other matters affecting the general welfare of his country has been so much decried, misrepresented, misunderstood, and even caricatured, that it may not be unprofitable to make an attempt to clear the atmosphere a little by stating the general principles, leaving those in authority to guide and counsel us in the more delicate matter of their practical application.¹

1. POLITICS INVOLVING CONSIDERATIONS OF FAITH OR MORALS.

The priest, as the minister of God, is, of course, in his proper sphere when dealing with matters concerning religion and the service of his Divine Master. He has a right, in the strictest sense of the word, to resist, and to urge others to resist, any political enactment inconsistent with the laws of God. When unscrupulous men rise into power, and abuse their authority, and trample on the rights of the Church, or on liberty of conscience, we may denounce such acts with all the eloquence at our command, and fearlessly condemn them with the frankness and the independence of an apostle. Had the clergy in England, in the time of the great schism—miscalled the Reformation—possessed a little more of that temper; had they shown a little more zeal in repelling execrable laws, and in stirring up their flocks to resist unlawful encroachments and aggression, perhaps we would not now be left to deplore with scalding tears of blood the spiritual desolation and religious ruin of what once promised to be the greatest

¹ As nothing is so easy as to confuse similar though totally different questions, and as all confusion is apt to lead to disagreement and strained relations, sometimes even developing into the use of abusive language instead of argument, we shall do well to remember that a distinction is to be observed—first, between (a) politics, pure and simple, in which no question of faith or morals is involved, and (b) politics involving questions of religion; secondly, between (c) a priest acting as a representative of the Church, and (d) a priest acting in his own private capacity, and as a simple citizen; and lastly, between (e) the right to take part in politics, and (f) the prudence or advisability of taking any such part. By refusing to observe these distinctions, absurd and erroneous propositions are laid down, and the most outrageous assertions stoutly and stubbornly maintained with a vigour often as excessive as it is ridiculous.

missionary country in the world. Had the majority of the clergy but followed the example of the small minority; had they imitated Bishop Fisher and his small but noble band of followers in their heroic resistance, instead of basely yielding, and trimming, and flattering the royal tyrant, whose very presence was pollution, we might still be hearing High Mass in Westminster Abbey, and watching the long procession of black-robed monks wending its way through the gorgeous Gothic aisles, amidst the swinging of censers, and the swelling of anthems through the fretted vault.

In Germany, priests are still living who have resisted the laws of the land for the sake of their faith, and who have suffered fines and imprisonment in consequence: pastors whose heroism we can refer to only in terms of the profoundest admiration and respect. Even here in England, at the present day, we are not unfrequently called upon to oppose measures hostile to the full and free discharge of our duty to God, though happily neither torture nor death now threatens us. Legal enactments concerning education, concerning marriage, concerning divorce, and so forth, have come into operation, and may do so again in the future, and a priest is undoubtedly at liberty to speak of and to explain such laws in so far as they affect faith or morality. For example: though the civil law grants a divorce, and permits unhappy couples to separate and to contract other unions, the pastor from the very fulness of his authority may denounce such a law from the pulpit of his church, and declare, on the word of God himself, that the second marriage is null and void, and nothing more than a legalized concubinage, and the consenting parties guilty of an atrocious sin before God, and that all the civil governments in the world, with all their laws, are as powerless to efface or erase the original bond of union, as to put out the sun at noonday by fanning it with a peacock's feather.

If a priest may so act when the government defies and tramples on the Catholic law of marriage, he may, of course, act in a similar manner when any other measure inconsistent with dogmatic truth is before the legislature. Such a part in politics, if so indeed it can be styled, is beyond a shadow

of doubt within the strict right of a priest, even when considered in his official capacity as a minister of the Gospel. But this is too obviously true to need any further proof or illustration. Let us then turn without further preamble to the very much more difficult and vexed question, as to a priest's right to take part in political and social movements, as such.

It has been urged that "a priest ought not to enter into a purely secular political sphere." This declaration, worded with all the glorious ambiguity that oracles are wont to affect, cannot be answered off-hand and without making a distinction. A priest, as such, that is to say, while speaking in the name and with the authority of the Church; *concedo*. A priest in his private capacity, and speaking simply in his own name; *subdistinguo*. If by "ought not," means "has no right," *nego sententiam*. If by the expression "ought not," is meant nothing more than "it would be more prudent, charitable, considerate, or advisable" not to enter into a purely secular sphere, we can but reply—*transeat*, at least for the present.

2. A PRIEST, AS A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

When we have proclaimed a priest's right to take part in politics, officially, and as a minister of the Gospel, so often as his interference be needed for the defence of Catholic faith or morals, we have not exhausted his rights. He has rights irrespective of his ecclesiastical position. He was a citizen before he was a priest, and a member of the commonwealth before he became a member of the *Ecclesia docens*; and he possesses civil rights and privileges just as truly as any other man. Nor does the imposition of hands diminish or destroy one jot or tittle of such rights, any more than the wearing of a cassock blunts his natural affections or extinguishes his love of home and country. St. Paul himself asserted his rights as a civilian, and boasted that he was "a citizen of no mean city" (Acts xxi. 32). He appealed to Cæsar (xxv. 11), and as a Roman he claimed the privilege of dying by the sword rather than by crucifixion or strangulation. So, too, we priests are free to make similar claims,

and we calmly but firmly resent the officious and impertinent interference of those who seem to think that to become an ecclesiastic is to abdicate all civil rights and privileges, and who argue as though we were incapable of having any personal views, opinions, or interests but such as are purely supernatural.

What! have sacred orders destroyed our manhood? Have they crushed out of us all interest in the welfare of home and fatherland? Are such the fruits of the sacrament? God forbid! While others are exerting themselves to promote the interests of their native country; while laymen strive, and struggle, and bleed, are we alone of all men to stand aside and rest indifferent and unconcerned, and shut ourselves up in our shells, as the unconscious limpet, so soon as the storm and the tempest sweep around? Is the work of a priest so exclusively religious that he must have no thought of the temporal well-being of his flock? If a measure of relief is proposed; if an effort is being made to reduce the hours of hard labour to eight per diem; or to do away with the sweating system; or to give East End tailors equitable wages, is he to give no advice, to make no representation, to utter no word, because, forsooth, it does not immediately concern the service of the altar?¹

Surely, the heart of a priest, should be large enough to embrace both spiritual and temporal spheres! If he loves his people with the heart of a father, he loves them in the broadest sense of the term: he wishes them *every* good, not alone those which are spiritual, and will try to promote both their temporal and their eternal interests, according to the measure of his opportunities and capacity, with all patience and prudence. Because he clearly recognises that the spiritual is infinitely more valuable than the material; because he knows with absolute certainty that *eternal* happiness is in every respect incomparably more necessary than any temporal

¹ This active interest of ecclesiastics in a people's welfare has been manifest from the earliest times in England. Those who speak of this "*modern nineteenth century*" practice, should recall the ages when Archbishop Stephen Langton championed the old English customs and laws against the personal despotism of King John; when Anselm withstood King William, and Theobald King Stephen, &c.

happiness whatsoever ; that is no reason why the actual and immediate prosperity and well-being of his flock should be wholly ignored, or left exclusively to the pity of others.

Are the corporal works of mercy to find no place on the priest's escutcheon? or is he to seek to relieve the poor and the oppressed only by building them a hospital or proffering them a crust? May he not also, if he gets the opportunity, throw all the weight of his influence in with those who are struggling hard to get some substantial measure of reform passed through the Houses of Parliament? May he not give countenance to the agitation, and encourage, both by word and example, the noble-hearted and generous efforts that are being made to ease this or that enactment which presses too heavily and sorely on the masses? Surely, a priest, living in the midst of his people, knowing them by name, labouring for them, praying for them, loving them, should be the last of all to show indifference to what concerns their welfare. He cannot forget that they have bodies as well as souls; and that these bodies must be cared for; and that men cannot even live, much less thrive, in *this* world on the bare anticipation of the *next*, however beautiful and however magnificent it may be. The true pastor, therefore, watches, and hopes, and helps, and prays, and exerts all his influence to further and to foster the prosperity of his country and the welfare of his flock.¹

Such zeal is undoubtedly good and admirable ; but it must, of course, be accompanied with discretion and exercised with consummate prudence. To say that it is hard and perilous to tread the slippery ground of politics : to say that it is easy to enter with the best of motives and the purest of intentions, and yet difficult not to be drawn a step too far in one direction or another, or to commit an indiscretion, or to be carried away by precipitancy, strength of feeling, or false confidence, is to say what most men will readily acknowledge, and what history is constantly engaged in proving.

¹ Si tous les prêtres comprenaient ce devoir, si le peuple comprenait que le prêtre peut l'aider à atteindre par les moyens honnêtes le *bien être d'ici-bas*, comme le bien éternel ; éclairés, secouant leurs préjugés, ils se tourneraient vers le Pape. (Père L. de Besse, O.S.F.)

But then we must bear in mind "*humanum est errare*"—everything human is liable to error. Why, the courts of justice themselves should be done away with, if nothing that ever fails in its purpose may be suffered to stand. There have been inhuman judges, and packed juries, and perjured witnesses, and unjust sentences; and men have, before now, been launched into eternity for crimes that they have never committed. Yet, the judge still goes on circuit; and the counsel still pleads; and men are still hanged—and no one is foolish enough to remonstrate or complain.

What has always been to us a subject of such surprise is, that while so much has been said of the "*mischief*" that priests have done in secular spheres; of the "*disasters*," the "*scandals*," and the "*evils*" to which they have given rise, so little has been said of the good done, the scandals prevented, the wrongs redressed, the angry passions calmed, the evils diminished, the wounds healed, the tears dried, and the hearts comforted by the person of the priest—especially among a devoted and religious people like the Irish.

Men are by no means so unfair when judging of other professions and walks of life. Though doctors and physicians have been known before now to abuse their power, and to prostitute their knowledge and skill to evil purposes, no one argues that men should therefore renounce the study of medicine, or that surgeons should henceforth cease to hack and saw. No; the world recognises the substantial good done, and the many signal services rendered by the faculty, and is content to let pass the blundering of one individual or the awkwardness of another; nor deems it generous to point the reproachful finger of scorn at incidental slips and failures, the mere concomitants of an otherwise unremitting beneficence.

Far otherwise with the priest. Let him but once outstrip the measure of strict prudence by a hair's breadth; let him in his zeal and earnestness commit but a single indiscretion, and at once this act is fastened on, magnified, distorted and denounced in every note and key, and whispered around from one to another as a fair specimen of all the rest.

Then again the cry rises: "no priests in secular affairs;" "no ecclesiastical interference;" "no dictation by the clergy," and so forth. Because Canon X or Father Y, in such a place, and on such an occasion, used unguarded language, uttered unkind threats, or denounced a man from the altar, the whole system is reprobated and condemned. There is no sense of the proportion of things. The widest and most universal conclusions are drawn from the narrowest premisses, and even from single acts of individuals—acts of which none approve, and which none defend; or from the conduct of isolated priests who are neither representatives of the clergy in general, nor the responsible exponents of their views and opinions.

May the day be far distant, say we, when we English-speaking priests shall cease to care for the social, political, and material prosperity of our flocks, or in which we shall pay any attention to those who ask us to withdraw from such spheres as from forbidden ground. To keep rigidly within the sanctuary rails; to be deaf to all but strictly spiritual clamours; to be blind to all but distinctly spiritual sufferings, and to show no interest in anything that concerns this terrestrial life, would be a most disastrous and regrettable policy. May the day never dawn when the relations between priest and people shall become strained and unnatural, and his duties towards them restricted to the mere distribution of sacraments and the imparting of benedictions. Lamentable, indeed, would be the result.

Look at France at the present day! Her clergy are excellent, and models of sacerdotal virtue; they are learned in scholastic theology, and perhaps, as a class, the best preachers in the world. Yet what is their influence over the people? What is their real power over the millions of labourers, artisans, mechanics and apprentices? It is exceedingly slight; in fact, hardly appreciable. And why is this, but because the French clergy have become too much of a caste: because they have stood aloof, and have refused to enter into the legitimate views of the people; to encourage their lawful aspirations, to show a personal interest in their worldly and temporal prosperity; and because they have left them to

fight their own battles with state, commune, and municipality; and have replied to all their invitations by a shrug of the shoulders and a "*qu'est ce que cela me fait à moi*"? practically declaring that it has nothing to do with the clergy how their earthly affairs were managed, or indeed whether they were managed at all. And so, because no practical assistance nor advice was to be obtained from the priests, their natural counsellors, they became a law to themselves; and any self-made and self-chosen demagogue, any rowdy blustering rodomontade in whom the pent-up public feeling might find utterance, was listened to and applauded. And further, and ever further apart, drifted priest and people as years rolled on, until the French clergy of the present day are left stranded high and dry like anchored ships, when the sea has retired and the tide has gone out. In France, in these days a priest's overtures would, in fact, scarcely be listened to or considered, so wholly unaccustomed have the people grown to anything of the kind.¹

A French *curé* cannot inspire either the confidence, or the love, or even the respect and veneration that an Irish priest inspires in the great masses. The poor and labouring classes of Ireland, for instance, feel that they have in the priest a father, a friend, and a brother, all in one—one upon whom, not only their spiritual difficulties and trials, but their temporal sufferings fall with the certainty of awakening a sympathetic response, and who will help them to the utmost of his ability.

This is not because the Irish priest fails in the sterner part of his duty. No! Who, indeed, can chide and upbraid his people, when necessary, as an Irish parish priest? Though he may press his scathing words upon them with a vigour and a boldness which few others would venture to emulate, yet, it must be admitted that his admonitions are received with the utmost respect and good feeling; a fact explicable only on the ground that the members of the flock know that their pastor really loves them, and is actuated only by a strong desire for their good, and because

¹ If another instance be desired, we may turn to Italy.

a passing outbreak of virtuous indignation or impassioned reproach is quite incapable of shaking a confidence which is grounded, not, on this or that particular circumstance, but upon the consistent and sustained struggle for their good which characterizes his entire life.

3. PRUDENCE NECESSARY.

That acts of indiscretion have been committed, and that we priests have sometimes overstepped the bounds of prudence, is perfectly true, but really means very little. Indeed, it is simply to affirm that priests are men and not angels, and that they have not received the gift of impeccability. Still it must be allowed that, as a class, at least, we know our duty, and are fully aware that our right to take part in politics is not absolute, and can be exercised only under certain conditions and limitations; further, that what is lawful is not always expedient; and that many an act perfectly legitimate in itself must be renounced for the sake of a yet higher good.

While, therefore, we claim liberty (which so many of the laity would deny us) of taking part in politics, we are quite ready to admit that we lie under a most serious obligation of taking heed, lest, as St. Paul writes, "this liberty become a stumbling-block to the weak." The claim we advance is a just and a fair one. It is in itself a good thing, *res bona*; but, of course, to exercise even a right without any regard to its consequences, and still more with a clear foreknowledge that it will produce serious spiritual injury, is to convert a "right" into a "wrong": it is to use a good thing in a bad way, "*re bona male uti*."

After all is said and done, the unalterable truth remains. Charity, edification, and peace of conscience, are ever to be preferred before any purely temporal interests and advantages whatsoever: a truth beautifully illustrated and exemplified in the teaching and the conduct of the great apostle to the Gentiles, who assured the Corinthians that even though such an innocent practice as that of eating meat should scandalize his brother, he "would never eat meat, lest it should scandalize him" (1 Cor. viii.). "If," argues

the angel of the schools, commenting on this passage, "if a man should abstain from almost the necessities of life (*quasi a necessariis vitae*) rather than give scandal, with how much greater reason should he abstain from what is not necessary, and this, not because of any intrinsic unlawfulness or injustice in the act itself, but solely 'lest I scandalize my brother.'"

4. PHARISAICAL SCANDAL.

While listening to the inspired words of the great apostle, however, we must be upon our guard lest we confuse the scandal here spoken of (*scandalum pusillorum*) with an entirely different form of scandal (*scandalum pharisaeorum*), which is as detestable as it is inexcusable, and deserving of nothing but contempt and disdain—we mean pharisaical scandal—the scandal not given, but taken. Such scandal should not be allowed to interfere with the discharge of duty, or to hamper us in the exercise of good works. Such scandal was occasioned—not caused—again and again, even by our Lord Himself; yet He calmly held on the even tenor of His way untroubled and unaffected. He scandalized the highly sensitive Pharisees; but He did so without pity, and only reproached them for their hypocrisy. He scandalized them because He cured diseases on the Sabbath day; because He refused to chide His disciples as they plucked the ears of corn; because He conversed with sinners; eat meat with publicans, and declined to condemn the woman taken in adultery. Christ did not desist by reason of such consequences: neither should we: if we allow ourselves to be checked and impeded at every turn for fear of modern Pharisees (whose name is Legion) we shall not merely be departing from the lines laid down by our divine Model, but we shall prove ourselves but poor and inefficient labourers in the vineyard of the Church, and unworthy of the grave charge that has been laid upon our shoulders.

How far exactly it is prudent in practice for us priests to mix ourselves up in political and social movements, even when we have fair hopes of doing good, and where precisely we should draw the line beyond which it would be unsafe to go, is one of those delicate and perplexing questions, which it would ill become me to attempt to decide—it depends, in such a great

measure, upon the character, training, and ability of the individual priest; upon the political unanimity of the flock committed to his charge, and upon a thousand other circumstances and conditions connected with the state of mind and feeling prevalent in the locality—circumstances and conditions which must vary almost indefinitely, and of which those at a distance can judge scarcely at all, unless possibly a layman here or there, who suddenly develops a vocation to lecture the clergy.

Fortunately we have our legitimate spiritual superiors to whom we can look for guidance in all these matters; and, of course, the exercise of the right we have been maintaining must be largely controlled and directed by them. There does not appear to be perfect unity of practice on these points, even if we confine our examination to the dioceses in England. An enactment in the Shrewsbury diocese runs as follows:—"We prohibit all public action of our clergy, whether on platforms or by writing, in the strife of party politics, unless where a distinctively Catholic question, such as the defence of schools, calls for our united action." From this it appears that his Lordship of Shrewsbury considers the circumstances of his diocese do not warrant the latitude allowed by other bishops. Thus, a regulation that seems good to the Angel of Shrewsbury is thought inexpedient, or at least unnecessary, by his spiritual brother ruling over an adjacent see. Who will say which bishop is right, and which is wrong? For our part, we would not dare to say that either is wrong. On the contrary, we would far rather believe that both are right; for each is concerned about his own little plot in the one world-wide vineyard. And may not circumstances alter cases? May not the vines growing upon one kind of soil need a different dressing and cultivation to those growing on another? Surely, so far from complaining at such regulations and enactments as superiors are inspired to make, we should deem it no small privilege to possess an authoritative voice to decide these difficult questions, and should rejoice in the security afforded by a prompt and unquestioning submission to an authority which by every right and title we are bound to recognise and respect.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND, FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY TO THE PRESENT.¹

THE field of native Church history is comparatively so derelict that one is disposed to admit a new worker without question. Moreover, on looking this volume through, references are found calculated to disarm hostile criticism on my part. A few years ago, for instance, I was at some pains, in the I. E. RECORD, to prove that St. Columbanus did not die on November 21st, the date commonly received, but on the 23rd. Here (page 156) I am duly credited with having made good my thesis. Apart, however, from considerations of the kind, I may be permitted to express appreciation of the spirit which prompted the very reverend author to devote his time to the prosecution of studies well-nigh totally neglected by those most immediately concerned.

The work, as far as the present instalment extends, will be found to be a compilation made from material accessible in print. Accordingly, it makes no addition to previous information. On the other hand, by comparison with similar works on the subject, it may be allowed to be fairly comprehensive and tolerably accurate. In view, however, of the attempt made in some quarters to assign the volume a place in history equal to that occupied by the *Grammatica Celtica* in philology, it becomes necessary, in the interest of historical research, to show that, chiefly with regard to the ancient Church, the book labours under serious omissions and grave errors of fact.

First, respecting completeness. One of the most difficult questions connected with our hagiology is that of the *Cursus*, or Divine Office. What did it consist of? what were the "traditional varieties" alluded to by St. Columbanus in the chapter (vii.) *De Synaxi seu de Cursu Psalmorum*, of his

¹ *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland von der Einführung des Christenthums bis auf die Gegenwart.* Von Alphons Bellesheim, Doctor der Theologie und beider Rechte, Canonikus des Collegiatstifts in Aachen. Erster Band, von 432 bis 1509. Mainz, 1890.

rule; what change was affected therein by the Youghal saint, Cuaran of the Wisdom, that got him the name of "the None"? These are radical queries which no one that works at first hand can afford to pass over. In addition, the author lives within easy reach of the requisite original data. But, I regret to state, the sole treatment accorded them here is the stale and refuted assertion (page 597) that the *Cursus Scottorum* signified the Liturgy, that is, the Mass.

Connected herewith, the following is given by Schepps ("The oldest Gospel MSS. of the Würzburg University Library," page 27) from a MS.: "Mosinu Maccumin, scriba et abbas Benn cuir, primus Hebernensium compotem [computum] a Greco quodam sapiente memorialiter didicit. Deinde Mocuoros Maccumin Semon, quem Romani doctorem totius mundi nominabant alumnusque præfati scribae, in insola quae dicitur Crannach Duinlethglaise hanc scientiam literis fixit, ne memoria laberetur."

The remarkable allegations of the preceding extract are not mentioned, although the work of Schepps is given in the index of authors.

The decay of the Columban monastic rule on the Continent is attributed (page 159) to two causes, one being the frequent recurrence of the lash in the Penitential of St. Columbanus. But the author seems unaware that the longer recension, first published as chapter x. of the *Regula Coenobialis*, by Holsten, is (to keep within firm ground) demonstrably interpolated. Here, again, he had at hand the material required for investigating the extent of the forgery.

In treating of the Irish foundations of Würzburg, no allusion is made to the interesting statements of Clement V. respecting the Monastery of St. James "extra muros: Verum, licet monasterium ipsum de antiqua et approbata consuetudine quosvis religiosos ordinis cuiuscumque, dummodo de Ibernica oriundi, seu veri Ibernici fuerint, recipere teneatur," &c. (Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, page 182).

In the chapter on Irish Art (page 669), glass chalices are mentioned, and a description of a stone chalice is given. But of the Ardagh chalice—as great a marvel in its way as the Tara brooch—not a word. Though he sets down *Trans-*

actions of the Royal Irish Academy from 1787, the compiler apparently failed to see the paper of the Earl of Dunraven (*Antiq.*, vol. xxiv., part ix.), published as far back as 1874.

The execution next demands notice. A compilation such as the present, to be of value, should contain working references and statements taken directly from the sources indicated. Prefixed is a list of close upon two hundred and fifty works dealing with the subject-matters. How far they were directly availed of, a few examples will show. "Mabillon, Joh.: *Musaeum Italicum*, Paris, 1687." The Bobbio Missal, we learn (page 595), all the same, was published by Mabillon in the *Musaeum*, in 1724. The explanation is, that the information has been copied without acknowledgment from Moran's *Essays*, page 276. But, unfortunately, John Mabillon lay seventeen years dead in 1724. "O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres: 1. Tigernachi Annales, &c.*" Of Tigernach, the Canon tells us (page 642), amongst other things, that "in his chronology, beginning with the Incarnation, he shows himself conversant with all the means of correcting the Kalendar. He knew the Lunar Cycle, and used the Dominical Letters; on the other hand, the Solar Cycle of Nineteen years, and the Golden Number were unknown to him."

Well, the only printed edition of Tigernach is still that of O'Connor. The volume in question lies open before me. Here is what is found therein with respect to the foregoing. (1) He begins with the reign of Ptolomey (Lagus), which O'Connor marks in the margin B.C. 305. (2) There are no "means of correcting the Kalendar." Truth to tell, I do not know what is meant. (3) He, as far as I can learn, did not know the Lunar Cycle. But the Cycle of Nineteen, which is quite a different thing, and which perhaps is intended, he knew well; for he mentions that our Lord was born in the second year of the Decemnovennal Cycle (page 12). (4) Neither Tigernach, nor any of the older annalists, used Dominical Letters. I wish they had. They, as well as Bede, employed Ferial Numbers. (5) The Solar Cycle of Nineteen is, of course, an oversight for that of Twenty-eight. The latter, Tigernach was naturally

acquainted with. Here, for once, O'Connor happens to be right: "Cyclum Solarem non semel memoratum invenio" (page 21).

The solution of the foregoing discrepancies is supplied by the fact that the assertions regarding Tigernach were taken from O'Curry's *Lectures* (page 61). One error (5) is amusing. O'Curry's informant took *non semel* to signify *not even once*, instead of *not once, but often*.

In reference to the literature of the Ancient Church, the *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*, it is suggested (page 191-192) was drawn up by command of the Fathers of a Synod in Tara, in 697. But the compilers, the time and the place of the Collection, have been discovered to the satisfaction of experts in Irish hagiology.

Aileran the Wise is stated (page 206) to have composed at an advanced age three books, *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, "which contain a history of God's kingdom upon earth, interspersed with theological and philosophic researches." But no clue is afforded where the thesaurus is to be found in print or manuscript. Perhaps, after all, it is the same as the work mentioned on the following page. There we learn that the *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae* of the Irish Augustinus belongs to the most eminent productions of native learning in the seventh century. Herein all the Canon's readers will readily coincide.

The Commentary of St. Columbanus contains, it is said (page 614), the text of the Psalms. Would that it did. But take the first example I light upon, on opening the fasciculus of Ascoli's edition that lies next to hand: "Locutus sum-usque-desit mihi" (folio 59 b). Here, almost two verses of Psalm xxxviii. are left out. Nor is this all. The commentary (*non quem statui, sed quem me habiturum praescis*) would be unintelligible without the Irish gloss, which refers *quem* to *finem* of the fifth verse, not to *numerus* of the sixth.

The *Chronicon Scotorum* belongs to the most considerable sources of Irish Church history. So the author states (page 643). But a careful study of the preface to the published edition would have shown conclusively, in opposition to the

opinion of the Rolls' editor, that the so-called *source* was, as Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Cloyne (formerly a possessor of the MS.), rightly conjectured more than a century ago, merely a compendium of Tigernach. But to me the most novel item of information in the whole volume is (page 644), that *The Annals of Ulster* are written in Latin (*in lateinischer Sprache geschrieben*). Yet the compiler professes to have consulted O'Connor's edition, where the Irish text is on the left, and the Latin translation on the right column!

In dealing with the Latin documents of the Early Irish Church, it is essential to understand how the foreign tongue was accommodated to the native idiom. Failure in this has here resulted in a most extraordinary misconception respecting an expression in *The Book of Armagh*. The conclusion of a well-known entry (folio 16 d) is thus given: "Ego scripsi id est Calvus Perennis in conspectu Briani imperatoris Scotorum" (page 637 n.). (The reading, it has to be remarked, is *Briain*, the native genitive.) To avoid the suspicion of unfairness, the author's rendering (page 274) is placed side by side with the translation thereof:—

Ich, nämlich Calvus Perennis, schrieb dieses, in gegenwart des Brian, Kaisers der Iren, und was ich schrieb, bestätigte er im Namen aller Könige mit seinem Wachssiegel.

I, namely Calvus Perennis, wrote this in presence of Brian, Emperor of the Irish, and what I wrote he ratified in the name of all kings with his wax-seal.

Maceria (*stone-wall*), a Biblical word, is here applied in the secondary sense of a fortified town to express the Irish *Caisel*; that is, Cashel, the residence of the Munster kings. The meaning is, accordingly, that Brian made what was written binding upon the future kings of Cashel, namely, of the southern moiety of Ireland. But the present translator took *Maceriae*, I suppose, to be a contraction of *manu cerae*; thereby metamorphosing the city of the kings into a seal of wax.

The following are illustrative of the manner in which historical sources have been drawn upon. *The Annals of Ulster*, we are informed (page 239), give the obit of Maelruain at 792: "Maelruain, of Tallaght, bishop and soldier of Christ,

rested in Christ." This is a translation of the Latin given by Dr. Reeves: *Maelruain Tamlachta, episcopus et miles Christi, in pace dormivit* (*Culdees*, page 126). But it is an imaginary item, formed by analysis from the original. Three years ago I dealt with the question in a manner which Mr. Whitley Stokes, A.B., who was pledged to maintain that Maelruain was a bishop, has been coerced to admit was final. The founder of Tallaght, it is now conceded, was a presbyter abbot. He had in his community a well-known bishop-monk for the performance of episcopal functions. Again, the same *Annals*, it is stated (page 219), say at 920: "On the Saturday before St. Martin, which was the 10th of November, Armagh was plundered," &c. Now, anyone by the aid of a calendar and a table of years with dominical letters attached can correct this; for *g* is the regular letter of November 11. In 920, therefore, the Sunday letter being A, St. Martin's day fell on Saturday. The Saturday before the feast was, consequently, the 4th, not the 10th. The year intended was 921. The Dominical Letter was *g*; November 11, Sunday; November 10, Saturday.

The Cistercians, we read (page 474), had as benefactor Roderic O'Connor, who died in 1233. In proof, extracts are quoted at foot from a charter "of Roderich": *Sciant omnes . . . quod ego O., Dei gratia Connactiae Rex. . .* But Roderic was dead for more than thirty-three years at the time! The O of the donation script stands for the O [*edus*]; that is, Aed, Roderic's son, who, a glance at the *Annals* will show, lost his life in the year in question. It may be some palliation to mention that this item seems taken from De Joubainville. The equation, Aed = Roderic, is of a kind with many more that are destined to immortalize the name of the French Celtologue.

Finally, the absence of independent research is nowhere more painfully apparent than in the portions dealing with the Liturgy. The so-called Bobbio Missal is (page 595) once more accepted as drawn up for an Irish, and not a Burgundian church. Similarly, as if to show the inveteracy of error, the tract *De Cursu Scottorum*, which Spelman, who first published it, rightly took to mean the Office, is

here (page 597) taken for a treatise on the Liturgy; that is, on the Mass. Nay more, the reference to Spelman's *Councils* is appended. Respecting the Stowe Missal, all the conclusions of Mr. Warren, who examined the work in haste, have been adopted (page 598, *sq.*). One is specially to be noted, being as conclusive in its way as *a long in Timeo Danaos*. The accidental displacement of two folios (28, 29) of the MS., whereby a Litany is introduced into the Canon of the Mass, remains undetected (page 599).

The foregoing, which are not exhaustive, are fairly typical. Thereby the reader can judge for himself how far the work has attained the requisite standard. The remaining parts have to deal with periods in which the problems are less complex and the original documents less obscure. The treatment, it may accordingly be anticipated, will prove to be more thorough and more reliable.

B. MACCARTHY.

THE STUDY OF THE HUMAN MIND.¹

AT the present, more than at any other time, great social and political problems have to be faced and solved, and unless men get hold of sound principles those problems can never be settled satisfactorily.

Now without a sound system of Catholic philosophical teaching in all its branches, sound principles cannot be diffused. Our Holy Father, recognising the needs of modern times, in the famous Encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, exhorts us to have recourse "to the golden wisdom of St. Thomas, unto the safety and glory of the Catholic faith, the advantage of society, and the progress of all the sciences." But here is the difficulty. It would take an average student three years to master the philosophy of St. Thomas.

¹ *Psychology*. By Michael Maher, S.J.

As for the numberless text-books purporting to be based on the teaching of St. Thomas, they all fail in this, that they do not adequately meet the errors of the present day, nor do they cover the ground required in our present system of public examinations. Any Catholic student competing in these examinations with such knowledge as may be acquired from the ordinary Latin manuals of philosophy would find himself hopelessly handicapped, and would be forced as a condition of success to make himself familiar with the teaching of Mill, and Sully, and Bain.

Who does not recognise the danger of taking such guides to point out the short road to success? Now, however, we have safe guides in these perilous paths. The Mill and Bain school have not the field to themselves. They have been encountered successfully on their own grounds, and have been driven from their favoured positions. In the Encyclical already alluded to, our Holy Father recommends the doctrine of St. Thomas *ad grassantium errorum refutationem*.

In the admirable series of Catholic manuals known as the "Stoneyhurst Series," this seems to be the object in view. The work before us purports to be "an attempt at an English exposition of the psychology of Aristotle and St. Thomas, and an application of their principles to modern questions." The reader who opens this book with a view of finding in it a full exposition of scholastic philosophy will be disappointed. Such is not its character at all. It is rather a book on modern systems with modern methods, and full to overflowing with all the phraseology of the materialist school, with an occasional application of the principles of St. Thomas. Nor do we object to it on this account. On the contrary, we think it desirable that such phrases as "mental phenomena," "psychical phenomena," "psychical existence," may be known as indicating mental accidents; and as such they connote nothing which is not in perfect harmony with the strictest Catholic philosophical teaching. It would be impossible for us, within the limits of this paper, to do more than touch on the leading questions treated of in this erudite work.

THE FACULTIES.

The scholastics, following the teaching of Aristotle and St. Thomas, divided the faculties into five *genera*, which embraced every possible operation of the soul, and which naturally depended on each other. These were:—

1. The vegetative faculty :
 - (a) Generation.
 - (b) Nutrition.
 - (c) Increase.
2. The sensitive faculty :
 - (a) External senses (sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch).
 - (b) Internal senses (common sense, phantasy, estimation, memory).
3. The intellectual faculty :
 - (a) The active intellect.
 - (b) The passive intellect.
4. The appetitive faculty :
 - (a) The sensitive appetite.
 - (b) The intellectual appetite or will.
5. The locomotive faculty.

This we think to be an exhaustive and natural division of the faculties, embracing all the operations of the mind, and growing one out of the other. The lowest faculty is the vegetative, on which all the others depend. The second is the sensitive, on which intelligence depends. The third is intelligence, which appetite presupposes, for “*nihil volitum nisi precognitum*,” and which appetite follows. Lastly comes the locomotive faculty, which presupposes and follows appetite, because every animal is moved to follow that which it desires. This division is simple, it is natural, it is scientific. Eliminating the first and last, as the merely physiological powers of the soul, we have left the *sensitive* faculty, the *intellectual* faculty, and the *appetitive* faculty. This we deem to be a more logical division than that of *cognitional* and *appetitive*.

Sense and intellect do not attain their object *univoce*; the intellect apprehends its object *ut intelligibile* ac proinde *sub ratione veri*; but sense apprehends its object “*ut particu-*

lare et materiale ac proinde non sub ratione veri quia non est intelligibile." On the other hand, the sensitive and rational appetites, although they tend to a *distinct* good, yet seek their object *univoce*, i.e., "sub communi ratione boni."

Ours is the division which seems to find favour with the author of *Psychology*. "Leaving out of account," he writes, "physiological, or extra mental powers of the soul, we have cognitive capabilities of the sensuous order; intellect, or the faculty of rational knowledge; and the two kinds of appetite."

EXTERNAL PERCEPTION.

Since the "*cogito ergo sum*" of Descartes, the question of external perception has been familiar to students of philosophy. Our existence, according to that renowned philosopher, was but an inference from our thought, though it is not easy to see how we can be more certain of our *thought* than of our *existence*. Yet for hundreds of years that dictum has tinged the philosophy of Europe. The followers of Descartes, and the followers of those who evolved their philosophy from his, agreed in denying any *immediate* certainty of external reality. On the other hand, we have all the schoolmen, and many of the best modern thinkers, affirming that we have an immediate knowledge of things outside our minds; that, therefore, we know the existence of our own bodies, and of other bodies, with a knowledge which does not require proof.

Our author treats this subject admirably, and, in an exhaustive history of modern theories bearing on the subject, shows how one false theory grew out of another, until they led to the wildest aberrations of the human intellect.

In his account of the development of sense perception, and of the education of the senses, he shows that though we have an immediate knowledge of realities outside of the thinking self, yet they are at first vague and indefinite, and are made fully known to us by the aid of experience. In our mature life we have little difficulty in

localizing our bodily sensations. But, in reality, this is the result of a gradual process :—

“ It is probably, however, the experience of ‘ double contact,’ which contributes most to the definition of the relative situation of the several parts of the organism. If a child lays his right hand upon his left, there is awakened a double tactual feeling of extension. If then he moves the right palm along the left arm up to the elbow or shoulder, he becomes conscious of a series of muscular sensations in the right arm, and also of a series of extended tactual impressions both on the right hand and along the left arm, which vary in character as they depart from the original sensation in the left hand. This movement may be then reversed, and the tactual sensations gone through in the opposite direction ; and, finally, by laying the left arm along a flat surface, or *vice versa*, the series of tactual impression formerly given in succession will now be presented as co-existing outside of each other in space. When these or kindred experiments have been executed, the difference in character of the tactual impressions on two points of the arm awoken by association a representation of the number of tactual sensations, and of the duration of the series of muscular sensations required to span the interval, and their relative situations are so far defined.”

Though a pain in the large toe seems a simple thing, yet it is evident from the above reasoning that the process by which that knowledge is attained is very slow and complex.

Again, how simple seems our perception of distance : with one glance we take in a whole landscape, or an arm of the sea, and measure them ; yet the perception has been gradually elaborated :—

“ The primary perception of the eye is simply *coloured surface* ; neither distance, solidity, nor *absolute magnitude* is originally presented to us by this sense. There are secondary or acquired perceptions gained by associating in experience various shades of colour and degrees of tension in the ocular muscles with different motor and tactual experiences. Surface space, however, is originally perceived directly.”

As to the objection that it is impossible to conceive *how* the mind can be cognizant of a thing outside itself, the author replies :—

“ It is at least fully as impossible to understand how the mind can be cognizant of *itself*. *How* mind and body are united : *how* either can act upon the other ; or, indeed, *how* any one thing can

move another, are to our present faculties insoluble questions. But the *fact* that there is interaction cannot be denied, any more than the growth of plants or the existence of gravitation, merely because we cannot imagine how such an event is possible. If the living body is informed and is animated throughout its whole being by a spiritual soul, why should not the sentient organism so constituted be capable of responding to a material stimulus by an immediately percipient act? *A priori* dogmas as to what is or what is not impossible are here out of place, especially in the hands of Empiricists. To experience we must appeal; and this testifies that in sensations of pressure and sight we are immediately percipient of something other than our own mental states."

FREE-WILL.

The question of free-will is of the most far-reaching consequence, for it branches out into all the kindred sciences. The opponents of free-will hold that our actions are all determined by a preponderance of motives; that the stronger always prevail, and prevail *necessarily*. The author of *Psychology* enters fully into this all-important question. Defining free-will to be the "capability of self-determination," he proceeds to establish his thesis on three different lines—the psychological, the ethical, and the metaphysical. The gist of the psychological proof consists in this, that we are conscious of a *self-determining* power; that while we are swayed by one class of motives we are conscious of a power to do the opposite:—

"Some thought or desire of a morally forbidden nature enters my mind; a malevolent feeling; an emotion of vanity; an impure image; or an angry impulse. The evil state may have been present for some time before I advert to its illicit character. So long as this is the case it is strictly involuntary, and I am not responsible for it. Now, however, becoming aware that I ought to reject it, I endeavour to do so by turning my mind from it. The thought recurs, and the struggle may be very troublesome and annoying before I finally conquer. At every instant of the struggle I am resisting manfully the predominant gratification. On the most unequivocal testimony that my consciousness can afford me, I am convinced that I can only too easily give way, and that it is by painful effort I restrain myself from so doing. Throughout the struggle I distinctly realize that it is *wrong* to yield, and the motive possesses for me a genuine attraction; but still it is a complete perversion of facts to say that my cognition of the rightness of this course converts it into a pleasure which for me outbalances the agreeableness of the gratification, and inexorably draws me to this side."

The burden of the ethical argument in favour of free-will is, that if we are over-ruled by forces which we cannot restrain, there is no meaning in such words as duty, obligation, responsibility, merit. No man can deserve either praise or blame for actions over which he has no more control than a cork in the surface of the sea has control over its own movements.

The nucleus of the metaphysical argument, which is very elaborate, and to which its author attaches much importance as explaining the *cause* of our freedom, may be found in the following extract from Lehmkühl on human acts:—

“Circa aliquod objectum etiam homo in hac terra liber proprio sensu non est, sed necessario in illud fertur amando, quando actum voluntatis erga illud ponit: scilicet circa boni speciem universam atque communem. Haec enim est voluntatis interna et necessaria natura, ut, quidquid velit seu amplectatur, sub ratione boni velit et amet, sub ratione mali nolit et aversetur. Verum quoniam omnia bona singula, imo ipsa summi boni assecutio saltem specie tenus quoddam malum seu difficultatem conjunctam habent, homo hic in terris in singulis bonis separatiim volendis et amplectendis per se liber est.”

In this connection we think that the author's powers of answering difficulties are more effectual even than his powers of exposition:—

“1. It is affirmed that our internal experience is in favour of the *necessarian* view. Introspection tells us that we are always determined by motives, and also denies ‘that we are conscious of being able to act in opposition to the strongest present desire or aversion.’ By ‘strongest,’ is meant strongest estimated in quantity of pleasure or pain. Now, here we come to the point of assertion and denial about an ultimate fact of consciousness which is incapable of demonstration, and which each must examine for himself. We hold that each man's own internal experience reveals the fact that he can at times resist the strongest desire or aversion, and, we believe that most men at least occasionally, do so. In involuntary acts we admit also that we are inevitably necessitated by our character and the motives operating on us. Even in deliberate choice we are influenced by the greater weight of motive on one side, but we are not *inexorably determined* thereby.”

“2. The strongest motives always prevail. This is either a tautological statement, or it is untrue. If strength of motive is

to be determined by its final prevalence, then it is an identical proposition affirming the undeniable truth that the motive which prevails, *does* prevail. This seems Dr. Bain's view. Mill, however, says by *strongest* is meant most pleasurable. In this sense the statement must be denied, and appeal made to our first argument."

NATURE AND ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN SOUL.

In the chapter called "Rational Psychology" we have a treatment of all the leading questions concerning the human soul: What are we? Whence come we? What have we to do? What is there to hope for?

These have ever been questions of transcendent interest, and never more so than at the present day. Beside them the most brilliant discoveries in the region of empirical facts, whether physical or psychical, sink into almost insignificance.

The chapters on the substantiality, and simplicity, and spirituality, and immortality of the human soul, are treated in a clear and novel manner, and are in the author's best style. But when we come to the chapter on the origin of the human soul, we feel that the author is on dangerous ground, as he seems to lean to theories which advocates of the literal meaning of the Biblical narrative will consider temerarious. We will venture no opinion on the subject, but will let the author speak for himself:—

"The third school agrees with the second in maintaining that all the lower animals, and the bodily frame of the first man may have been produced by a divinely-directed evolution from a few—possibly from a single original type; but they are clear and emphatic in teaching that the *first rational soul*, and consequently the first *human being*, cannot have arisen by evolution. It must, they assert, have been brought into existence by the special creative intervention of God. In this view, God may have formed the *body* of Adam out of some highly-developed animal, which he modified as much as was requisite, and then infused with a rational soul.

"It is sometimes urged that this hypothesis makes Adam the offspring of an ape; that he would therefore owe filial reverence and obedience to a brute parent; and that, consequently, the theory is degrading to human nature. Now, it seems to us that such a line of argument is based on a complete misinterpretation of the view in question. Whatever real dignity man has got comes from the soul, not from the body; and in any case it is

not easy to see that an animal organism, developed to as high a state of perfection as physical laws can bring it, is baser material to form the body of man than the "slime" of the earth. . . . On the grounds of reason alone there can, it seems to us, be no cogent argument framed against such a hypothesis when carefully stated. It is indisputable that God *could* form the body of the first man as easily out of a living organism as out of dead matter. And were the general doctrine of evolution *demonstrated* as regards all other animal organisms, there would in the light of pure reason be obviously—from the likeness of the life-history of the individual human body to that of the brute—a fair presumption in favour of a similar origin.

"The real question, then, for the Catholic is: can the *revealed* doctrine of Holy Writ be reconciled with this theory? The most general and reasonable canon of Scriptural interpretation is, that the natural and literal sense of a passage is always to be accepted until sufficiently cogent reason can be adduced for deviating from that meaning. The problem, therefore, is: taking all scientific evidence in favour of evolution, on the one side; and, on the other, the presumption in favour of the literal signification of the particular Scriptural texts directly bearing on the point; the meanings, literal and mystical, attached to other passages related to the former; the consensus of traditional theological teaching, as far as this testimony may fairly be acted on, what is, at least in certain important aspects, a new question, together with scientific objections urged against the development hypothesis—taking, we say, all this evidence into account—is the evolutionist interpretation of Holy Writ legitimate? The question thus stated is not for the rational psychologist, but for the theologian to answer. The Church has not yet made any pronouncement on the subject, and it would under the circumstances seem unjustifiable to condemn the wider interpretation as absolutely untenable."

We have now done with this remarkable book. It is a thoroughly scientific work, evincing on the part of its author great powers of analysis and discrimination, with the most profound and varied knowledge of philosophical literature. Yet it is not without faults. Its style is, on the whole, ponderous, and much of its phraseology too technical. But the book is a distinct gain to psychological science, and unquestionably places its young and gifted author in the front rank of the clear, deep thinkers of our time.

JAMES COYLE.

THE "MADONNA" IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

TRAFALGAR-SQUARE is said to be the finest site in Europe, and by so many that it would be invidious to name individuals. Not being a travelled man I cannot say how much truth is in the assertion, but certainly the crowded omnibuses in their variegated colours filing thickly past in all directions; the smart hansoms making their precarious way through them without a hitch; the noble buildings that flank the square; the contiguous thoroughfares teeming with gay and busy life; the fountains playing in the sunshine; the majestic column with bravery personified at its base and summit by the constant lions and the hero Nelson; Whitehall with its vista of splendid offices; the towers of the Houses of Parliament lifting their graceful heads against the sky, as if conscious of their beauty—all this, together with the ample space the square itself encloses, would, when viewed from the point of vantage, seduce even a non-Britisher into listening to the statement with respect. At any rate, Trafalgar-square is about the liveliest spot in London, and the National Gallery occupies the finest side of it. "Very well," I can fancy someone interrupting, "but what is this to us? Being in the very centre of the head-quarters of heresy, what possible interest can such a magnificent spot have for readers so orthodox as those of the I. E. RECORD?" The interruption is quite natural, and I will try to answer it.

The National Gallery contains more Catholic treasure than any other building in the British Empire. It was founded, and is supported, by the nation at considerable cost as a receptacle for attainable works of art of the highest merit. Whether by accident or by design, the works actually collected consist exclusively of paintings and other products of brush and pencil. Though the collection in 1838 numbered only 150 pictures, it has now been swelled by purchase, presentation, and bequest, into a grand total, actually on view, of 1,100. There are twenty-two spacious rooms of varying sizes in the gallery, not counting the

octagonal hall and the vestibules. In these rooms the pictures are arranged, as correctly as may be, according to "schools" and "period." In the more restricted sense there are no fewer than twenty-four different schools of painting represented in this superb depository, but these admit of being classified correctly into two departments—the British and the foreign. About one-fourth of the vast mural area of the gallery is hung with pictures of the British schools, and the remaining three-fourths with those of the foreign schools. I mean, of course, the occupied area. The relative proportion of paintings in these two broad departments will be better gauged by thus stating it according to amount rather than according to number, for the foreign paintings are, individually, the larger. If I had to speak numerically, however, I should say that seven hundred belong to the foreign, and four hundred to the British schools.

Now, this great mass of foreign art is eminently Catholic, and, with the exception of a small section of the later Dutch school, exclusively so. The Catholic element, therefore, in the National Gallery is pretty nearly as three to one. Fully one-half of these continental paintings were finished before the "Reformation" was born, while all of them had their rise in regions which, with the exception of a part of Holland, the Reformation has never in the least affected. This statement becomes all the more significant, when it is remembered that the schismatical area in Europe—Russia, Greece, Turkey, and adjuncts—is not represented in the Gallery, any more than the heretical area of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The significance is accentuated by the further fact that eleven out of the twenty-six compartments are devoted to the Italian school alone, which is perfectly represented here in its infancy, growth, and decline. The French and Spanish schools have one room each, while the Flemish, Belgium and Holland is accorded three. Indeed, anybody visiting the National Gallery cannot but be struck by the fact, that quite half its occupied wall-space is covered with the pictures of the *Latin* countries.

Not alone in origin is the foreign department Catholic,

but also in inspiration. Of the seven hundred I have mentioned, I counted three hundred and twenty of a sacred character, and the proportion would be greater still in a square-foot measurement, as the sacred pictures individually cover the greater area. Of the remainder, the subject of only very few, indeed, is from the pagan classics ; while in none of them is it of a gratuitously offensive kind. Landscape, river scenery, popular customs, allegories, and portraits are to be seen when the subject does not happen to be scriptural or ecclesiastical. But the most remarkable thing that strikes one is the preponderance among the sacred pictures of those that show forth the glorious attributes of our Blessed Lady. So striking was this to me that I set myself to count them, with the result of finding that one hundred and fifty out of the three hundred and twenty are of a subject in which the Blessed Virgin plays a prominent—I had almost said *the* prominent—part. Look where you will, her holiness is emphasized, and the Catholic glance would detect it in an instant, even though there were no "Madonna and Child," or its equivalent, sweetly painted on the frame for the guidance of those who are not yet among her clients. Grave and joyous, and sad and tender, and youthful and aged, and human and heavenly, does she appear, in turn, according to the quality of the artist's inspiration : but through all there is diffused that divine maternity which makes her blessed among women, now and for all time, as it made her at Ephesus, and at Nazareth, and in the dwelling of her cousin in the hill-country.

Mr. Ruskin in his *Lectures on Art* (Lecture i., No. 27), says :—"The art of any country is the exponent of its social and political virtues ;" and, again : "The art of any country is an exact exponent of its ethical life." In the light of this twofold axiom, the fault is not mine if I read in the National Gallery the highest tribute to the social and political virtues of the middle ages. It is but natural to assume that the management of the building did not go out of its way to secure pictures of the "Madonna." Nay, if it were swayed by prejudice at all in its search, it would most likely have pursued the opposite course. But the fair assumption is,

that the gentlemen managing the National Gallery desired specimens of the highest art, irrespective of its subject, and that, *cæteris paribus*, they preferred variety of subject to monotony. How, then, account for the overwhelming number of "Madonnas"? In this way: that the masters in the art countries made the "Madonna" their subject, almost as a matter of course; and this view will be borne out by even a cursory glance over any respectable art catalogue. Now, the popular taste had to be consulted four hundred years ago quite as much as now; and, therefore, by putting two and two together, we conclude that the people of those times delighted most of all in representation of the Virgin Mother of God. The "Madonna," then, it was that fashioned their "ethical life," for where one's treasure is, there is his heart also; and the heart it is that gives its essential colour to our morality (*vide* Matt. xv. 19). Would to God the ethical life of our times were shaped to a greater extent under the same holy influence. Tenderness, purity, gentleness, meekness, humility, fortitude—all of which are bound up with the notion of the Madonna—are richly diffused among a people who love her; for to love is to wish to become as like as possible to that we love. When certain persons in more northern climes to-day affect, perchance in their envy, to pity the simplicity of the middle ages, they forget that their every feeling is more or less vitiated by mercenary aims; that human nature is tolerable only when sweetened by the fragrance of our Lady's virtues; that the tenor of their own being has been deprived—I am not saying through their own fault—of that chivalry which devotion to her inspires, and which shakes from the soul the sordid shackles of this world. They expect us to consider them consistent, because, forsooth, they take Christ for their immediate love; but they forget again what Father Faber conveys in his beautiful hymn:—

"Ah! little know they of thy worth,
Who would deny thy love to me.

And, oh! how can I love thy Son,
Sweet Mother, if I love not thee?

Indeed, I have suggested to me here the reason of a certain epithet, as silly as it is impudent, constantly applied to the middle ages. It was hitherto a puzzle to me that even malice could dare to call those ages "dark" which produced a Raphael, a Titian, a Da Vinci, a Michael Angelo, and others by the score who come very closely up to these great masters in their refined inspirations. The puzzle was not the less difficult to solve because of knowing that those very names were held in honour by the accusers of the times they lived in; and when I read around the splendid octagon of the National Gallery "The works of those who have stood the test of ages have a claim to that respect and reverence to which no modern can pretend," I could not but smile—in all charity, I hope—at British inconsistency, while proud of this fearless expression of British fairness. Still the puzzle remained; but it remains no longer. The fact is, that those who make vulgar sneers at the "dark" ages, do in malice what even the plea of ignorance cannot excuse, and this is their reason. The genius of the "dark" ages ran in a religious channel, and was fed from the mystery of the Incarnation, as from an inexhaustible source. Now our Lady's position in the Incarnation is necessarily too prominent to be pleasing to certain of her critics, for whom aestheticism and atheism have one and the same meaning. Pity it is that those great men who have written their names in imperishable art did not take to coal-mining or nitrates, or East-African civilization, *a la mode*, with an ultimate wind-up to their career to the tune of two-and-sixpence in the pound. Then would light have brooded over darkness till it hatched steam-engines, and divorce courts, and the stock exchange. But to revert to the cooler process of narration.

To assign an absolute aggregate value to the pictures in the National Gallery—I speak all along of the foreign schools—is a difficult, if not an impossible task. Without a fiscal standard of value, the popular intellect cannot apply the rules of arithmetic. None but the connoisseurs could tell you to the farthing their single or collective worth, and even they differ among themselves very considerably sometimes, as is evinced by the history of Millet's "Angelus," which

a little more than twenty years ago was sold for £80, and, after undergoing a series of petty sales, has recently been bought in Paris at the figure of £30,000. The difference here is clearly more than a farthing's worth. Hence, though we know the actual purchase-money of certain pictures in the National Gallery, it would be erroneous to conclude that the rule of multiplication would give us the purchase-money of the lot. Multiplication cannot be applied where the standard of value shifts up and down, as all subjective standards must. The picture, of course, that everybody knows of is the "Madonna Ansidei," by Raphael, which was purchased for the Gallery of the Government from the Duke of Marlborough for £70,000. I am not qualified to say whether the Government or the Duke of Marlborough profited by the bargain. Until the price fetched lately by Millet's "Angelus," this was more than three times the sum ever paid for any other picture. It is by universal consent the gem of the collection. It is one of the few whose beauties strike the amateur as forcibly as the connoisseur, and when the "Salve Mater Christi," made part and parcel of the painting by the master's own hand, first caught my eye, I was bigot enough to glow with pride in the thought that the greatest work of art in this, the very focus of Protestant civilization, is replete with Mary's honour, and with devotion to her by an acknowledged genius among the sons of men. Its money-value, as I have stated, is set down at an exceptionally high figure, and is no criterion, therefore, to the value of the others; but, supposing the average value of each, including the "Madonna Ansidei," to be £2,000—not too much, considering the individual cost of many—the mass of foreign painting in the National Gallery would represent considerably more than a million and a quarter sterling. Was I not accurate, therefore, in saying that no other building in the British Empire encloses so much Catholic treasure?

In stepping aside for a short time from the region of fact into that of comment, I do not pretend to the authority of an art critic, but am writing as one of the average public, which numbers ninety out of every one hundred that visit the National Gallery, and whose original views, so seldom

made known, may be interesting, if only by directing attention to points that strike an ordinary visitor.

It is very hard to get over the idea that the *humanity* of the infant Christ is somewhat unnecessarily emphasized in some few of the paintings. I am not at all suggesting an allusion to "Sartor Resartus," or its philosophy. I refer simply and solely to the attitudes which the Infant is made to take. "The Wisdom of the Father" can hardly be conceived in a position so suggestive of levity as that, *v. g.*, in No. 17 and No. 29, two "Holy Families," by Andrea del Sarto and Barocci, respectively. The purpose of the early "Madonnas" is evident. Spirations and doves, and glories and aureolas, indicate designedly the divinity of the Infant Christ, and the divine maternity of His mother. This symbolism is either absent altogether or very much attenuated in the "Madonnas" of the Renaissance, the purpose evidently being to direct attention to the humanity rather than the divinity of our Saviour. How captivatingly this has been accomplished, may be seen in the National Gallery; and if this is not true of all, it is because in a few, such as I have mentioned, the purpose is overdone.

Again, there are held in high honour in the Gallery some pictures which the average citizen would not take in exchange for the prints in his cottage parlour. Look at No. 564, *v. g.*, of which the "Madonna and Child" are the central figure. There is a foolish look upon the mother's face, as if she did not know what on earth was the meaning of the child on her lap. There is a sourness, too, which seems to make her say, "How long must I keep sitting here making an exhibition of myself?" The child itself occupies a most impossible position somehow, and is much too set and much too "dogmatic" for an infant in arms. The two angels adoring on either side have the outline of winged women, but the figure is that of a canary in a very listening attitude. To the left, St. John in the caldron of burning oil is posed with geometrical accuracy as to head, arms, and elbows, and for all the world presents in dim outline the figure of a section of the new Forth bridge. The angel, too, seems to be baptizing him *per vim* in a modern font rather than delivering

him from a steaming caldron ; and, on the whole, so far as anatomy is concerned a tyro in a modern drawing-school would execute more accurate figures.

And yet this is a very highly valued painting, and the reason will be suggested by the date upon the frame (1216-1293), recording the year of the birth and of the death of Margaritone the painter. It must be remembered that the aim of the early painters was nothing if not symbolical and ideal. The Church was their only patron, and the Church's supreme purpose then as now was to teach moral and dogmatic truth to her children. In the case of the masses of the population this was most effectually accomplished by pictures displayed prominently in the churches¹ as altar-pieces—more especially as printing was a long way off invention at the time. Engrossed, therefore, in his one great aim, the painter attended not to the mundane elegance of his figures ; and, indeed, if he did, it is questionable whether the purpose of the Church would not be more or less interfered with. Remembering this let it also be remembered that the National Gallery is a study rather than an exhibition, and as such it was intended. Nobody questions why the crudest specimens of early literature are preserved in the British Museum. Their value is at once seen in the criterion they afford for estimating the character, customs, and general state of the age they were written in, and the measure of progress made in the intervening centuries. Crude specimens of early painting serve the same purpose for the initiated, and if this purpose does not strike the average visitor to the National Gallery as it strikes him in the British Museum, it is because the art of literature is infinitely more popularized than that of painting. An illustration not so accurate, but more tangible, perhaps, in this commercial age, would be afforded by the crude realization of Stephenson or Watts, and the modifications that have culminated in the latest "flying cosmopolitan" at Swindon or Crewe.

¹ This explains why this particular picture is common with so many others of the same period is a piece of church decoration.

Just a word or two about the British schools.¹ Except one sole picture of the reign of Charles I. they possess none that I could make out of an earlier date than the middle of the eighteenth century; and of the four hundred or so in number I could find but four the subject of which is in any way religious. Contrasted with the foreign schools this is suggestive. England is unquestionably rich in monuments of its former devotion to the Mother of God. Waterton's *Pietas Mariana Britannica* abounds with the most gratifying information on this score, and everybody that has not time to verify all that this learned and careful volume so circumstantially certifies to, needs only to pay a visit to Oxford to get an inkling of how vividly all is verifiable. This being so, it is pardonable to ask why is there not a single specimen of old English Catholic art—and by implication not a single old picture of our Lady—in the National Gallery? Had England no contemporaries in art with the pre-Reformation masters of the Continent; and, if not, why not? If she had, are their names preserved; and, if not, why not? If preserved, why not more generally known? Finally, are there any old English fresco or easel paintings extant; and, if so (and I believe there must be), why has not a place been found for them among the cherished national property in Trafalgar-square? If "Our Ladyes" were as numerous in the British, as "Madonnas" in the foreign schools, the silent grace of reflection would be occasioned in many sincere and earnest souls. As English hands would paint her, the Mother of the Word Incarnate would recall the "Merrie England" of their fathers, the England of the *Ave Maria* and the Convent bells, the England of chivalry in war, of plenty in peace. It is pleasant, indeed, to write in this strain until reflection—not altogether in angelic garb—comes and brings one back to the prosaic present. And yet it is not all prosaic; nor is it of unmixed sadness. Efforts not unstrengthened by God's

¹ There are but few Irish names among the British Masters; but they are very honoured names. They are William Mulready, Daniel Maclise, and Sir Martin Shee, who succeeded Sir Thomas Lawrence as President of the Royal Academy.

right arm are being made to win back her dower for our Lady, and with a measure of success, so far, that has lifted hope out of the region of the forlorn. While, unfortunately, antagonistic on many points, it is gratifying to feel that on this one, at all events, our Catholic people, irrespective of nationality, know but one purpose. I should become easily misunderstood if I followed up this thought; but, though Irish in every bone and fibre, I cannot forget that the Church and schools in many of the most crowded Irish quarters in England are mainly due to English Catholics who generously backed with their pounds the equally generous pence of the Irish poor. Surely I am no sycophant for hoping that union on this score will generate union in others also; that, though it do not, our differences will, at least, shed all their bitterness at the common shrine of "Our Lady of Peace"—a title of the Mother of our Lord that was not unknown to the heart of ancient England.

ANDREW DOOLEY.

VARIOUS CONFRATERNITIES AND CONDITIONS TO BE OBSERVED IN ERECTING THEM.

CONFRATERNITY OF THE HOLY ROSARY.

It is now practically certain that the Rosary owes its present form to St. Dominic. Before his time, it is true, many persons employed contrivances resembling our beads to enable them to reckon with greater facility the number of times they might repeat a certain prayer. But the prayers thus repeated were not fixed, any more than was the number of repetitions. In both these respects the piety or peculiar taste of each individual was left quite free. St. Dominic, instructed it is said by the Blessed Virgin herself, regulated what prayers should be repeated, the order in which they should be repeated, and the number of repetitions. And in addition to this, and to prevent the weariness caused by mere oral prayer, he selected the chief events in the history of our

Lord and His Blessed Mother to supply subjects for meditation during the recital of the prayers. It was while Dominic was engaged in trying to win back the Albigenian heretics that the Blessed Virgin is said to have taught him this form of prayer. She also exhorted him to preach and teach it everywhere, and promised that success would attend his efforts. Dominic promptly obeyed, and the Blessed Virgin was faithful to her promise ; for in a short time more than one hundred thousand of the fanatical and brutal Albigenians were received into the true Church.

Shortly after this, Dominic founded the Order of Friars Preachers, and wherever the brothers went they taught the people the beautiful prayer they had learned from their founder. Its simplicity, the excellence of the prayers of which it is composed, and above all, the wonderful graces which the recital of it procured, made it at once the most popular of devotions. And though it is now nearly seven hundred years since it was composed, it has not palled on the taste of the people, nor fallen into disuse, but is, on the contrary, more dear to the faithful, more universally practised by them, and more highly honoured and praised by the Church, and by her Infallible Head than ever it was before.

Confraternities of the Rosary are said to date from the time of St. Dominic himself. This much, at least, appears certain, that such confraternities came into existence before the end of the century (the thirteenth), in the beginning of which St. Dominic composed the Rosary.

Erection of a Confraternity.

A priest about to establish a confraternity of the Rosary first obtains the written approval of his bishop. In missionary countries such as ours, bishops can give their priest the necessary facilities for the canonical erection even of confraternities of the Rosary, without reference to the General of the Dominicans. The latter, however, must be approached, even in missionary countries, if a priest wishes the members of his confraternity to have a share in certain special favours and indulgences granted only to confraternities of the Rosary erected by Dominicans, or with the consent of their

General. In countries not under the care of Propaganda, the consent of the latter is necessary for the valid erection of one of these confraternities.

When necessary, then, the priest will forward his bishop's letter, approving of the erection of a confraternity of this title, to the General of the Dominicans, and having received his sanction, he will transmit it to the bishop for authentication. The bishop having replied to this communication, and having appointed a Director, the inauguration of the confraternity may take place at once.

The ceremony of erecting this confraternity consists merely in entering the names in a register. This, however, the Director himself should do, unless prevented by some cause. If he cannot do it himself, he should appoint someone, and should authenticate the register afterwards in the usual way.

Conditions for Gaining the Indulgences.

To gain all the indulgences belonging to this confraternity, besides having one's name entered in the register, it is necessary—(1) to have beads blessed by a priest having the Dominican faculties—these faculties, be it understood, are different from those obtained from the Propaganda, and can be had only from the General or Provincial of the Dominican Order; and (2) to say the fifteen decades of the Rosary each week. To fulfil this latter condition it is not necessary to say even a chaplet—that is, five decades—without interruption. The fifteen must be said within the seven days, but may be spread over the whole time, as best suits one's taste or convenience. To gain each separate indulgence, the special conditions for that indulgence must also be fulfilled.

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT.

This confraternity originated in Rome about the beginning of the sixteenth century. A few pious persons living near the Church of St. Mary *supra Minervam* agreed among themselves to practice a special devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament in this Church. They undertook, among other

things, to see that everything should be provided which outward respect for this Adorable Sacrament demanded. They looked after the perpetual lamp, the altar linens, the tabernacle, the sacred vessels—everything, in a word, necessary for the becoming celebration of the sacred mysteries, or the reverent safe-keeping of the Blessed Sacrament. The first founders of this practical form of devotion were soon joined by others; and at length, in 1539, Paul III. issued a Bull, in which he approved of the devotion, laid down rules for the guidance of the associates, and granted them important indulgences.

The original rules to be observed by the members of the confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament were substantially as follows:—

1. To be ever solicitous for the reverence due to the Blessed Sacrament, and to prove their solicitude by taking care that a lamp was kept continually burning before the tabernacle in which the Blessed Sacrament reposed, and that the altar was suitably ornamented.

2. When the resources of the Church were not sufficient for the above purposes, the associates were to provide, or at least assist in providing, the means in carrying them out.

3. They were to accompany the Blessed Sacrament when carried to the sick. This rule, however, regarded men alone, and them only when their compliance with it did not interfere with their duties. Woman associates, instead of accompanying the Blessed Sacrament, were to say a short prayer. It is hardly necessary to add, that this rule referred only to those Catholic countries where the Blessed Sacrament is carried publicly by a vested priest to the sick.

4. When any member of the confraternity fell sick, the Director or Parish Priest, accompanied by another member, was to visit him, and prepare him for the worthy reception of the last sacraments.

Each member of the confraternity was to say five *Paters* and *Aves* each week in honour of the Blessed Sacrament.

Such, in substance, were the chief rules of the original confraternity established in the Church of the Minerva, but each bishop may modify them to suit the circumstances of

his diocese, or of the particular church in which the confraternity is to be established.

Erection of a Confraternity.

When a priest wishes to establish a confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament in his parish or church, he must first obtain his bishop's approval, in writing, and also a copy of the rules which the bishop wishes the members to observe. Having done this he may at once proceed to enrol members; for this being one of the confraternities which require only episcopal sanction to confer on them all the privileges granted to the arch-confraternity, affiliation is altogether unnecessary. No ceremony is necessary for the reception of members; no formula is to be pronounced; the names are merely to be entered in the register, and even this may be done by anyone acting in the name of the Parish Priest or Director. The register is to be kept in the church, and the names of the members need not be sent anywhere. The only two essential points therefore are—1, the bishop's sanction; and 2, the entering of the names in the register.

CONFRATERNITY OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS.

The first confraternities of the Sacred Heart are said to have been established in England.¹ Father de la Colombière, the saintly director of the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, and after her the first to consecrate himself to devotion to the Sacred Heart, was sent by his superiors to labour in the English mission in the month of September, 1676. The extraordinary revelations made by our Lord to the holy nun had convinced her confessor of the power of this new devotion to appease God's anger, and to win the hearts of men. Accordingly in the new and dangerous field to which obedience obliged him to transfer his labours, he continually preached and taught this devotion, as St. Dominic had taught the devotion of the Rosary among the Albigensian heretics. In the journal of a spiritual retreat, made while in

¹ *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, 4th series, coll. 1235-66,

England, he writes in reference to this devotion: "Finishing this retreat full of confidence in the mercy of God, I have made a resolution to procure by every possible means the execution of what my divine Master has ordered for the accomplishment of His desires, touching the devotion which He has suggested to a person to whom He communicates Himself most confidently." Needless to say, he kept this resolution, and among the means by which he laboured to procure the execution of his Master's desire was the establishment of confraternities in honour of the Sacred Heart.¹

Similar confraternities were soon after established in France, the birthplace of the devotion to the Sacred Heart. From France they spread rapidly into other countries, so that between the years 1697 and 1726 the Holy See approved of no fewer than three hundred and ten confraternities of the Sacred Heart canonically established in different parts of the world.²

Later on, in 1801, the priests of the Congregation of St. Paul received permission from Cardinal de Somaglia, Vicar of Rome, to establish a confraternity of the Sacred Heart in the Church of St. Mary *ad Pineam* in that city. Two years afterwards it was made an arch-confraternity by a Brief of Pius VII., of Jan. 25, 1803. "This devotion spread so rapidly," writes Bouvier,³ "and the priests of the Congregation of St. Paul promoted it so zealously, that between 1803 and 1822 there were nineteen hundred and sixty-two aggregated confraternities. And how many others since then! An immense number of fervent souls form this great family. They are separated by space, but are all united by the bonds of an universal love in the Sacred Heart of Jesus."

Erection of a Confraternity.

A confraternity of the Sacred Heart may be established in every church and in every parish, it being one of those excepted from the regulation of Clement VIII., regarding distance.

In missionary countries the approbation of the Ordinary is alone required for the valid establishment of this as of all

¹ *Analecta, ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, 1237.

³ *Treatise on Indulgences.*

other confraternities. A priest, then, having obtained his bishop's permission, with a copy of the special statutes, may at once enrol the names of the members. Bouvier states that confraternities of the Sacred Heart, erected by bishops having the necessary faculties from the Holy See, do not enjoy to their full extent, without affiliation, the privileges accorded to those affiliated to the arch-confraternity in Rome. It may, however, be very legitimately inferred from a Rescript of the Propaganda, already frequently referred to, that confraternities erected in missionary countries, with the approval of the bishop of the place, enjoy all the privileges of affiliation, though not affiliated.

A priest having power to establish confraternities of the Sacred Heart, or to aggregate to the arch-confraternity, by merely taking down the names of persons wishing to become members, at once bestows on them all the privileges of membership. It would not seem to be necessary even to send on the names to the arch-confraternity, though it would be well to do so.¹

THE SCAPULAR OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

This scapular was first distributed by the Venerable Ursula Benincasia, foundress of the Theatine Sisters, to whom it is said to have been miraculously recommended by our divine Lord and His blessed Mother. On the Feast of the Purification, in the year 1617, we are told Ursula, being rapt in ecstasy, beheld our blessed Lady holding the divine Infant in her arms, and surrounded by an immense concourse of virgins, dressed as was our Lady herself, in white, and having on their shoulders mantles of blue. The Blessed Virgin, speaking to her devout client, said: "Courage, Ursula, cease weeping; let your sighs be changed into accents of joy; listen attentively to the words which my Jesus, and thine, who reclines on my breast, will address to you." Our divine Lord, in turn, spoke to Ursula, saying: "I desire that you will build a hermitage in which thirty virgins shall live according to the rule of the hermits, under the title of the *Immaculate Conception*, and clothed as is My

¹ Maurel.

Mother. I promise to grant special graces and spiritual gifts in abundance to those who embrace this manner of life, and fulfil all that shall be prescribed for them in that holy asylum."

Ursula, notwithstanding the great joy which inundated her soul at this heavenly vision, and at the sweet voices of the divine Infant and His Mother, felt grieved that those favours should be granted to so few. She, therefore, made bold to ask our Lord to extend them to all who should wear the little blue scapular, observe chastity according to their state, and have a special devotion to the Holy Virgin conceived without sin. Ursula understood that her prayer was granted, for immediately she saw multitudes of angels distributing the blue scapular throughout all parts of the earth.

Ursula lost no time in having scapulars made, which she herself distributed, having, however, had them previously blessed by a priest. The number of those anxious to be vested in this new habit of the Sinless Virgin increased from day to day. The devotion was well received by the ecclesiastical authorities, and many indulgences accorded to it by the Sovereign Pontiffs. The Theatine Fathers, by whom the Order founded by St. Ursula is governed, were granted the privilege of blessing and conferring the blue scapular. Their General, however, by virtue of special powers granted to him by Pius IX.,¹ can delegate this faculty to other priests whether secular or regular. The faculties given by Propaganda to bishops and priests in countries under their charge include the faculties necessary for investing with this scapular. As the wearers of the blue scapular do not constitute a confraternity,² no registration of names is required.³

This scapular consists of two pieces of woollen cloth, of a sky-blue, or azure colour. The colour or material of the strings is of no importance. The scapular must be worn, like all scapulars, round the neck, one end being on the breast, the other between the shoulders.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ Sept. 9, 1851.

² S. Ind. Cong., Apr. 27, 1887, *ad.* 5.

³ Maurel, who states that, though the Theatines themselves enter the names of those who receive the blue scapular from them, they do not consider it necessary.

Theological Questions.

A MARRIAGE QUESTION.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly answer in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD the following marriage question ?

"John — and Mary — went to service in St. Peter's parish, and there acquired a quasi-domicile. They are both over twenty-one years of age, and make arrangements to get married, taking a house to live in after their marriage in the same parish (St. Peter's). Their parents live in St. John's parish, where they go and get married without the permission of the parish priest of St. Peter's or his ordinary. Is the marriage valid ? The only difference between a quasi-domicile and a domicile is in the intention in the one case of for a notable time, and in the other of permanently dwelling in a place. These parties change their intention of temporary residence into that of permanent residence. Their quasi-domicile consequently becomes a domicile from the moment such change of intention takes place, even before they enter the new house. What say you on the question of validity of this marriage ? Yours, &c.,

"SACERDOS."

A person might argue that the marriage of John and Mary was invalid ; that they had lost their parental domicile ; that the quasi-domicile which they had had in the parish of their service became a domicile when they purchased a home there, intending to reside in the parish permanently in future. Nevertheless, we consider that the marriage was valid, because—

I. Even supposing that they had acquired a *domicile* in the parish of their service, in St. Peter's, it does not follow that they had lost their parental domicile. A person may have two domiciles. It seems pretty clear that John and Mary still regarded their parental homes as real homes to them ; that they were not mere visitors at home ; and that their connection with the homes of their parents was to be severed only through the actual celebration of marriage. Hence their marriage would be valid even if they had acquired a domicile in St. Peter's parish.

II. But, moreover, we believe that they had not acquired a *domicile* in St. Peter's parish before the celebration of their marriage. The difficulty against this view is this: When John and Mary went to service in St. Peter's, they acquired a *fixed habitation* in the parish; in the beginning they had the *intention* sufficient for a quasi-domicile; but when, intending to get married, they purchased a house for themselves, they changed their intention of temporary residence into an intention of permanent residence; hence it would appear that, prior to the marriage, they had acquired a domicile in the parish of their service.

We think, however, that they had not acquired a *domicile* in St. Peter's parish prior to the celebration of their marriage. We do not argue from the change of residence. If they had had the *intention* of permanently residing in the parish prior to their withdrawal from the house of their employer, they would have acquired a domicile; because they would have commenced residence in *some* fixed abode in the parish (in their master's), and they would have had the intention of permanently residing in *some* fixed abode in the parish. We argue, therefore, from the absence of the intention, which is necessary for domicile. Intention, we must remember, is internal. Moreover, people do not formally express their intention; they do not always say: "I wish to reside permanently in this parish," or "I wish to reside in this parish for the greater part of a year;" hence we must try and determine a person's intention from his external acts and from the nature of his case. Now John and Mary must have had some intention of continuing to reside in St. Peter's parish, as they purchased a house there. But we contend that, from the very nature of the case, the intention was only conditional, and therefore insufficient for acquiring a domicile prior to the celebration of the marriage. We contend that the intention of dwelling in their new house, and of continuing to reside in St. Peter's parish was dependent on their marriage; and that if the marriage were frustrated they would not inhabit the newly purchased house, nor perhaps again revisit the parish. How then could it be said

that they had an absolute intention of permanently residing in St. Peter's? We conclude, therefore, that it was only through their marriage the quasi-domicile in St. Peter's was changed into a domicile; that they retained their paternal domicile up to the time of their marriage; and that they have been validly married.

D. COGHLAN.

Liturgical Questions.

INTENTIONS FOR THE DIVINE OFFICE—THE POPE'S DEBT.

"Expressions in the mouth of a priest such as: '*There, I have again discharged the Pope's debt,*' have given rise to controversy and difference of opinion amongst priests concerning the obligation to recite the Divine Office for the intentions of the Pope, or of the Church. In our handbooks on theology, treating on the subject, we find no express obligation laid down. The prayer "*Domine in unione,*" &c. (before Office) is not explicit enough to settle a dispute, and only here and there, in such works as those of Lacroix, Gobat, Sporer, &c., do we find the question broached. I have not Gobat or Sporer, and in Lacroix I find the question very cursorily touched.

"May I ask you, in the interests of so many concerned, a double question:—

"Firstly, is it optional for a cleric, bound to the Divine Office, to recite it for any *private* intention.

"Secondly, if in the affirmative, does a choral recitation (*persolutio in choro*), impose any obligation to offer it for the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff, or for the wants of the Church, &c.?

"You may find it necessary to state clearly what constitutes a *private* or *public* recitation, especially as there appears some difference of definition amongst authors. If so, so much the better for a lucid understanding of the whole question.—I remain, very Rev. and dear Sir, yours faithfully. U. E. U."

To our correspondent's first question we reply: Yes, quite lawful for one bound merely to the private recitation

the Divine Office to recite it for any special intention. Nay, more, not only is it lawful for him to have such an intention, but he is earnestly recommended by many ascetical writers always to recite the Office with the intention of gaining some special favour for himself or others. Thus writes Bacquez :—

“ The character of public ambassador which the priest assumes whilst engaged in this function does not deprive him of the individuality of his action. He can always merit for himself ; he can always join to his prayer a personal intention, and thus apply it in a special manner to his own wants, or to the wants of those who are dear to him. . . And if charity leads him to pray specially for some particular souls, or to join in his prayer the interests of others, what influence with God shall there not be found in the intercession of a man accustomed so often to approach Him, and speak to Him as it were heart to heart ?”¹

The theologians are here in agreement with the ascetics, though some of them attempt to make distinctions, which, however, have no foundation outside their own minds.

To the second question practically the same reply may be given. Beneficed clergymen bound to recite the Office in choir are, however, less free in this matter than others. It would be wrong for them to desire to apply the whole fruit of the Office to an individual ; for their obligation regarding the Office arises not merely from obedience, as in the case of others, but also from justice. They are, therefore, so to speak, the paid officials of the Church, and are consequently bound to discharge for the Church the duty of public worship which she owns to God, and also the duty of intercession and satisfaction, which she owes to her members generally. Hence, clergymen who enjoy a benefice on account of which they are obliged to the choral recitation of the Divine Office must give their suffrages to the Church, to be applied according to her intention. But, notwithstanding this, even these clergy may have a private intention, and may apply the fruits of their Office to themselves or others, in so far as they can without violating their obligations to the

¹ *The Divine Office*, translated by the Rev. E. L. Taunton, Book I., chapter 2.

Church. Thus Sporer, speaking of the intention which a beneficed clergyman should form, says: "*Quare licite et laudabiliter dices. Domine Deus hanc recitationem Officii offero quoad possum pro hoc particulari homine pro anima.*" These words are taken almost literally by Sporer from Gobat, and are quoted by other theologians as well.

The application of the fruits of the Divine Office would seem to be, as indeed it ought to be, analogous to the application of the fruits of the Mass. The priest celebrating the Most Holy Sacrifice acts as the representative of the Church, and necessarily applies to the members of the Church the general fruits of the Mass; nevertheless he can always apply what are called the *special fruits* to this or that individual, or can offer them for this or that intention. Now, it would appear to be indisputable that even a beneficed clergyman, bound to attendance in choir, has at least as much power, and as much right to make special application of part of the fruits accruing from the recital of the Divine Office, as the celebrant has regarding the special fruits of the Mass.

It should be distinctly understood that the intention of which we have spoken is not required for *validly* reciting the Office. The only intention necessary for the mere discharge of the obligation is implied in taking up one's breviary for the purpose of reading the Office. And even beneficiaries are not obliged to make any formal or explicit application.

The phrase to which our correspondent calls attention has always sounded harshly in our ears. It seems to lower very much the idea of the Divine Office; for it implies that in reciting the Office the cleric merely discharges an obligation imposed by the ecclesiastical authorities; whereas, in point of fact, apart altogether from the law of the Church, he engages in the most sublime and most fruitful form of prayer.

We have now answered our correspondent's questions, and we hope to his satisfaction, and have *not* found it necessary to define what is meant by *private*, what by *public* recital of the Office. To satisfy his curiosity, we may, however, state that by public recital is understood the recital in

choir by those who are bound to choir by reason of benefices. All other recital, whether in choir or out of it, whether by a single individual or by a number, *per modum chori*, is private.

Correspondence.

THE O'CURRY MSS.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I feel I owe a word of answer to the comment with which the Most Rev. Dr. Woodlock has honoured a statement of mine in the I. E. RECORD for November last. I said there that a MS. *Glossary* made by O'Curry had been supposed to be lost, until recently discovered in Clonliffe library.

"Immediately before this statement I had been going over the names and work of the leading Irish scholars of to-day, and I think I am right in saying that a reader of the paragraph would take as the meaning of my statement as to the MSS., that the whereabouts of this valuable work had been, until recently, unknown to Irish scholars. It was in January last that, through the courtesy of Very Rev. Canon Fitzpatrick, I took Dr. Kuno Meyer to see the *Glossary*. Dr. Meyer has been a worker in Irish literature for fifteen years, and has been in touch with the other Celtic scholars, and he never had heard of the whereabouts of this *Glossary*. As he said, its discovery was a revelation to him. And perhaps the best proof that it was a revelation to Irish scholars generally is, that, a fortnight afterwards, Dr. Whitley Stokes offered to publish the *Glossary* at his own expense. This is a most generous offer, for the publication of the huge collections of O'Curry would cost a very large sum.

"I think, then, that the word 'discovered' is not too strong. It is only right to add that the *Glossary*, and the other MSS. of O'Curry, are as safe in Clonliffe as they would be in the Royal Irish Academy, and perhaps safer. I trust, however, that the Most Rev. Dr. Woodlock's interest in them may lead to their examination and publication.—Very respectfully,

"EUGENE GROWNEY."

FAST DAYS.

"VERY REV. SIR,—The very practical letter of "Cassiliensis" on the above subject, in your December issue, tempts me to make a suggestion, if, indeed, I may do so without impertinence.

"It is that, in order to avoid these oft-recurring and very embarrassing difficulties as to where certain customs prevail to the abrogation of the general law, our bishops would be pleased to frame and issue *one fixed indulgence for the whole of Ireland*, parish priests and confessors being left, as usual, free to deal with individual cases.

"As an argument in favour of this proposal, I may advance that the laity are very much astonished (to use no stronger phrase) at the wide differences which exist. These are at all times observable, especially in border parishes—as where, for instance, meat is allowed on Spy Wednesday in one diocese, but prohibited in the adjoining one. But the climax was reached last Lent, during the influenza epidemic, when in one diocese there was *no Lent at all*, and in its neighbour *no relaxation at all*.

"I suppose I shall be answered, that it depends altogether on the will of the bishops; but, surely, we would be doing them an injustice in assuming that they had no better principle to guide them than mere arbitrariness. Again, it may be argued that laws are framed differently for different places and peoples; and this, of course, I hold to be both wise and reasonable. Thus can conceive one Lenten law for France, and another for Germany; or even one for England, and another for Ireland; because, notwithstanding the 'union of hearts,' we differ essentially; but, surely, there can be no great difference between Irishmen in Donegal and in Cork, still less between Cork and Cloyne. I would, therefore, venture to express a hope that before next Lent comes on something may be done towards this much-to-be-desired unity of practice.

"And, as I speak of unity, might I here bring in just one other point on which it is greatly to be wished for; namely, the limitation of the Paschal or Easter time. In some dioceses it ends on Ascension Day, in others not until the Octave day of SS. Peter and Paul, as, no doubt, children have been not a little puzzled to observe when learning their Catechism. Would it not be well to strike the happy mean, and adopt *the Church's own date*, viz.,

Trinity Sunday? Experience, I think, teaches that the more it is prolonged the more careless are the faithful in observing it. Yours in Christ.

“CLOYNENSIS.”

TEMPERANCE IN COUNTRY PARTS.

His Grace, the Most Rev. Dr. Ireland, is President of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of the United States. He is the most pronounced teetotaler in America, as well as one of the best friends of the Irish immigrant; and has been both for many a long day. On a recent occasion, writing on *Father Mathew's Work*, he calls out appealingly to Father Mathew's countrymen. “Total Abstinence in Ireland,” he says, “is total abstinence across oceans, and over continents. And total abstinence in Ireland is to be had for the asking. God has not created a people more docile to their spiritual leaders than the children of St. Patrick.”¹

I wish to point out that temperance in Ireland—at least in the country parts—is to be had for the asking; and I am going to show how it was done, as a suggestion to others who are good and earnest, how they may go about it, leaving to themselves to improve upon it.

Shortly after Father Cullen, S.J., became the central organizer of the Apostleship of Prayer, and, as a means of furthering the interests of the Sacred Heart had established *The Irish Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, the present writer had a conversation with him. Knowing well Father Cullen's life-long devotion to the cause of temperance, and knowing what power to push forward his favourite doctrine he possessed in his position as head of the Apostleship of Prayer in Ireland, and editor of a religious magazine, the question at once came under discussion. He was waiting merely to obtain a certain circulation,² and then, with all his heart and soul, he would throw himself into the work. That time came, and he kept his word.

Father Cullen's method of meeting the grave and crying evil of intemperance, I believe to be the best adapted to the Irish temperament. His idea is—make a sacrifice for the love of God, and the good of your neighbour. It does not matter whether you are a drinking person or not. Drunkenness is a sin against

¹ See October Number (1890) of *Catholic World*.

² Price of Magazine, One Penny.—Office, 5, Gt. Denmark-st., Dublin.

God ; God is offended ; so come, and be on God's side ; make a sacrifice for God's sake ; make reparation for the injury done Him ; you do a thing pleasing to God, and the anger of God will be appeased.

This idea of sacrifice for the love of God, and sacrifice on this particular point, has been put forward, month after month, in the little journal of the Sacred Heart, with pathos, with piety, and with (thank God) conviction and success.

Undoubtedly, one of the greatest helps to the introduction of temperance into a parish is the spread of this little journal, as advocating the cause of temperance. It would be well—but this is not directly on the subject—to try and establish the devotion to the Sacred Heart. The spirit of that devotion is a spirit of sacrifice ; and the people, being imbued with that spirit, will more readily listen to the pleadings for sacrifice in favour of temperance ; especially, when they are asked to do so because of their love of the Sacred Heart.

With the aid of one or two promoters, and with a few simple exhortations from the altar, two hundred numbers or so became circulated through the parish. From time to time, attention was called to what Father Cullen mentioned or recommended in *The Messenger*. It became more serious in the eyes of the people when it was read to them at Mass out of a book ; and when they went home they looked at it, and read it over ; and it thus became much more impressed on their minds, and had much greater effect on their way of thinking, than if they had but cursorily read it over themselves. The opinions of the eminent doctors, given in the little journal, had the greatest weight ; and the minds and hearts of the people were moved by the simple letters and pathetic appeals that appeared from correspondents who were suffering from the misery of drink in their houses.

Proceeding, then, on Father Cullen's lines, there began to be talk about taking the pledge, making a sacrifice for the love of the Sacred Heart ; and on the part of those whose business or habits of life would not permit them to take the total abstinence pledge, that they would, at least, confine themselves strictly to a very limited quantity—to two drinks in the day, when occasion would necessitate it, and on no account to go beyond that.

The next thing was to give this good feeling outward figure and shape. I confess there was at this point a good deal of hesitation. Up to this it was all talk ; at best it was but preparation,

A body was free to go on, or retire, or stand still, whichever a body liked, because as yet there was no committing of oneself to any definite thing. But now a move was to be made, when one had to come out from covert, and to take up position in the open ; and then, if failure came, there was no covering a retreat ; and the cause would have suffered rather than gained. It was, therefore, after a good deal of weighing and considering, that the following plan was adopted :—

I had seen children, over and over again, sell bazaar tickets. I saw that they were not ashamed to challenge anyone ; that no one resented their importunity ; and that they succeeded where others, in all probability, would have failed. This was a lesson to me. I shall ask the little children, I said, to be young apostles of temperance. Very few, if any, will refuse them ; and the canvassing will have the effect of making the little pets stauncher abstainers themselves more than any amount of lecturing could do. I went to the schools. I asked for volunteers. Both boys and girls, of the adult classes, readily entered into the spirit of the movement ; they would be teetotalers themselves, and would cheerfully, for the sake of the Sacred Heart, enrol others. Prizes were promised to the first who would bring in a list of fifteen names, to the second, the third, and so on, and hand them to the teachers. Next morning there was a race to the school with their lists ; one boy met myself on the road with a list of seventeen ; and a little girl with a list of twenty-three. We began the first day with something over a hundred. A gross of medals were at once ordered. For those who took the total abstinence pledge for twelve months we attached a green ribbon to the medal ; for those who “ limited themselves ” to two drinks, a red ribbon was provided. Ribbon, fastening-pin, and medal, all sold for three-pence. In come the children, their slips of papers full of names, and their little hands full of money for the medals. It was a sight to make a man happy, to see the gravity and business-like manner of these dear children ; one could barely muster words to say : — “ God bless them ! God bless them ! ” A second gross of medals was ordered, and they went ; a third was ordered, and it did not do ; a fourth is now on its way to extinction ; and the poor children did it all.

In conjunction with the broad parish temperance movement, a club-room was started for the men and boys of the little village and the surrounding district. This, again, was attempted only

after great hesitation. The difficulty was manifold: where to get a suitable room or set of rooms; who to take care of it; should a coffee-room be started with it? would it be attended? would it last. All these difficulties kept waving me back, and I was all but literally forced into it.

I spoke hesitatingly to a few; and though they returned words of hope, I still had misgivings. At last a preliminary meeting was called. It was explained to them what was intended—I must say, not, indeed, with a great deal of detail, for as yet the plan did not exist in my own mind in form and detail. To cover my own weakness, I said, with diplomacy, that a great deal would depend on the number that would join; and then and there members were invited to join. I may say, at the outset, that we invited no one but the labouring people and artisans. Boys were to be admitted from once they began to work as employed hands, and to earn for themselves. Children going to school were excluded.

The first night we got thirty-seven to join. I thought we would not have got beyond thirty permanent members; and with thirty I was willing to make a venture. Before we broke up we elected officers, formed a committee, engaged a house, and gave orders for furniture. Next Sunday night we were to enter on our own new premises, and receive contributions.

The contribution or subscription was a thing that, because of the poor people, I was anxious to keep as low as possible; and I therefore suggested one penny a-week. "Two pence," "two pence," was cried out by several; and while I was demurring, one young man proposed that it be sixpence a month; *i.e.*, about $1\frac{1}{4}d.$ a-week. This I agreed to, pointing out to some of the men, whom I knew well, that it was only three bottles of porter for the whole month, and that we would guarantee to give better value for the money.

There was one thing on the very first night that we had a short, but serious (and, I believe, valuable) dispute about. One of the conditions of the two-drink pledge was, that no drink was to be taken in any of the public-houses in our village, or in any of the premises near or about these public-houses. I note this, because I found it a very useful, if not the most useful, regulation in the whole programme. They at once gave me precedent where, if a man were free to take two drinks, he might take it in his own village. I saw that Sunday was the only day that the men or boys of the neighbourhood took drink in the village public-

houses, and I felt that if I had secured Sunday, I had virtually secured total abstinence. In this matter, I think that cities and country places stand on different footing. Country people never think of going into a public-house ordinarily on a week day; in fact, there is a silent public opinion against the matter; the man that would do it would be looked upon as having an insatiable thirst for it—to use their own language—“give him up; he is gone.” In cities, the shop is next door: people turn in at any moment of the day, week-day as well as Sunday; and there is no such feeling about it as there is in the country. In this way I regard country places as different from towns.

Finding myself cornered by the precedent they laid down, and also by the expression of their opinion, which one man voiced by saying, “We are all for it, Father,” to which I answered, “All right; but I’m against it, Johnnie,” I had to give some reason for my action; and the best argument that came into my head at the moment was this:—“I would be wrong, if I asked of you anything that was unreasonable. Now, suppose a man was going a journey of a Sunday—suppose to such a town (nine or ten miles away), or to such a town (twelve or fifteen miles away)—and suppose he wanted to eat or drink, I would be unreasonable if I wanted to prevent that man from taking a drink, where he had leave to take two. But here at home, you walk out, and go to Mass, and return again. Now, is it not the height of selfishness and indulgence for that man to go into a public-house, and drink his porter or ale?” “Oh! begor, very well so, as your Reverence is *agin* it, we won’t, boys; we won’t.” Chorus, “We won’t.” That settled the matter. The boys and men have kept to it religiously. This very day, as I write, a meeting was held in our village; and some of the sports were held in a field of one of the publicans (*entre nous*, the publicans are at the bottom of sports and meetings); and the sergeant of the police has just told me that he or the men didn’t see one of the boys of the neighbourhood go into the public-house, or into any one in the village. The members themselves keep watch on one another. Three or four of them of the same townland have a suspicion that one or two are thinking of backsliding; they at once set a watch on them; the others, in turn, begin to suspect, and, willingly or unwillingly, keep straight. The games, then, of the house meet that longing for novelty and association and amusement that was the prime cause in other days of attracting them to the public-house.

At our first meeting we invited those who were able to pay a two-months', a quarterly, a half-yearly, or a yearly subscription, according as it was convenient. So many new members had given in their names during the first week, and so generously did all subscribe, that we were able to pay for the amount of furniture we had ordered, as well as clear off all such little debts as lamps, oil, games, papers, &c. Playing-cards is the game most sought after—each pack of cards engaging six persons; it is apparent that cards give the largest enjoyment with the least expense. At the beginning, I said that I wished that they would not play for any stake higher than a penny. "Oh! no, your Reverence, we never play higher than a halfpenny a man."

In the third week, we were neck-and-neck with a hundred. In the fourth week we got to about one hundred and twenty, and we have reached a maximum of between one hundred and thirty and a hundred and forty. Count on one hundred and twenty steady members, at 6*d.* per month, that is £3 a month. Now our expenses are—house rent, 5*s.* a month; oil, about 5*s.* a month; playing-cards, about 5*s.* a month; and during the winter months, coal has to be added. We get the daily papers, three or four weekly ones—all of which we get re-bought at very nearly half-cost; and friends supply us with numbers of the picture papers, such as *The Graphic*, *The Illustrated News*, &c. The members seem quite happy, and enjoy themselves as gaily as children. I thought, at first, that my presence would be required there continually; not at all; that was another of the bug-bears that frightened me. It is not far from the Presbytery, and I manage to call in every night, as a rule; but I see no necessity for so doing; at the same that I regard it as useful.

I have to make a confession. I thought I knew the country parts as well as anyone, and I would have flatly contradicted anybody that told me there was need (not to say pressing need) for a temperance association there; in common phrase "I would have run my finger into his eye." I was wrong; I see it now. How did I come to see it? Fathers and mothers, and brothers and friends, blessing the movement, speaking of peace and happiness where they had not been, and begging of the God of mercy and of domestic peace to bless and preserve the movement, and to give it staying power to continue and to prosper.

A COUNTRY PRIEST.

Documents.

EXORCISMUS IN SATANAM ET ANGELOS APOSTATICOS IUSSU
LEONIS XIII. P. M. EDITUS.

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Exsurgat Deus, et dissipentur inimici eius : et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie eius.

Sicut deficit fumus, deficiant ; sicut fluit cera a facie ignis, sic pereant peccatores a facie Dei. (Ps. lxxvii.)

Iudica, Domine, nocentes me ; expugna impugnantes me.

Confundantur et revereantur quaerentes animam meam.

Avertantur retrorsum, et confundantur cogitantes mihi mala.

Fiant tamquam pulvis ante faciem venti : et angelus Domini coarctans eos.

Fiat via illorum tenebrae, et lubricum : et angelus Domini persequens eos.

Quoniam gratis absconderunt mihi interitum laquei sui : super-vacue exprobraverunt animam meam.

Veniat illi laqueus quem ignorat ; et captio quam abscondit, apprehendat eum : et in laqueum cadat in ipsum.

Anima autem mea exsultabit in Domino : et delectabitur super salutari suo. (Ps. xxxiv.)

Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto :

Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

AD S. MICHAELM ARCHANGELUM,
PRECATIO.

Princeps gloriosissime caelestis militiae, sancte Michael Archangele, defende nos in praelio et colluctatione, quae nobis est adversus principes et potestates, adversus mundi rectores tenebrarum harum, contra spiritualia nequitiae, in caelestibus. (Ephes. vi.) Veni in auxilium hominum ; quos Deus creavit inexterminabiles, et ad imaginem similitudinis suae fecit, et a tyrannide diaboli emit pretio magno. (Sap. ii., 1 Cor. vi.) Praeliare hodie cum beatorum Angelorum exercitu praelia Domini, sicut pugnasti olim contra ducem superbiae luciferum, et angelos eius apostaticos ; et non valuerunt, neque locus inventus est eorum amplius in caelo. Sed proiectus est draco ille magnus, serpens antiquus, qui vocatur diabolus et satanas, qui seducit universum orbem ; et proiectus est in terram, et angeli eius cum illo missi sunt. (Apoc. xii.) En

antiquus inimicus et *homicida* vehementer erectus est. Transfiguratus in angelum lucis, cum tota malignorum spirituum caterva late circuit et invadit terram, ut in ea deleat nomen Dei et Christi eius, animasque ad aeternae gloriae coronam destinatas furetur, mactet ac perdat in sempiternum interitum. Virus nequitiae suae, tamquam flumen immundissimum, draco maleficus transfundit in homines depravatos mente et corruptos corde; spiritum mendacii, impietatis et blasphemiae; halitumque mortiferum luxuriae, vitiorum omnium et iniquitatum. Ecclesiam, Agni immaculati sponsam, vaferrimi hostes repleverunt amaritudinibus, inebriarunt absinthio; ad omnia desiderabilia eius impias miserunt manus. Ubi sedes beatissimi Petri et Cathedra veritatis ad lucem gentium constituta est ibi thronum posuerunt abominationis impietatis suae; ut percusso Pastore, et gregem disperdere valeant. Adesto itaque, Dux invictissime, populo Dei contra irrumpentes spirituales nequitias, et fac victoriam. Te custodem et patronum sancta veneratur Ecclesia; te gloriatur defensore adversus terrestrium et infernorum nefarias potestates; tibi tradidit Dominus animas redemptorum in superna felicitate locandas. Deprecare Deum pacis, ut conterat satanam sub pedibus nostris, ne ultra valeat captivos tenere homines, et Ecclesiae nocere. Offer nostras preces in conspectu Altissimi, ut cito anticipent nos misericordiae Domini, et apprehendas draconem, serpentem antiquum, qui est diabolus et satanas, ac ligatum mittas in abyssum, *ut non seducat amplius gentes.* (Apoc. xx.)

Hinc tuo confisi praesidio ac tutela, sacra ministerii nostri auctoritate, ad infestationes diabolicae fraudis repellendas in nomine Iesu Christi Dei et Domini nostri fidentis et securi aggredimur.

V. Ecce Crucem Domini, fugite partes adversae.

R. Vicit Leo de tribu Iuda, radix David.

V. Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos.

R. Quemadmodum speravimus in te.

V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

OREMUS.

Deus, et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, invocamus nomen sanctum tuum, et clementiam tuam supplices exposcimus ut, per intercessionem immaculatae semper virginis Dei genitricis Mariae

beati Michaelis Archangeli, beati Ioseph eiusdem beatæ Virginis Sponsi, beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et omnium Sanctorum, adversus satanam, omnesque alios immundos spiritus, qui ad nocendum humano generi animasque perdendas pervagantur in mundo, nobis auxilium præstare digneris. Per eundem Christum Dominum Nostrum. Amen.

EXORCISMUS.

Exorcizamus te, omnis immunde spiritus, omnis satanica potestas, omnis incursio infernalis adversarii, omnis legio, omnis congregatio et secta diabolica, in nomine et virtute Domini nostri Iesu ✠ Christi, eradicare et effugare a Dei Ecclesia, ab animabus ad imaginem Dei conditis ac pretioso divini Agni sanguine redemptis ✠. Non ultra audeas, serpens callidissime, decipere humanum genus, Dei Ecclesiam persequi, ac Dei electos exoutere et cribrare sicut triticum ✠. Imperat tibi Deus altissimus ✠, cui in magna tua superbia te similem haberi adhuc præsumis; *qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire.* (1 Tim. ii.) Imperat tibi Deus Pater ✠; imperat tibi Deus Filius ✠; imperat tibi Deus Spiritus Sanctus ✠. Imperat tibi maiestas Christi, æternum Dei Verbum caro factum ✠, qui pro salute generis nostri tua invidia perditum, *humiliavit semetipsum factus obediens usque ad mortem* (Phil. ii.); qui Ecclesiam suam aedificavit supra firmam petram, et portas inferi adversus eam nunquam esse praevalituras edixit, cum ea ipse permansurus *omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi.* (Matt. xxviii. 20.) Imperat tibi sacramentum Crucis ✠, omniumque christianæ fidei Mystericrum virtus ✠. Imperat tibi excelsa Dei Genitrix Virgo Maria ✠, quæ superbissimum caput tuum a primo instanti immaculatae suae conceptionis in sua humilitate contrivit. Imperat tibi fides sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et ceterorum Apostolorum ✠. Imperat tibi Martyrum sanguis, ac pia Sanctorum et Sanctarum omnium intercessio ✠.

Ergo, draco maledicte et omnis legio diabolica, adiuramus te per Deum ✠ vivum, per Deum verum, per Deum ✠ sanctum per Deum qui *sic . . . dilexit mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam* (Io. iii.): cessa decipere humanas creaturas, eisque æternæ perditionis venenum propinare: desine Ecclesiae nocere, et eius libertati laqueos iniicere. Vade satana, inventor et magister omnis fallaciae, hostis humanæ salutis. Da locum Christo, in quo nihil invenisti de operibus tuis; da locum Ecclesiae uni, sanctae, catholicae, et Apostolicae, quam Christus ipse acquisivit

sanguine suo. Humiliare sub potenti manu Dei; contremisce et effuge, invocato a nobis sancto et terribili nomine IESU, quem inferi tremunt, cui Virtutes caelorum et Potestates et Dominationes subiectae sunt; quem Cherubim et Seraphim indefessis vocibus laudant, dicentes: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth.

V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

OREMUS.

Deus caeli, Deus terrae, Deus Angelorum, Deus Archangelorum, Deus Patriarcharum, Deus Prophetarum, Deus Apostolorum, Deus Martyrum, Deus Confessorum, Deus Virginum, Deus qui potestatem habes donare vitam post mortem, requiem post laborem; quia non est Deus praeter te, nec esse potest nisi tu creator omnium visibilium et invisibilium, cuius regni non erit finis: humiliter maiestati gloriae tuae supplicamus, ut ab omni infernalium spirituum potestate, laqueo, deceptione et nequitia nos potenter liberare, et incolumes custodire digneris. Per Christum Dominum Nostrum. Amen.

Ab insidiis diaboli, libera nos, Domine.

Ut Ecclesiam tuam secunda tibi facias libertate servire; Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut inimicos sanctae Ecclesiae humiliare digneris; Te rogamus, audi nos.

(Et aspergatur locus aqua benedicta.)

ADDITION TO THE UNIVERSAL CALENDAR OF THE FEASTS OF
S. JOHN DAMASCENE, DOCTOR (27TH MARCH); S. SILVESTER,
ABBOT (26TH NOVEMBER); AND S. JOHN OF CAPISTRANI,
CONFESSOR (28TH MARCH).

ADDITION TO THE 6TH LESSON OF THE OFFICE OF THE
SACRED HEART.

DECRETUM URBIS ET ORBIS.

Quod iam pridem erat in votis Christifidelium Catholici Orbis, ut celebraretur ubique memoria Sanctorum Confessorum Ioannis Damasceni, Silvestri Abbatis et Ioannis a Capistrano, quorum primus pro ea qua inclaruit praestantia doctrinae, alteri pro apostolicis operibus, quibus animarum saluti profuerunt, Ecclesiam Dei mirifice illustrarunt; id nostra hac aetate plurimum

sacrorum Antistitum, ac Virorum dignitate insignium ingeminatis precibus a Romana Sede enixius postulatum est.

Hinc eiusmodi supplicibus votis libenter obsecundans Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII rem omnem commissam voluit maturo examini et iudicio Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis; quae in Ordinario Coetu coadunata, audito voce et scripto R. P. D. Augustino Caprara Sanctae Fidei Promotore, petitam Festorum extensionem ad universalem Ecclesiam ita concedi posse censuit, nimirum ut de S. Ioanne Damasceno Confessore fiat die XXVII Martii sub ritu duplici minori, addita *Doctoris* qualitate; de S. Silvestro Abbate, die XXVI Novembris sub eodem ritu; ac demum de S. Ioanne a Capistrano Confessore agatur die XXVIII Martii sub ritu semiduplici. Respectiva tamen Officia cum Missis de enuntiatis Sanctorum Festis, cura ipsius Sacrae Congregationis quantocius fieri possit edenda, anno millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo secundo ab omnibus qui e Clero tam Saeculari quam Regulari ad Horas Canonicas tenentur, in posterum recitanda sunt: servatis Rubricis.

Insuper iidem Emi ac Rmi Patres sacris tuendis Ritibus Praepositi decernendum putarunt, ut sexta lectio Officii de Sacratissimo Corde Iesu cuius Festum ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro ad ritum Duplicis primae classis anno superiore pro universa Ecclesia evectum est, deinceps ita concludatur, videlicet:

“Quam caritatem Christi patientis et pro generis humani redemptione morientis, atque in suae mortis commemorationem instituentis sacramentum corporis et sanguinis sui, ut fideles sub sanctissimi Cordis symbolo devotius ac ferventius recolant, eiusdemque fructus uberius percipiant, Clemens Decimus tertius *ipsius sacratissimi Cordis festum nonnullis Ecclesiis celebrare concessit, Pius Nonus ad universam extendit Ecclesiam, ac denique Summus Pontifex Leo Decimus tertius, orbis catholici votis obsecundans, ad ritum Duplicis primae classis evexit.*”

Sanctitas porro Sua, relationem mei infrascripti Cardinalis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecti, sententiam ipsius Sacrae Congregationis in omnibus ratam habens et confirmans, memorata tria Festa sub enuntiato ritu statisque diebus ad universam Ecclesiam extendit, simulque praefatam additionem ad calcem supradictae lectionis in Officio Sacri Cordis Iesu approbare dignata est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die XIX Augusti MDCCCXC.

CAIETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S. R. C. Praefectus*.
L. ♣ S. VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *S. R. C. Secretarius*.

Notices of Books.

JOHN MACHALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM: HIS LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE. Two Vols. By Right Reverend Bernard O'Reilly, D.D., D. Lit.; Laval: Domestic Prelate of His Holiness. Fr. Pustet & Co., New York and Cincinnati. 1890.

Few works have issued from the press during the present century of more engrossing interest for Irishmen, at home and abroad, than Dr. O'Reilly's Life of "The Great Archbishop of the West." Born in the year 1791, when most of the nations of Europe were on the eve of a revolution which was destined to make itself felt in the remotest corners of the world, and his own country lay still in darkness, covered with a pall of ignorance which the penal legislation of two hundred years had woven around her, John MacHale attained the age of manhood while the struggle for Catholic Emancipation was yet in its infancy, and a demand for justice to Ireland in the matter of education had not entered into the programme of any practical politician of the time. But these movements were destined to progress with the advancement of freedom and enlightenment; and just when most needed to direct them, to guide them on the secure lines of rectitude and truth, the great Prelate whom God seemed to have raised up for that special purpose, took his position in the forefront of ecclesiastical and political life. Appearing before the public for the first time in 1820, when, under the pseudonym of *Hierophilus*, he wrote his famous letters from Maynooth, against the apologists of Gibbon and the promoters of the Biblical Propaganda of the Kildare-street Society, John of Tuam continued from that date until his death, in 1881, to be the inspiring genius of every great movement for the religious, social, and political well-being of his country. The intimate friend of O'Connell, he remained his most trusted adviser and co-operator in the promotion of his vast schemes for Emancipation, the abolition of Tithes, the reform of the Franchise, and Repeal. The recognised spokesman of the great majority of Irish Catholics on the burning question of education, he corresponded with the ministers of the Crown in a tone of conscious strength and authority, that compelled, if not acquiescence, at

least a salutary respect and fear. The unflinching advocate of integrity in political warfare, through every phase of its protean development, he remained, from first to last, an uncompromising enemy of place-hunters and pledge-breakers, and a staunch supporter of the policy of independent opposition which was realized at a later date. The high-souled and single-minded ecclesiastic, he proved himself, while the iron frame and gigantic intellect of his earlier manhood yet remained with him, a brilliant ornament of the sanctuary, a tower of strength to his episcopal brethren, and a fountain of sympathy and mercy to the suffering and the poor. If at times he held strong views in opposition to men of equal dignity and entitled to equal respect, his attitude on such occasions was the result of firm conviction, begotten of the earnestness of his Celtic nature ; and though not unfrequently a source of embarrassment to his more pacific brethren of the episcopate, it generally resulted, as will now be freely admitted, in obtaining from their rulers more beneficent measures for the Irish people, and commanding more respect and influence for the Irish bishops themselves. These several phases of Dr. MacHale's life and character will be found depicted in bold lines and clear colouring in the narrative which Dr. O'Reilly unfolds to us in his intensely interesting work.

That Dr. O'Reilly was admirably fitted even for the herculean task which such a biography as this imposed upon him, we had not the smallest doubt. His *Mirror of True Womanhood*, and the essays that, from time to time, have appeared in various periodicals from his pen—all written in an easy, graceful style, and bearing evidence of erudition—had prepared us to expect that the latest work entrusted to him would be ably and satisfactorily accomplished. We regret our expectations have not been fully realized. No doubt, the author gives proof in these pages of a clear, capacious mind and calm judgment. No doubt, before entering on his labours he had mastered the outlines of Irish history—political, social and ecclesiastical—during the last hundred years, and was, therefore, in a position to appreciate the influence of the great archbishop on the movements in which he figured, and the impress he succeeded in making on the character of his time. No doubt, too, he shows an intimate acquaintance with the intricate machinery by which the Church accomplishes her mission, and seems to recognise the difficulty of working an organization, divine in its origin, its constitution, and its end,

through the employment of merely human means. And all this knowledge, one would think, should have enabled him to deal with his subject, important and delicate though it was, without indulging in language calculated to give offence in any quarter, or without betraying feelings which can only prove a stumbling-block to many for whom this biography has been written. Yet this Dr. O'Reilly has not succeeded in doing. He has detailed in these volumes many features of Church government of a purely esoteric character, which, however entertaining and instructive an exhaustive account of them may prove to canonists and theologians, yet should certainly not appear in a book intended for the general public. Possibly some extenuation for this may be found in the fact that it is characteristic of the American mind to place everything above board ; but where the spiritual good of the faithful is exposed to serious danger by detailing *the whole truth* ordinary prudence should dictate that even the historian should be satisfied with telling only *the truth*.

There is another feature of Dr. O'Reilly's work upon which we feel bound to animadvert even in stronger terms than those we have hitherto employed. To facilitate the author's labours, he had placed at his disposal the voluminous manuscript correspondence bequeathed by the late archbishop to his nephew, the Very Rev. Thomas MacHale, D.D., of the Irish College, Paris. Among the numerous letters contained in this collection there are many of an essentially private character, written by the Irish bishops to one another, or to the Prefect of the Propaganda, at times when important ecclesiastical questions were under discussion, and when the opinions of individual prelates were solicited in circumstances demanding the utmost secrecy, and considerations of the highest moment demanded a conscientious expression of their convictions without hesitation or reserve. Now, we make bold to assert, without fear of contradiction, that the illustrious archbishop himself should never have felt justified during life in giving these documents to the public ; and, therefore, we hold it a breach of the most sacred confidence to publish them after his death. It is an injustice, as well to the distinguished prelate himself as to those who trusted in his honour. And this injustice is aggravated by giving them to the world at a time when ecclesiastical authority cannot deport itself with too much dignity, nor surround itself with too much prestige derived from its successes in the past. Of course it is possible that, in this

matter, Dr. O'Reilly was not absolutely his own master ; but until he dissociates himself from the responsibility, at his door it must lie. If such licence were tolerated in the general public, as the author of these volumes boldly arrogates to himself, the most sacred relations of society should soon be rent asunder, and mutual confidence and friendship could no longer exist among men.

On the admirable manner in which the bookbinders and printers have discharged their duties in the production of Dr. O'Reilly's work, we cannot bestow too much praise. The fourteen hundred pages of sized paper, printed with clear type, and profusely illustrated with steel engravings of some of the most beautiful scenery of the West of Ireland, are bound in two magnificent volumes, with gilt edges and richly ornamented covers. The work, though expensive, is certainly not dear ; and, if the serious blemishes to which we have called attention had been avoided, these would certainly be for Irishmen the two most profoundly interesting volumes that the present century has produced.

J. J. C.

ONE AND THIRTY DAYS WITH BLESSED MARGARET MARY.

From the French. By a Visitandine of Baltimore.

THIS little book of thirty-one meditations on the virtues practised by Blessed Margaret Mary, on her love of God, and on her devotion to the Sacred Heart, can be used with special profit during the month of June or the month of October. The thoughts in each consideration are very striking, and the Spiritual Bouquet at the end of each meditation consists of a beautiful prayer or short reflection in the words of Blessed Margaret Mary.

ST. BASIL'S HYMN BOOK. ST. BASIL'S HYMNAL.

THESE books will be found very useful for the promotion of congregational singing. The former, in addition to the prayers ordinarily found in prayer-books, contains close on two hundred hymns in English, and the Little Office of the Immaculate Conception, in Latin and English. The latter, in addition to the music for these numerous hymns, contains the tones of the psalms at Vespers, the music of many Liturgical hymns, of three Masses, and of the funeral service. The *Hymnal* is very accurately and clearly printed on beautifully toned paper.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

FEBRUARY, 1891.

THE "STOWE MISSAL."

THE *Stowe Missal* is certainly the most valuable and interesting liturgical monument of the early Church of Ireland that has come down to our times ; and some very competent authorities have even gone so far as to say that no more important document, from a liturgical point of view, has been preserved in any of the Western Churches. From a dogmatic point of view it is hardly less interesting and less important ; so that both theologians and historians owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. MacCarthy for the admirable account of this invaluable literary treasure, which he has published in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*,¹ at the request of that learned body. There are few people indeed, if any, so well qualified to accomplish that task as Dr. MacCarthy ; and he has certainly spared no pains in the discharge of the duty imposed on him by the Academy.

It is to be feared, however, that a knowledge of the *Transactions of the Academy* is confined to a very limited number ; and besides, Dr. MacCarthy, from the very nature of his task, was more or less confined to the literary and antiquarian aspects of his subject. It may be interesting therefore, to the general reader, to give a more popular

¹ A paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, by the Rev. B. MacCarthy, D.D., 8th of June, 1895 ; and published in vol. xxvii. of the *Transactions* for 1886.

summary of some of the interesting questions connected with the *Stowe Missal*.

That name itself is a curious misnomer, for the only connection the manuscript had with Stowe is that it was preserved there for some time in the library of the Duke of Buckingham; and, as Eugene Curry bitterly complained, its churlish and illiberal owners never allowed any Irish scholar except their own librarian to examine the *Missal*. Fortunately the MS. has since come into the possession of the Royal Irish Academy, and is now available for examination by competent scholars.

It appears from the inscriptions on the outer shrine or cover, which contains the precious MS., that the volume was enshrined about the middle of the eleventh century. This work was executed at the joint expense of Macraith, king of Cashel, whose death is recorded by *The Four Masters* in A.D. 1052, and of Donchad or Donogh, the son of Brian Boru, who is described as King of Ireland at that time, but who was dethroned some ten years later for the alleged fratricide of his brother Tadgh.¹ The shrine was re-decorated at a later period by Philip O'Kennedy, king of Ormond, and his wife Anne, both of whom died in 1381. This goes to show that the precious volume enclosed within the shrine originally belonged to some monastery in O'Kennedy's territory of Lower Ormond—most probably either to the monastery of Tir-da-Glas or of Lothra, both of which were very celebrated in ancient times.

The volume itself is a small square quarto, now containing sixty-five folios, bound in oaken boards, covered with

¹ Dr. MacCarthy begins his essay by correcting an "error" of the two learned Doctors Todd and O'Connor, for which he alleges Mac Firbis was primarily responsible. These authorities made Donogh responsible for the murder of his brother, by translating the Irish phrase, *iar na umhaill dia brathar*, "having been instigated by his brother;" whereas Dr. MacCarthy alleges that the true text is *iar n-a umal dia brathair*, which he renders, "after submission to his brother." Perhaps Dr. MacCarthy has not adverted to the fact, that in the *Chronicon Scotorum* (page 263) the words are *iar na erail do Donnachadh*, which Hennessy translates, "at the desire of Donnachadh," taking *erail* for *uail*, which he shows from the Bodleian copy to be the true reading of Tighernach, and which also seems to give the true meaning.

leather. Nine of the folios appear to have been inserted at a date subsequent to the original binding of the volume. The contents comprise the following tracts:—First, certain portions of the Gospel of St. John; then the *Missal* proper; next a ritual containing the Ordo Baptismi, the Visitation of the Sick, with the prayers for the administration of the Viaticum and of Extreme Unction; then there is a Tract on the Mass in Irish; and lastly, three Charms or Spells, also in Irish—showing how closely superstition follows in the track of what is best and holiest in religion. It is quite evident, therefore, that this volume served the double purpose of a missal and of a ritual for the clergy of the church in which it was preserved, and that some of them also inserted the unauthorized prayers and ceremonies which were supposed to be efficacious for working certain cures, and which certainly appear to savour of superstition.

Of the name of the first scribe we have no information of any kind, except what is given in an Ogham score, inserted in one of the extracts from the Gospel of St. John, which appears to give the name of the scribe, and which, if read from left to right, would be Sonid; but if from right to left, it would be Dinos. The former is probably the true reading; but of the individual thus named nothing else is known.

The inserted folios were written at a much later period than the original by a scribe who calls himself Maelcaigh, and who is supposed to have flourished about the middle of the eighth century. Dr. MacCarthy gives a reference from *The Book of Lismore* to the genealogy of a certain Maelcaigh, who belonged to the Dalcassian race, and who seems to have been connected with the barony of Lower Ormond. It is not unlikely that this Dalcassian was the second scribe who gives his own name in the MS.

Dr. MacCarthy agrees with the late Dr. Todd, who thought that the MS. was written in a character "which might well be deemed older than the sixth century." We need not, however, assume that the MS. is older than those religious houses in Lower Ormond, to some of which it most probably belonged. Now Lorrha was founded about 550, and

Terryglass some two years earlier, so that if the *Missal* and *Ritual* belonged to either of these establishments, it was most probably written about the middle of the sixth century. The ornamentation and enshrining of the MS. show that it must have been regarded with more than the ordinary reverence due to sacred works, and we know that very often this arose from the fact that the work was either written by a sainted founder or sanctified by his use.

Both Columba of Terryglass and Ruadhan of Lorrha were Munster saints, and belonged to that second Order of the saints who received a mass from the venerable Fathers of the Welsh Church; so that if this *Missal* belonged to either of them, it most probably represents that revision of the liturgy which the Welsh saints introduced into the Irish Church of the sixth century. This view will be further borne out by a careful examination of the few historical references to this subject that have come down to our times.

There is a very interesting document, first published by Spelman, and more recently by Haddan and Stubbs, which purports to give an account of the origin of the Roman, Gallican, and Irish liturgies. The author seems to have been an Irish monk of the monastery of Bobbio, in Italy, who flourished shortly after the death of Attala, its second abbot, in the year A.D. 627. It is true that the Irish monk only speaks of the *cursus* which corresponds with the word "office," as used in our own time; but then, as now, the rule was that the mass corresponded with the office, and hence what is said of *cursus* may be understood of the entire liturgy, including the mass.

According to this ancient and apparently trustworthy document, the Roman *cursus*, or liturgy of St. Peter and St. Paul, was first introduced into Gaul by Trophimus, first bishop of Arles, and Photinus, first bishop of Lyons, who were themselves disciples of St. Peter, and therefore familiar with the liturgy of the Roman Church.

But Photinus was martyred, as Eusebius tells us, with forty-seven companions, and was succeeded in the See of Lyons by St. Irenæus about the year A.D. 177. Now St. Irenæus was a disciple of St. Polycarp, who being himself a

disciple of St. John, naturally adopted the liturgy of that Apostle as practised in the Churches of Asia Minor. Through the influence of St. Irenæus and his successors this liturgy appears to have been very generally adopted in Gaul, and seems to have been in some respects quite different from the Roman liturgy of St. Peter and St. Paul.

But this Gallican liturgy, introduced and widely propagated by St. Irenæus, was itself subsequently displaced—at least to some extent—by the Alexandrine liturgy of St. Mark. It was brought about in this way. The celebrated John Cassian, an eastern monk, had spent many years in Egypt, in close communion with the Fathers of the desert, carefully observing their discipline, their maxims, and their manner of life. From Egypt he went for a time to Constantinople, and finally came, about the year 415, to the neighbourhood of Marseilles, where he founded the celebrated monastery of St. Victor, into which he introduced the liturgy of the Alexandrine Church, with which he was most familiar. Amongst his pupils in the school of Lerins were St. Honoratus of Arles, St. Germanus of Auxerre, St. Lupus of Troyes, and most probably also our own St. Patrick. All these saints, who afterwards became great and influential bishops, carried away with them from Lerins not only the discipline, but also the rites and liturgy of that celebrated school.

In the year 429 the three latter saints came over to Wales in order to extirpate the Pelagian heresy, which was then infecting the British churches; for Pelagius himself was a Briton, and he had left some disciples in his native country, who were teaching his errors to the people. The name of one of them, a certain Gallicanus, is expressly mentioned by the Irish monk of Bobbio, who gives us the history of the Irish cursus.

It would seem, however, that Germanus resolved, in order to root out more thoroughly the poison of Pelagianism, to introduce the new Gallican liturgy into the British churches, and, in consequence of his eminent sanctity and great influence, he seems to have succeeded—at least to some considerable extent. Three years afterwards St. Patrick came

to preach in Ireland; and, of course, we may fairly assume that the liturgy which he and his associates introduced into Ireland was that with which they themselves were most familiar that is, the liturgy of Germanus, of Lerins, and of Alexandria.

It is stated, however, by the Irish monk of Bobbio, that this was also the liturgy of St. Jerome, of St. Gregory Nazianzen, of his brother St. Basil, of St. Anthony, St. Paul, St. Macarius, John, and other Fathers of the Egyptian deserts; and we know from independent sources that this statement is quite accurate. There is still in existence a Coptic, Greek, and Arabic liturgy bearing the name of St. Basil, which seems to have been largely used in the churches of the Alexandrine patriarchate, and the only copy of the Greek liturgy of St. Mark that has survived up to the present was found in a monastery of the Order of St. Basil at Rossano in Calabria.¹ There is also in existence a Greek, Coptic, and Arabic liturgy used in Egypt, which bears the name of St. Gregory Nazianzen; but it is practically the same as that of St. Basil. It is much more likely that St. Jerome would use the liturgy of St. James at Bethlehem and Jerusalem, where he spent the last thirty-four years of his life, than any liturgy of the Alexandrian patriarchate. We know, however, that he visited the churches of Alexandria, and the monasteries of Nitria, where in all probability he saw the Basilian liturgy in daily usage, if he did not make use of it himself.

The Irish monk then adds that this cursus was used by the aged Wandilochus and the blessed Comgall in their monastery (of Bangor), where they ruled over some three thousand monks. The same liturgy was carried to Luxeuil by Columbanus and his companions, whence it came to be widely diffused over Europe in all the Columban monasteries, as may be more fully seen in the lives of Columbanus, Eustasius, and Attala, abbot of Bobbio.

In truth, we do find in the life of the Abbot Eustasius that one of the charges brought against him and his monks before

¹ See *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, page 1021.

the Burgundian bishops, was that they unduly multiplied the prayers and collects of the mass,¹ which clearly points to some difference between their eucharistic liturgy and that of the Burgundian churches at this period. The same liturgy was, of course, in use at Bobbio during the lifetime of Columbanus and of his immediate disciples.

If we are to rely on this document, the Patrician liturgy in use throughout all Ireland during the fifth century was adopted in the monastery of Bangor without substantial change; from Bangor it passed over to the Columban houses on the continent of Europe; and it would doubtless be represented by the liturgy of the *Bobbio Missal* and the Antiphonary of Bangor. But this liturgy was by no means in general use throughout Ireland during the sixth and seventh centuries. Considerable diversity of usage had already grown up in Ireland about the middle of the sixth century, as we know from a very ancient authority.

According to the tract on the three Orders of Irish saints, attributed to Tirechan, the first Order had one and the same celebration of mass; but the saints of the second Order had different rites in the celebration of mass.² We are also told that they, or some of them, received "*ritum celebrandi Missam*"—a special rite—from the three saints of Britain—David, Gildas, and Docus, or Cadoc, as he is elsewhere called. St. Comgall, too, is expressly enumerated amongst the saints of this second Order; but the statement that they employed different rites in the celebration of mass would seem to imply that some of them, at least, did not accept the new ritual introduced from Britain; and Comgall, doubtless, was one of these. Otherwise it would be impossible to reconcile the statement of Tirechan with that of the monk of Bobbio. It seems highly probable that the Welsh liturgy was generally adopted in the south and south-east of Ireland, to which most of these saints of the second Order belonged, but that the Patrician rite still continued to be employed in the north of Ireland, where Welsh influence

¹ "Et ipse missarum solemnitate multiplicatione orationum vel collectarum celebrabat" (*Vita Eustasii*; Migne, vol. lxxxvii.)

² "Unam celebrationem Missae"—"*diversos ritus celebrandi.*"

was less felt. With regard to Comgall himself, I do not find that he or any of his preceptors were trained in the schools of Wales.

But how, it will be asked, did the Welsh rite, introduced into Ireland from David, Gildas, and Docus, differ from the old Patrician rite, and why was it so readily adopted by those conservative Irish saints of the second Order? This is a most interesting question, to which it is very difficult to find a satisfactory answer. Was the rite of the Welsh saints the old British liturgy that existed in Wales before St. Patrick came to Ireland, and which, as we have seen, was somewhat different from that introduced by our national apostle; or was it a later Gallican or Roman rite which they learned on the continent, and sought to introduce into Ireland as more conformable to the existing discipline of the continental Churches?

Unfortunately, we have no surviving fragment of the primitive British liturgy; it has completely disappeared.¹ St. Germanus, it would seem, tried to introduce his own Gallic liturgy; but we cannot say how far he succeeded. There is a story told in the Life of St. Brendan of Clonfert, which throws some light on this question. It is said that when Brendan was in Wales with Gildas, the latter had a missal written in Greek characters, which was placed on the altar on which Brendan was invited to offer the Holy Sacrifice. Brendan then besought the Lord to make those strange characters intelligible to him; and lo! he was able to read them like Gildas himself, just as well as if they were the Latin characters with which he was familiar from his boyhood. It is not improbable that this story had its origin in the fact that the rite practised in the monastery of Gildas was quite novel to Brendan, and it may be, too, that some of the words, like *Kyrie eleison*, &c., were written in the Greek character, with which he was heretofore entirely unacquainted.

In the life of St. David it is stated that he visited Jerusalem, that he was honourably received by the patriarch

¹ *Haddan and Stubbs*, vol. i., page 138.

of that city, from whom he received many gifts, and thence returned home to found his own great monastery in the wild valley of Rosina, swept bare by the breezes from the Irish sea. No one acquainted with the roving habits of the Welsh and Irish monks of those days will question the reality of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, on the ground that such a journey was difficult or dangerous.

In the life of Gildas we are told that he visited Rome and Ravenna, and doubtless learned much of the liturgy in use in these cities. The reference to Ravenna is significant, for at that time it was the second city of the western empire, and the real seat of its government; but these facts could hardly be known to a British monk in the tenth or eleventh century who merely drew on his imagination for those foreign pilgrimages. It is a singular fact that we also find that Cadoc visited both Greece and Jerusalem before returning home to found his own great monastery of Llancarvan.

Thus we find that the three Welsh saints, who were most intimately connected with the Ireland of the sixth century, and who gave a new mass to the saints of the second Order, were men who had travelled much in Palestine, Greece, and Italy, and doubtless had seen most of the liturgies in use in the celebrated churches of those countries, and which would certainly be very different from what they had seen both in Wales and Ireland during the years of their youth—for they were all intimately connected with Ireland, and all the three seem to have spent some years in Ireland.

At least these pilgrimages to foreign lands will account for the Latin missal written in Greek characters which Brendan saw in the monastery of Gildas, and which Gildas could read, but which it was considered to be quite miraculous that the Irish saint should be able to read.

In our opinion, however, the new ritual which these saints brought from the continent, and taught to their disciples of the second Order of Irish saints was neither of Welsh nor oriental origin, but the latest recension of the Roman liturgy, as revised by Pope Leo the Great, and afterwards by Pope Gelasius; whence it came to be called

the Gelasian liturgy ; and we venture to think existing monuments strongly confirm this opinion.

The revision of the Roman liturgy by St. Leo the Great (440-461) is the earliest of which we have any certain and definite information. The *Sacramentary*, which bears his name, is generally admitted to be genuine, and there are several phrases in it which savour strongly of the severe and vigorous style of that great Pontiff. He is said in the *Liber Pontificalis* to have added the words *sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam* to the canon of the mass, and several collects as well as many minor alterations in the liturgy are ascribed to his authorship.¹

The *Gelasian Sacramentary*, published some fifty years later by Pope Gelasius, whose reign (492-496) was all too brief, also introduced considerable changes into the eucharistic liturgy, the most noteworthy being the revision of the canon, which on that account still bears his name in many of the ancient missals.

It is obvious that these important changes could not easily have come to the knowledge of St. Patrick in our remote, and, from a Roman point of view, semi-barbarous island. It is almost certain that he died about the very time in which Gelasius became supreme Pontiff. So that neither the liturgy of St. Patrick nor of his contemporaries could be in conformity with the latest Roman emendations, during any part of the fifth century, nor probably during the first fifty years of the following century. But Welsh or Irish pilgrims going to Rome in the course of the sixth century would, doubtless, note these changes, and be anxious to bring their own liturgy at home more into conformity with the Roman usage. We have no doubt this is the true cause of the readiness with which the Irish saints of the second Order accepted a mass from the Welsh monastic Fathers, whose disciples they were. On the other hand, in those parts of the country where there was less foreign intercourse, or where they were more tenacious of their native customs, the old Patrician liturgy would still hold its ground ; and this,

¹ See Migne, vol. lv., page 320.

doubtless, serves to explain the different rites used in celebrating Mass, which prevailed in Ireland under this second Order of saints.

A comparison of the *Stowe* and the *Bobbio Missal* will help to throw further light on this very interesting question. The *Stowe Missal*, as it appears at present, is, as we have seen, written in two different hands. The greater portion is written in a hand which competent authorities declare may well go back to the first half of the sixth, or even to the fifth century. If so, it may represent in those parts a liturgy older than the Gelasian recension, which could not have come into general use in Ireland before the middle of the sixth century; for the second Order of saints who introduced this new mass into their monastic churches flourished from A. D. 544 to 596; that is, during the latter half of the sixth century. This is strongly confirmed by the fact that the old canon of the *Missal* has been erased, and the Gelasian canon written in by the second hand, who flourished at a much later period. It also shows that these more recent changes in the *Missal* were made to bring it into conformity not with any oriental or Gallican rite, but with the later emendations of the Roman liturgy. The same conclusion is still further established by the fact that the *Bobbio Missal*, which was written during the last half of the seventh century, has, for what we now call the Ordinary of the Mass, the *Missa Romensis Cottidiana*, or daily Roman Mass; thus clearly showing that the disciples of Columbanus, whilst in many things adhering to the old Patrician cursus of Bangor, were quite ready to accept any revision of the liturgy that came clearly before them with the sanction of the Apostolic See.

Another important point to be noted is the prominence that is given in both these missals to the prayers for the Pope. In the *Stowe Missal* this prayer is given for the ordinary or daily mass in the following form:—

"Deus, qui Beato Petro, apostolo tuo, conlatis clavibus regni caelestis, animas ligandi atque solvendi pontificium tradidisti suscipe propitius preces nostras et intercessione ejus quesumus, Domine, auxilium, ut a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur. Per Dominum."

This prayer is written in the first or original hand in the *Stowe Missal*, and it is a curious fact that it is given in the same place and in the very same words in the *Bobbio Missal*, as printed by Muratori.¹

A careful examination and comparison of these two missals of our early Irish Church will also throw much light on many other questions that are highly interesting, both from a theological and antiquarian point of view. For the present, however, we must content ourselves in pointing out in a general way, from the evidence of these MSS., the intimate connection that existed between the Irish and the Roman Church during that very period during which certain writers would have us believe that the Irish Church lived in a state of isolated independence of the Apostolic See. Such theories can no longer be maintained with any show of probability, for the purely negative arguments by which it was sought to support them are found in the light of facts to be dissipated into thin air.

✠ J. HEALY.

THE IRISH ABBEY AT YPRES.—I.

THE following pages will be devoted to the history of the Irish Benedictine abbey of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady of Grace, in the Rue St. Jacques, at Ypres, or Yperen, a town on the Yperlée, in West Flanders, which town now contains but some sixteen thousand inhabitants, though in the fourteenth century it had, it is said, two hundred thousand—four thousand looms being constantly at work. It would be beside our purpose and beyond the scope of the present paper to trace the story of the rise and decline of Ypres; but it may not be thought out of place to say a few words about it. A castle was built here in the eighth century, which was destroyed by the Normans, at the end

¹ See Father Lavery's *Down and Connor*, vol. ii., App. iii.

of the ninth, and rebuilt by Baldwin the Bald, Earl of Flanders, at the beginning of the tenth century. Around this castle a town sprang up which acquired importance under Earls Theodoric of Alsace, and Guy of Dampierre, the latter of whom died in 1305. Philip the Fair, of France, took it in 1297. A century later, as was related in a previous number of the I. E. RECORD, it was unsuccessfully besieged by the revolted burghers of Ghent, assisted by a band of Englishmen. Not long after it was fortified by Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. It suffered terribly in the sixteenth century at the hand of the Gueux. In the seventeenth it was besieged and taken again and again; in 1648 it was captured by Condé; then in the following year it was retaken by the Archduke Leopold, to again fall into the hands of the French, this time under Turenne, in 1658, though it was shortly after restored by the Treaty of the Pyrenees. At the end of the following century it was twice besieged and taken by the French Republicans, as will be seen in the course of our story.

Among the objects of interest in Ypres may be mentioned the grand old church of St. Martin (originally served by a college of regular canons), which for a time was a cathedral; and the town-hall, the largest in Belgium, which adjoins the noble cloth-hall, whose portal is surmounted by the statue of our Lady of the Palissade, the patron of Ypres.¹ But to English-speaking people the little convent in the Rue St. Jacques is of primary importance. The abbey of our Lady of Grace enjoys the melancholy distinction of being the only Irish convent belonging to the great Benedictine Order, and of being one of the only two houses founded on the continent during the times of persecution for Irish religious women—the other being the convent of Irish Dominicanesses, which still flourishes at

¹ Some of these particulars have been taken from the *Guide to Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne* (now, unfortunately, out of print), by Mr. W. H. James Weale, the distinguished archæologist, and editor of the *Analecta Liturgica*, whose services the country has been fortunate enough to secure as Keeper of the National Art Library, at South Kensington.

Belem, near Lisbon, in undiminished glory. To make the story of the Irish [abbey complete, it will be necessary to say something of the English Benedictine convents founded on the continent, as it was a filiation of one of them.

The first of these foundations was due to a lady who bore the illustrious name of Percy. It will be remembered that in 1569, the northern counties of England rose in insurrection under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland for the purpose of freeing Mary Queen of Scots, then imprisoned at Tutbury, and the Duke of Norfolk, who had been committed to the Tower for aspiring to her hand. The rising was a new Pilgrimage of Grace; the banners which headed the insurgents were those of the Five Wounds and the Holy Cross; the re-establishment of Catholic worship was proclaimed; holy mass was once again said in the abbey of Ripon; and the Book of Common Prayer was publicly burnt. The rising proved abortive: and then the unhappy peasantry learned how terrible the vengeance of Elizabeth could be. Three hundred villages were given over to fire and sword, and orders were sent to the Earl of Sussex, the commander of the royal troops, to execute about one-fifth of the inhabitants of the towns.¹ The Earl of Westmoreland escaped to Flanders, but the Earl of Northumberland fell into the hands of the Regent Murray, who sold him to Cecil, the infamous minister of an infamous queen, for ten thousand crowns. On the octave day of the Assumption, 1572, Northumberland was executed at York without a trial; and he died declaring that England was in schism, and that he firmly believed in the Papal Supremacy. He had married the Lady Anne Somerset, daughter of the second Earl of Worcester, who after his execution retired to Brussels, from which place she was expelled, with other English Catholics, in 1576, at the request of Cecil. The Countess died in 1591, leaving among other children the Lady Mary Percy, who was the first to project the erection of a religious house for English women on the continent.

¹ See Miss Drane's *History of England*, page 397.

Seven years after the death of her mother, in 1598, that is, Lady Mary obtained permission from the "Archdukes" Albert and Isabel to found a house for English nuns in Brussels, the capital of Brabant, from whose ancient dukes she was descended.¹ She acquired a house from Rowland Longinus, Viscount of Bergues, and determined that her foundation should be for Benedictines; and through the influence of the Archduke Albert, she obtained permission for some English nuns of that order to be transferred from the abbey of St. Peter in Rheims.

It is certainly not the least of the glories of the Brussel's house, and through it of the Irish abbey of Ypres, that its first religious should have been drawn from the ancient abbey of St. Peter, at Rheims—illustrious not less for the strictness of its observance² than for its age. The fiftieth

¹ About the year 1150, Agnes, heiress of Percy, married Joceline, second son of Godfrey the Bearded, Duke of Brabant, by his first wife Ida of Namur. Joceline succeeded to the honours of the house of Percy, and his descendants, in an unbroken male line, enjoyed them till the end of the seventeenth century, when they devolved in an heiress, the Lady Elizabeth Percy, who married (for her third husband) the Duke of Somerset. Their grand-daughter, Lady Elizabeth Seymour, in default of male issue, succeeded to the barony of Percy, and married Sir Hugh Smithson, a Yorkshire squire, who was created Duke of Northumberland. The barony of Percy passed to the Duke of Athole, on the death of Algonern, fourth Duke of Northumberland, in 1865. After the death of Ida of Namur, Duke Godfrey of Brabant, married Clementia of Burgundy, and had a daughter, Adela of Louvain, who married Henry I. of England.

² One of the first communities of Benedictine nuns to return to a strict observance of their rule in the sixteenth century was that of Montmartre, near Paris, in the church of which St. Ignatius and his first companions made their religious profession. The fame of the edifying life of the Montmartre nuns led Jacqueline de Grand-Pré, when elected Abbess of Rheims, to determine that the same observance should be followed at St. Peter's. With the consent of the Archbishop, Cardinal Robert de Lenoncour, she visited Montmartre and stayed there eighteen months; she then went to St. Maur's, at Verdun, and afterwards to Chelles (whose abbesses in the next century were generous benefactors of the English monks of their order). She returned to St. Peter's, after an absence of four years, and instituted among her nuns the same observance that had made their sisters at Paris so illustrious. Abbess Jacqueline died in 1532. Her good work lived on and continued to flourish in spite of severe trials which the convent had to endure from the malice of heretics, false sisters, and the licence of enemies. So great were these sufferings that the constancy of the nuns is said by Benedictine annalists to have made them equal to martyrs; while their example stirred many other religious houses to emulation and imitation.

abbess of this convent was Renée of Lorraine, daughter of Claude, Duke of Guise and sister of the celebrated Cardinal of Lorraine, who took a leading part in the Council of Trent. To the care of Abbess Renée, Mary Queen of Scots, her niece,¹ entrusted one of her Scottish favourites, Margaret Kircaldy by name. Margaret was born in 1562, and probably professed in 1581, in which year, on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, a young Englishwoman, Jane, daughter of Sir John Berkeley, of Beveston Castle, Gloucestershire, received the habit of a Benedictine nun at St. Peter's. Sister Margaret soon gained the confidence of her superiors, and became the right hand of Abbess Renée and her successor and namesake.² At the time of the establishment of the English house Dame Margaret was abbess-coadjutor and must of necessity have had much to do with the arrangements. But we must not dwell longer on the history of St. Peter's and its abbesses.³

Among the English nuns sent to Brussels was Dame

¹ René II., Duke of Lorraine, had, by his wife, Philippa of Gueldres, among other children, Anthony, who succeeded him as Duke, and Claud, to whom he left his French fiefs of Guise Aumale, &c. The latter was made Duke of Guise by the King of France, and was the founder of the family of that name, which, after playing an important part in French politics, died out in the seventeenth century. Duke Claud had a numerous family, which included Francis, his successor, two Cardinals, the Abbess Renée, and Mary, who married James I. of Scotland, by whom she became the mother of Mary Queen of Scots.

² Abbess Renée died in 1602, after having ruled the abbey for sixty years. She was succeeded by her great niece Renée, daughter of Henry Duke of Guise, known as *Le Balajrè*, and Catherine of Cleves, who was blessed by Philip de Bec, Archbishop of Rheims, on April 12th, 1602, nine days after the death of her predecessor, she being then seventeen years of age. She died in 1726, and, according to the necrology of the house, was buried in the tomb of the Queen of Scotland.

³ Dame Margaret was elected Abbess in 1626, that she might rule the abbey till Frances of Lorraine, daughter of Charles Duke of Guise, and Catherine de Joyeuse, then a child of five, should be old enough to assume the reins of government. Abbess Kircaldy was blessed by the English Benedictine Archbishop Gifford. She died in 1639, and is thus spoken of in the necrology:—"On February 3rd, 1649, died Margaret Kircaldy, our abbess, by birth a Scot, educated from her tenderest years in this monastery, which she has made illustrious by her eminent piety. She lived fifty-one years after her profession, and was abbess twelve years, and died, to our great grief, on the 3rd of February, 1639." We have reason for believing that a longer account of the life and virtues of this Scottish nun is in course of preparation.

Jane Berkeley, who has already been mentioned as having taken the habit in 1581; and with them went Dame Noëlle, the prioress. The foundation of the new house, which was dedicated in honour of the Glorious Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was approved by his Holiness, Clement VIII., who placed the community under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Mechlin, the diocesan. Lady Mary Percy entered the new house as a subject, and made her solemn profession in 1599. So many others joined the community that in 1600 the archbishop, Matthias Van den Hove (better known, perhaps, as Hovius), ordered that an abbess should be elected. The choice fell on Dame Jane Berkeley, who received the abbatial blessing on November 14th, 1599. She died in 1616, and was succeeded by Lady Mary Percy. In 1623, in consequence of the increase of numbers a new house was founded at Cambrai from Brussels, and in the following year another was established at Ghent.

The first nuns of the Ghent house were Dames Lucy Knatchbull, Eugenia Poulton, Magdalen Digby, and Mary Roper; and with them were two novices. Dame Lucy Knatchbull was elected abbess, and received the abbatial blessing on the feast of St. Benedict, 1624. Before the end of the year she had twenty-two subjects. From Ghent filiations were made at Pontoise, Boulogne, in the foundation of which St. Vincent of Paul took a great part; at Dunkirk, where a house was established by Dame Mary Knatchbull, niece of Abbess Lucy, in 1662, with the consent of the English Government, and at Ypres. We are more especially concerned with the abbey of Ypres; but before relating the history of that foundation it will not be out of place to notice that King James II. of England was converted at Ghent, and intended, after his succession, to establish the English Benedictine nuns of that city as the first monastery in his kingdom. King James was unable to realize his wish; but the nuns of Ghent were driven to England by the French Revolution. They settled, in 1795, at Preston, whence they moved, in 1811, to Caverswall Castle, near Stone, in Staffordshire, and from that place, in 1854, to

Oulton, where they are still established. The Brussels community was also driven to England in 1794, and settled at Winchester, where it was received by the illustrious Bishop Milner—not yet bishop, however, but priest of the mission. The nuns removed to East Bergholt, in Suffolk, in 1857, where they flourish and devote themselves, above all things, to the exact performance of the *opus divinum*. The nuns of Dunkirk were made prisoners by the Revolutionists, and confined for eighteen months in the convent of the Poor Clares at Gravelines. In 1795 they returned to England, by permission of the Government, and settled at Hammersmith, whence they removed, in 1863, to Teignmouth, in Devonshire.¹

There had been Benedictine monks in Ypres for many years before the period at which we have now arrived—monks who had left the abbey of Therouaune (in which their order had been established by King Theodoric in expiation of the murder of St. Leger), when that place was taken by the troops of the Emperor Charles V. But there were no nuns of the Order. In 1665, however, Abbess Knatchbull, of Ghent, was asked to send some of her religious, to found a house in that town, by the bishop, Monsignor Martin de Praets, who, before his election to Ypres, had been a canon of the cathedral church of St. Bavon at Ghent, and was well acquainted with the resplendent merits of the English nuns. Abbess Knatchbull acceded to his request, and on May 22nd, 1665, the new community reach Ypres. It consisted of Dames Mary Beaumont, Flavia Cary, Helen Wait, Vincentia Eyre, Aloysia Gorman, Aldegonde Finch, Mary Lucy; a choir novice, Sister Mary Anne Jenison; and a lay Sister, Martha Lowe. Dames Mary Lucy, and Aloysia Gorman afterwards returned to Ghent. A curious story is told of the latter in a document found in the British Museum, by Dom Aidan Gasquet, O.S.B., among the papers of Cardinal Antonio Gualterio, for many years Protector of the English nation in

¹ Most of these details are taken from a small handbook to *The Religious Houses of the United Kingdom*, published by Burns & Oates of London.

Rome, and first Cardinal Secretary of Propaganda. It is a remarkable account of an apparition of a soul in purgatory, and the paper is signed by Dame Mary Roper, sister of Lord Teynham, of Linsted Lodge, Kent; Dame Magdalen Digbye; Dame Catherine Wigmore, daughter of William Wigmore of Lutton, Herefordshire, and first abbess of the convent at Boulogne; and Dame Mary Knatchbull, daughter of Reginald Knatchbull of —, Kent, and sister of Dame Lucy, first abbess of Ghent.¹

Four years after the arrival of the nuns in Ypres, the bishop gave them permission to elect an abbess. Their choice fell on Dame Mary Beaumont, who was blessed in the cathedral. On May 3rd, of that same year, 1669, Dame Susanna Carew made her profession, being the first who had done so since the establishment of the house; she died twelve years later.

In spite of all efforts to the contrary, the abbey of Ypres did not flourish, and at length Abbess Beaumont asked the prioress of the English Benedictine nuns, established in Paris,² to send some of her subjects to Ypres. She transferred the house to them conditionally. Abbess Knatchbull of Ghent, however, asked Abbess Caryl of Dunkirk to go to Ypres, in order to keep the house for the congregation, and to take with her a sufficient number of subjects to elect an abbess for a community of Irish, as she had always intended that the abbey of Ypres should eventually be set aside for nuns of that nation. Abbess Beaumont died in 1682, and then Abbess Caryl went to Ypres with four of her nuns, two of them being Irish.

Dame Flavia Cary was elected abbess on November 19th, 1682, and subjects were soon found for her by Abbess

¹ The whole story will be found in the *Downside Review* for March, 1890.

² A filiation made in 1652, from the house established in Cambria by the monks of the English Benedictine Congregation. They were driven from Paris in 1795, and then settled successively at Marnhull, in Dorsetshire; Cannington, in Somersetshire (1807); and Colwich, in Staffordshire (1835).

Knatchbull, who requested the superiors of the various houses connected with Ghent to send their Irish religious to Ypres. Among those sent in answer to this request were Dame Mary Joseph Butler, from Pontoise, and Dame Joseph O'Bryen, from Dunkirk; whilst Abbess Knatchbull herself sent Dame Ursula Butler. The house was then formally made over to the Irish nation; and from this time forward the abbey of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady of Grace at Ypres has been an Irish convent. The story of the house during the two centuries which have since elapsed must be left till next month, and for the present we must content ourselves with saying that it is not devoid of romantic interest.

E. W. BECK.

IRISH PARLIAMENTS.

ON the memorable Thursday, 8th of April, 1886, when the Right Honourable William Ewart Gladstone introduced an Irish Home Rule Bill into the English House of Commons, during the delivery of a speech replete with statesmanlike thought, profound and far-reaching, while unanswerable in array of facts and reasoning, he very justly asserted, that "for the six last centuries—for five at least—Ireland has had a parliament separate from ours;" and then he put the query, "Did separation of the parliaments destroy the unity of the Empire?" It seems indeed strange that such a contention should be questioned. However, the representative for Dublin University, the Hon. David Plunkett, undertook to refute Mr. Gladstone's declaration in these vague and unguarded words:—"He"—alluding to the Prime Minister—"spoke of the old parliaments of Ireland, and said they had existed for five hundred years, while England was growing in greatness and glory. That is an entire mis-

take.”¹ The former Solicitor-General for Ireland must not alone have been little conversant with his country’s history, but even with the published statutes of this Kingdom, and of its ancient laws, which still have a binding force, while not yet repealed by the Act of Union, nor since annulled in the Imperial Parliament, when he ventured to make such a statement. Still more singular was the inability of other Irish members of Parliament subsequently to correct his errors, although that remarkable debate was adjourned for several succeeding nights, and some books on Irish history must have had a place in the Library of the House of Commons. It may, therefore, be excusable, briefly to treat a subject, which ought to be one of great interest to Irishmen, especially at the present time.

The annexed historic facts and dates, regarding the assembling of Irish parliaments, are too succinct for a complete enumeration and understanding of their sessions, their constitutional bearings and legal enactments; but, in this compendious form, those notices here inserted may serve to furnish the politician and student with a ready reference to other sources for more detailed information. They are only intended to supply briefly and imperfectly some omissions or illustrations of chronological details, and as memoranda for more fully comprehending or determining the scope of historic data, which may easily be enlarged. To future investigators must be assigned the task of completing or enumerating the lists and records of our Irish parliaments²—a topic which has not been hitherto exhaustively or even adequately treated.³

¹ See Hansard’s *Parliamentary Debates*, third series, commencing with the Accession of William IV., vol. ccciv., April 8th, 1886, col. 1138.

² A list of the Irish Acts of Parliaments yet remaining on record, but unprinted, has been furnished by James Hardiman, Esq., in his supplement to the *Eighth Report of the Commissioners on the Public Records of Ireland*, vol. ii., pp. 353-383. Published at London, 1820, fol.

³ The Irish statute rolls contain 1263 statutes never yet published, according to William Lynch, treating on the prescriptive baronies of Ireland. His most learned and researchful work is intitled, *A View of the Legal Institutions, Honorary Hereditary Offices, and Feudal Baronies established in Ireland during the Reign of Henry the Second*. London, 1830, 8vo. This book is the very best and most authentic statement on the present subject as yet published; and it has been deduced most carefully from court rolls, inquisitions, and other original records.

The origin of these representative assemblies must be referred immediately to England, and the institution itself has been traced to the Anglo-Saxon times, when great councils or conventions were summoned by the monarch.¹ However, these were mainly oligarchical in form, the influences of deliberation and of action being confined to the higher nobles and clergy.² After the Anglo-Norman invasion of William the Conqueror, the French term *parlement*, referring to a convocation of the highest courts or notables of the kingdom, came into use;³ but, regarding its general and relative jurisdiction, powers, development and representation, divers opinions have been entertained.⁴ It seems very certain, however, that the Anglo-Saxons derived few advantages from the Conqueror's rule.⁵ This English form of government was unknown or not adopted in Ireland, until the close of the twelfth century; and, even then, it had little bearing on the social and political condition of the native Irish, who for the more ancient *feis* or convention of states had then substituted the clan system of rule, which

¹ The Witen-Gemot, or Supreme Council of the Nation, consisted of the king, archbishops, bishops, dukes, earls, thanes, abbots, priests, and deacons. In this assembly, laws, secular and ecclesiastical, were promulgated and repealed, while these royal charters and grants were confirmed and ratified. For further information, the reader is referred to *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*; ably edited by Benjamin Thorpe. London, 1840, large folio.

² These matters have been most ably treated by John Mitchell Kemble, in his well-known work, *The Saxons in England, a History of the English Commonwealth till the Period of the Norman Conquest*. In two volumes. London, 1849, 8vo.

³ The original version of the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, was probably written some time between the years 1294 and 1327, and several manuscript copies of it are yet preserved, but variously interpolated. The investigation of this subject has been taken in hands by that learned archivist, Thomas Duffus Hardy, who has most carefully edited and published the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum; an Ancient Treatise on the Mode of Holding Parliament in England*. London, 1846, 8vo. To this a preface and learned notes, with various readings, are affixed.

⁴ On the 1st of August, 1086, William I., assembled at Salisbury the archbishops, bishops, abbots, knights, barons, and viscounts, with their military vassals. See *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*; edited by William Stubbs, M.A., vol. i., Pars Prior, page 139. London, 1868, 8vo.

⁵ For particulars the reader is referred to, that admirable *History of the Norman Conquest of England, its Causes and its Results*, by Edward A. Freeman, M.A., In 6 vols. Oxford, 1867-1879, 8vo.

may best be learned from a study of the Brehon laws. These have been partially published, and they are still in process of publication. Even the rolls, still preserved in Ireland¹ or in England,² do not at all furnish us with a complete record of parliaments, which were held in various places, with well-recognised powers for deliberating and for legislation. Several of those assemblies have been noticed in our annals, but without sufficient details regarding their proceedings or enactments.

After the Anglo-Norman Invasion, in 1172, when King Henry II.³ arrived in our country, and had subjugated certain parts of the island, he was only styled Lord of Ireland; for his power and jurisdiction extended not beyond the limited Anglo-Irish conquest and the colonies, which he had been enabled to establish only in a few cities and districts. To this kingdom the laws of England were extended and confirmed, in a council, held at Lismore, while these were gratefully received by his subjects.⁴ Moreover, the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum Hiberniæ*,⁵ as a separate and distinct kingdom from England, and as a direction for

¹ The *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ*, ab An. 1152 usque ad 1827; or the *Establishments of Ireland from the Nineteenth of King Stephen to the Seventh of George IV.*, during a period of Six Hundred and Seventy-five Years being the Report of Rowley Lascelles, of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. This fine folio publication, in two volumes and in seven parts, appeared in 1852. It was commenced under the authority of the Record Commissioners of Ireland, and it affords most valuable information concerning the parliamentary and official history of Ireland.

² An excellent general idea of English historical documents, published and unpublished, may be derived from a perusal of F. S. Thomas's *Handbook to the Public Records*. London, 1853, royal 8vo.

³ He reigned from the 19th December, 1154, to the 6th of July, 1189.

⁴ See *Matthæi Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, vol. ii., page 285. Edition of Henry Richards Luard, M.A., London, 1874, 8vo.

⁵ The title of this document reads: *Henricus Rex Angliæ Conquestor, et Dominus Hiberniæ, &c.* It begins: *Dominus Hiberniæ, &c., Mittit hanc formam Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, Vicecomitibus, Majoribus, Præpositis, Ministris et omnibus Fidelibus suis Terræ Hiberniæ Tenendi Parliamentum.* It then proceeds: *In primis Summonitio Parliamenti præcedere debet per Quadraginta Dies.* More about this document may be found in our subsequent pages, and its exact period of promulgation has been referred to the sixth year of King Henry IV.'s reign.

holding parliaments there,¹ agrees for the most part with that said to have been allowed by William the Conqueror for England.² Where it is altered, the change only fits it the better for the kingdom of Ireland.³

However, King Henry constituted the kingdom of Ireland as absolutely separate and distinct from England, by granting it to his son, John.⁴ When the latter arrived in Ireland, his lawyers and counsellors framed a charter and code of laws,⁵ at the request of his Irish lieges, and those were deposited for their direction in the Exchequer Court at Dublin.⁶ When John became king of England, the separate kingdom of Ireland was then united with it under the one crown. In the twelfth year of his reign a parliament was held in Ireland, then governed by chief justiciaries or viceroy.⁷ It is somewhat remarkable, also, that Henry de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin, was present, and allowed

¹ Sir Edward Coke states, in his *Institutes of the Laws of England*, that he saw such a document. Book iv., chap. i., page 12, and chap. lxxvi., page 349.

² The reader is referred to Harris' Ware, vol. ii., *The Antiquities of Ireland*, for an English translation of the Modus or Form for holding Parliaments and Councils in Ireland, as also for a learned disquisition on the Common and Statute Laws introduced by the English into Ireland, and on the settlement of the Legislature there. See chap. xiii., pp. 78-88. Dublin, 1745, fol.

³ See William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, pp. 29, 30. Dublin: Original Edition, 1698, 12mo.

⁴ He reigned as king over England from the 27th of May, 1199, to the 19th of October, 1216.

⁵ Several of Earl John's charters refer to the grants of lands, franchises, and liberties in Ireland, during the lifetime of his father, as also during the reign of his brother, Richard I., over England, as if he held the island in fee, and in absolute and uncontrolled dominion. See Francis Plowden's *History of Ireland from its Invasion under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain*, vol. ii., book i., chap. ii., page 171. London, 1812, 8vo.

⁶ According to the rolls of Henry III., 30 Rot.

⁷ From the close of the twelfth century, the governor of the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland was usually styled "Capitalis Justiciarius," which was a title applied in England and Normandy to the highest officer in the king's court, and charged with the whole civil and military administration during the monarch's absence. Hostages were then demanded from the Anglo-Irish viceroys and chief barons as guarantees for their fidelity. See John T. Gilbert's *History of the Viceroys of Ireland, with Notices of the Castle of Dublin and its Chief Occupants in Former Times*, chap. ii., pp. 64, 65. Dublin, 1865, 8vo.

place immediately after the Archbishop of Canterbury, when King John signed *Magna Charta*, in the congress at Runnymede.

It has been asserted that popular representation in a parliament was first introduced¹ during the reign of King Henry III. into England.² Before the year 1244, the term *Parliamentum* was never applied to a legislative assembly in England by any contemporary writer, or used in any record.³ There are authorities for stating that at least two parliaments were summoned in Ireland: one in the thirty-eighth year of Henry III.'s reign, A.D. 1253,⁴ and the other in the fifty-third, A.D. 1269.⁵ The very first year of this monarch's reign, and at the request of the Irish barons, the Earl of Pembroke, protector of the kingdom during the king's minority, granted substantially a duplicate of *Magna Charta*,⁶ wherein their rights, privileges, and immunities were placed on the very same foundation with those of the English, while all the civil and political institutions of England were equally secured to Ireland, as a free and as an independent nation.⁷ Moreover, several minute and important differences are introduced to accommodate in forms the English charter to the usages and proceedings of the Anglo-Irish settlers.⁸

¹ For a very painstaking and impartial investigation on the subject of parliaments in England, the reader is referred to the Rev. Dr. John Lingard's *History of England*, vol. iii., chap. ii., Henry III., pp. 160-174. London, edition of 1837-1839, crown 8vo.

² He reigned from the 28th of October, 1216, to the 16th of November, 1272.

³ See Thomas Duffus Hardy's *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum; an Ancient Treatise on the Mode of Holding the Parliament in England*. Preface, page xiv.

⁴ According to Thomas Rymer's *Fœdera Conventiones, Litteræ, et cujuscunque Generis Acta publica, inter Reges Angliæ et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes vel Communitates; ab ineunte sæculo duodecimo, viz., ab Anno 1101 ad nostra usque Tempora habita aut tractata, &c.* This valuable collection appeared in seventeen folio volumes. London, 1704-1715. A supplement by Sanderson, vols. xviii.-xx. London, 1726-1735.

⁵ One of its statutes is now among the rolls, which was formerly preserved in Birmingham Tower, Castle of Dublin.

⁶ The original of this charter is still preserved in Dublin among our Irish archives.

⁷ King Henry III. also proclaimed, that all the laws and customs of England might be possessed by the kingdom of Ireland.

⁸ See Lynch's *View of the Legal Institutions, Honorary Hereditary Offices, and Feudal Baronies established in Ireland during the Reign of Henry the Second*, chap. ii., pp. 20, 21.

During the reign of King Edward I.,¹ and in the year 1295, besides issuing writs to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, the sheriff of each county and liberty was directed to return two knights representatives in parliament.² This assembly was inconsiderable in point of numbers, since several declined to attend.³ Yet, the public grievances seem to have been maturely weighed, and ordinances were enacted to provide for the public weal. During his reign, the native chiefs petitioned the king, that he would grant the free enjoyment of English laws to the whole body of Irishmen indiscriminately. This he desired to do; but the baneful ascendancy of the Anglo-Norman rulers there was too powerfully exercised, in opposition to his will.⁴ And so inveterate has been the official despotism ever since, that it dominates at the present day, and must continue to usurp the power of a supreme government over that of Great Britain until abolished or regulated by a radical change in the whole system. Thus the faction of ascendancy, that now opposes a constitutional parliament and a Home Rule government for Ireland, is practically independent of, while it actually controls, the Imperial Parliament and Government, as also their constitution and laws, through the agency of a clique, called the Privy Council, determining all public judicial proceedings, and meeting in Dublin Castle.

A parliament was held in Ireland,⁵ in the third year of King Edward II.⁶ Some useful legislation was attempted during his reign, for the better government of Ireland, and to prevent corruptions or abuses there against his own or his subjects' injury and oppression.

¹ He reigned from the 20th of November, A.D. 1272, to the 7th of July, 1307.

² According to the *Liber Niger Ecclesie S. Trinitatis*, Dublin.

³ See Rev. Dr. Leland's *History of Ireland, from the Invasion of Henry II.*, vol. i., page 253.

⁴ See Thomas Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. iii., chap. xxxv., pp. 30-37.

⁵ The enactments of this parliament were the first printed by Sir Richard Bolton, Chief Baron, in his edition of *The Irish Statutes*, published A.D. 1621.

⁶ He reigned from the 8th of July, 1307, to the 20th of January, 1327.

During the reign of King Edward III.,¹ at least ten parliaments were called in Ireland. One of these was held about the seventeenth year of his reign. In the twenty-ninth year, he ordained, that errors of judgment given in his Irish courts should be reformed, not by the parliament of England only, as hitherto, but by that of Ireland. This decree was intended to give independent consequence to the island.

However, the famous parliament held at Kilkenny,² by Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in the fortieth year of the reign of King Edward III. was celebrated for the coercive character of its proscriptions against the native Irish. Like all such legislation, it proved deeply injurious to the interests of the Anglo-Irish residents; nor did it at all affect the existing social condition or fortunes of the native septs. In the fiftieth year of his reign, a singular power was exercised by the commonalty of the several counties, cities, and boroughs, when they elected certain persons as commissioners to treat about Irish affairs with the king's council. The reasonable expenses of their journey to England, of their stay there, and of a return thence to their homes, were also decreed by the king's writ.

Richard II. reigned twenty-two years,³ and held two parliaments in his own person. But he had the imprudence, in an arbitrary and unconstitutional manner, to entrust Ireland and its islands, with absolute and entire regal dominion during his own life, to a favourite, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. He was created Duke of Ireland, with power to pass all writs under his own test, to place and displace all its officers, as also to name his own ministers and deputies. He was invested with all royalties, that had been enjoyed by

¹ He began to reign the 24th January, 1327, and on the 21st of June, 1377, he died.

² The statute of Kilkenny was first printed from a manuscript in the Library of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lambeth; the Norman French having been translated, and, with notes, most ably edited by the accomplished antiquary, James Hardiman, Esq., M.R.I.A. Published in Dublin, for the Irish Archaeological Society, 1843, 4to.

³ From the 22nd of June, 1377, to the 29th of September, 1399.

the king's predecessors.¹ At least five or six parliaments were summoned in the time of Richard II.

King Henry IV. reigned fourteen years,² and summoned four Irish parliaments. One of these deputed the Archbishop of Armagh and of Dublin to lay before the king several national grievances, and the envoys were graciously received ; but, being constantly engaged in domestic troubles and insurrections, this king could not introduce any beneficial measures for reform. One of those parliaments was held by Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, who had been appointed to the government of Ireland for twenty-one years ; while another, assembled in the fifth year of King Henry IV.'s reign, under the Earl of Ormond, chief justice, affirmed the charter of Ireland, and with it the statutes of Kilkenny. In the sixth year of his reign, the Irish *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* was exemplified under the Great Seal of Ireland,³ and it differs little from the English *Modus*.⁴ But a parliament of greatest importance was held in the tenth year of that monarch's rule, when in Ireland it was enacted, " That the statutes made in England should not be of force in this Kingdom, unless they were allowed and published in this Kingdom by parliament." ⁵

During the reign of King Henry V., and which lasted for nine years,⁶ two parliaments sat in Ireland. The Earl of Ormond had been created Lord Lieutenant, and he was invested with extraordinary powers ; viz., to summon councils ; to hold, adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve parliaments ; to pardon traitors, murderers, and felons ; as also to remove or appoint all officers of state, except the chancellor and treasurer.⁷

¹ Sir Edward Coke justly remarks on this transfer of Ireland, that the king's " letters patent could not grant so royal a member of his imperial style to any, no more than he could do his kingdom of England." *Institutes of the Laws of England*, Book iv., page 357.

² From the 30th September, 1399, to the 20th of March, 1413.

³ It was first printed, in 1622, by Anthony Dopping, the Protestant Bishop of Meath. A new edition of it was printed in 1712.

⁴ See Thomas Duffus Hardy's *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum ; an Ancient Treatise on the Mode of Holding the Parliament in England*. Preface, page vi., and n. 13, pages xxiv.-xxvi.

⁵ See William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, page 64.

⁶ From the 21st of March, 1413, to the 31st of August, 1422.

⁷ See Francis Plowden's *History of Ireland*, vol. i., book i., chap. x., page 239.

During the reign of [King Henry VI.,¹ there was a parliament held in Ireland nearly every year.² Two or even three parliaments were summoned during some years. The intestine wars between the Houses of Lancaster and of York communicated their influences to Ireland. The Duke of York—an aspirant to the throne—was appointed Lord Lieutenant for ten years, with extraordinary powers, which were largely used to favour his own interests. When betrayed and defeated at Blore Heath, he fled to Ireland, and summoned a parliament, which confirmed the patent constituting him lieutenant of this kingdom, although he was denounced and proclaimed a traitor in England. That parliament also decreed, that if any person should imagine, compass, or excite his destruction or death, and for this purpose confederate with the Irish or other persons, he should be attainted of high treason. It was enacted, moreover, that Ireland was and always had been incorporated within itself by ancient laws and customs, and that it was only to be governed by such laws as had been advised, accepted, affirmed and proclaimed by the Lords and Commons of the land in parliament assembled. It was likewise declared, that there had even been a royal seal peculiar to Ireland by custom, privilege and franchise, to which alone the subjects were to yield obedience; that this realm had its constable and marshal, before whom all appeals were finally determinable; yet, since orders had been of late issued under another seal, and the subjects summoned into England to

¹ It lasted from the 1st of September, 1422, while he was an infant, to the 4th of March, 1461, when he was deposed by King Edward IV. However, King Henry VI. resumed possession once more, on the 9th October, 1470. Again, the battle of Barnet, fought on Easter day, the 14th of April, 1471, drove Henry VI. from the throne. After Edward IV. recovered the Royal authority, the years of his reign continued to be reckoned from the 4th of March, 1461, as if no interruption had occurred.

² The oldest statute enacted in Ireland, and preserved in the Rolls' Office, is one referred to the 5th year of King Henry VI. See *Report on the Parliamentary Rolls of Ireland*, page 354, in *The Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Reports from the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty to execute the Measures recommended in an Address of the House of Commons, respecting the Public Records of Ireland*. With Supplement and Appendixes, 1816-1820, vol. ii. Supplement to Eighth Report, A.D. 1819, 6. Rolls' Office, by James Hardiman, Sub-Commissioner.

prosecute their suits before a foreign jurisdiction, to the great grievance of the people, and in violation of the rights and franchises of the land, it was enacted, that for the future, no persons should be obliged by any commandment under any other seal but that of Ireland to answer any appeal or any other matter out of the said land; and it was also decreed, that no officer to whom such commandment might come, should put the same into execution, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels and 1,000 marks, half payable to the king, and the other to the prosecutor; furthermore, that all appeals for treason in Ireland should be determinable before the constable and marshal in Ireland, and in no other place. Finally, if any person appealed to any other person within the land of Ireland, and if the matter were found to be false, the prosecutor should suffer death, while no pardon in the case could avail him.¹

In the thirty-fourth year of the reign of this king it was enacted that only one parliament should be summoned in the same year. This law was passed to remedy the frequent imposition of subsidies, which were demanded in the distracted state of affairs both in England and in Ireland.

One of the most profound and distinguished among modern historical English writers has pronounced, that so far as precedents and authorities extend in early times, those countenance an opinion that English statutes were valid in Ireland. From the time of Henry VI. or Edward IV. it is certainly established, that they had no operation, unless enacted by the Irish Parliament.²

During the reign of King Edward IV.³ two years were not allowed to pass over without a meeting of Parliament.⁴ One of his own convening was held at Wexford, by the

¹ See John T. Gilbert's *History of the Viceroy's of Ireland*, chap. ix., pp. 369, 370.

² See Henry Hallam's *Constitutional History of England from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George IV.*, vol. ii., chap. xviii., page 767. London, 1827, 4to.

³ This monarch died at Westminster, on the 9th of April, A.D. 1483.

⁴ There is an abridgment of the statutes 11 Hen. IV. to 11 Ed. IV. preserved among the manuscripts of Trinity College, Dublin, and classed E. i. 43. It seems to have been formerly in possession of Archbishop Ussher, as also to have been noted and used by him.

Earl of Desmond, who was Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1463. From its record we learn, that it was customary to pay the knights for their attendance as representatives, in various parts of the kingdom.¹ Also, Thomas, the seventh Earl of Kildare, while Lord Deputy, held two parliaments at Drogheda. At one of these, the English statutes against rapes, and all other statutes theretofore made in England, were extended to Ireland. During this period, great divisions existed between the rival factions of Kildare and Ormond; while rival parliaments or conventions were summoned at the same time, in which contrariant laws were enacted. In 1472, a parliament was held at Naas,² in the twelfth year of Edward IV.'s reign, to provide for the better defence of the English territory.³ In that there summoned, an Act was passed in defiance of King Edward IV., and this authorized "the Lord Justice Gerol, Earl of Kildare, to adjourn and prorogue parliament at pleasure, while he was necessarily employed against the insurgents."⁴ Soon afterwards he held a parliament in Dublin.⁵ Meantime, while dissensions prevailed among the English of the Pale, which was then greatly circumscribed, the native chiefs and people were free to follow their own courses and modes of living.

In less than two years, two parliaments were held in Ireland during the reign of Richard III.⁶ One of these assembled in Dublin, and some accounts of its proceedings exist.⁷ We find it recorded that, in 1484, Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, as Lord Deputy, received from parliament a subsidy of 13s. 4d. to be levied out of every ploughland under

¹ According to the original roll. See also *State Papers*, vol. ii., part iii., page 496.

² See *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, page 41.

³ See Thomas Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. iii., chap. xlii., page 190.

⁴ See this very curious document alluded to, in the *Liber Munerum Publicorum Hiberniæ*, part vi., page 3., col. 2.

⁵ See *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, page 44.

⁶ It is ascertained from the memoranda rolls of the Exchequer in Ireland, that he commenced to reign from the 26th of June, 1483. He was killed in the battle of Bosworth, on the 22nd of August, 1485.

⁷ See Sir William Betham's *Origin and History of the Constitution of England, and of the Early Parliaments of Ireland*, chap. xiii., pages 378, 379. Dublin, 1834, 8vo.

English jurisdiction in the four Leinster shires¹ towards defraying the charges incurred in serving against the Irish.² Besides, an Act was then passed establishing free warren in the manor of Maynooth for the earl.³

King Henry VII.⁴ held five parliaments in Ireland, and to one of these particularly great historical and political importance has been attached. Although a partisan of the Yorkists, who were powerful in Ireland, the Earl of Kildare was, nevertheless, continued in his post, and for a considerable time after the king's accession.⁵ In 1485, the first year of Henry VII.'s accession, his deputy held a parliament at Trim.⁶ Again, the Earl of Kildare summoned a parliament, on the 4th of June, 1486.⁷ The pretensions of Lambert Simmel to the English throne were espoused by the lord deputy; and after the Pretender's coronation in Christ Church Cathedral, he was made to summon a parliament in Dublin. Then laws were enacted, and subsidies were granted.⁸

But of all others, the most memorable was that parliament convened at Drogheda.⁹ The king feared the Yorkist influences, which were very strong in Ireland, and he desired to curb them by an astute expedient. When Sir Edward Poynings had been sent to Ireland as vicegerent, in 1494, he summoned a parliament to meet there, in the tenth year of King Henry VII.'s reign, A. D. 1495, and on

¹ See John T. Gilbert's *History of the Viceroy's of Ireland*, chap. xi., page 421.

² See *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, page 45.

³ Taken from the D'Alton MSS.

⁴ He reigned from the 22nd of August, 1485, to the 21st of April, 1509.

⁵ See Thomas Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. iii., chap. xlv., pages 197, 198.

⁶ See *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, page 45.

⁷ See Sir James Ware's *Rerum Hibernicarum Annales, regnantibus Henrico VII. Henrico VIII. Edwardo VI. et Maria*. A.C. MCCCCLXXXVI., page 5. Dublinii, 1664, fol.

⁸ An Act passed in the 10th Henry VII., A.D. 1494, ordained that all the statutes then passed "be incorporate and written in two books, one of them to be in the king's chiefe place, and another to be in the common place."

⁹ A very excellent and impartial account of this assembly, and of their proceedings, may be found in Rev. Dr. Leland's *History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II.*, vol. ii., Book iii., chap. v., pages 102-108; also Appendix, pages 505-509.

Monday after the feast of St. Andrew. The statutes there passed had a remarkable effect on the constitution of Ireland; for no freedom of originating laws was allowed in the native parliament until the heads of bills had been first approved by the English king and his council. The original acts of the English parliament, from the twelfth year of Henry VII. to the present time, are still preserved in the custody of the Clerk of the Houses of Lords and Commons in England.¹ During that reign a parliament was held at Castledermot, by Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare.² Again, in 1508, the same Gerald convoked a parliament in Dublin.³ The common and statute laws of England, framed before the tenth year of the reign of King Henry VII., were also enacted and established in Ireland.

King Henry VIII.⁴ held six parliaments in Ireland, and during his time the viceroys exercised almost regal powers. From the commencement of this reign, for the first time appear the proceedings of parliament in England among the records.⁵ In 1515, on the 25th of January, Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, held a parliament in Dublin. Likewise, in March, 1517, he assembled there another parliament. Again, in May, 1525, the Earl of Kildare held a parliament in Dublin.⁶ Another parliament was convened in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry VIII., at Dublin.⁷ In this the three estates were assembled. These consented that the provinces of Ulster and Leinster, and that all the lands of the Anglo-Irish absentees, should be granted and confirmed and established to the king, as also to his heirs

¹ See *General Report to the King in Council from the Honourable Board of Commissioners on the Public Records appointed by His Majesty King William IV.*, page 75. London, 1837, large folio.

² See *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, page 58.

³ See *ibid.*, page 66.

⁴ He reigned from the 22nd of April, 1509, to the 28th of January, 1547.

⁵ See *General Report to the King in Council from the Honourable Board of Commissioners on the Public Records*, page 75.

⁶ See *The Earls of Kildare*, by the Marquis of Kildare, pp. 82, 97.

⁷ See *The Statutes at Large, passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland*, vol. i., A.D. 1537, chap. iv., pp. 89, 90.

and successors.¹ The rolls of this parliament² contain an Act declaring the effect of Poynings' Act,³ and alluding to its repeal. During this reign, a recommendation to have the Irish statutes printed⁴ was overlooked or neglected. The Anglo-Irish colonists owned allegiance to the English monarch as lord paramount over them; but it was only in 1542 that parliament conferred upon King Henry VIII. the title, King of Ireland.⁵ Only within a few cities or towns, and in limited tracts of country surrounding them, was his rule acknowledged. In all other places, the island was ruled by native chieftains, under their own peculiar clan system, and regulated by the Brehon law.

We find no account of any parliament held in Ireland during the time of King Edward VI.,⁶ although it is on record, that on the 5th of August, A.D. 1550, he wrote to the Irish Lord Deputy, empowering him to summon one, when he deemed it expedient.⁷

The two first years of Queen Mary's reign⁸ were spent in one parliament. Her Deputy, Sussex, was directed to convene a parliament; and accordingly, the Lords and Commons assembled on the 1st day of June, 1556. To this the great business of re-establishing the ancient faith and

¹ See *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth, 1603-1624*, edited by J. S. Brewer, M.A., and William Bullen, Esq., page 458.

² Cap. 31.

³ See twenty-eighth year of King Henry VIII., A.D. 1537, cap. xx., in *The Statutes at Large, passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland*, vol. i., pp. 157-159.

⁴ By Mr. Justice Luttrell, in his *Booke to the King's Commissioners in Ireland*, A.D. 1537.

⁵ See *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, preserved in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth, 1603-1624*, page 458.

⁶ He reigned from the 28th of January, 1547, to the 6th of July, 1553. See Sir James Ware's *Hierum Hibernicarum Annales, regnantibus Henrico VII. Henrico VIII. Eduardo VI. et Maria*, pages 176-179.

⁷ This letter, written in the king's name, is signed E. Somerset, in the Chancery Rolls of 5 Edward VI.

⁸ This is computed from the 6th of July, 1553; but, when she married Philip, King of Spain, on the 25th of July, 1554, a change took place as well in noting her regnal years as in her titles. The latter date became the first day of the first and second year of the reign of Philip and Mary. Queen Mary died on the 17th of November, in the fifth and sixth of Philip and Mary, 1558.

worship was committed.¹ However, in the constitutional sense, to put an end to future contest and debate, the intent and meaning of Poynings' law was formally defined by that parliament.² This proceeding was in favour of Irish legislative independence.

During the first twenty-seven years of Queen Elizabeth's reign,³ five parliaments of her convocation were held in Ireland. The second year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, on the 11th day of January, 1560, a parliament was held.⁴ The roll of this was preserved in the Newman offices.⁵ He was Keeper of the Records in Dublin, in the time of James I.⁶ In the House of Commons, representatives were summoned for ten counties only, the rest were citizens and burgesses of those towns in which the royal authority was predominant; and altogether, the members in that assembly numbered seventy-six.⁷ As this parliament had been summoned chiefly to promote the Reformed religion in Ireland, the Lord Deputy Sussex experienced so much opposition, that after sitting from the 12th of January to the 12th of February, he was obliged to pronounce its dissolution. A parliament was held at Dublin, 23rd of February, 1567.⁸ After various vigorous contests regarding the illegal constitution of the House of Commons, and much confusion, several

¹ See Very Rev. Dr. Laurence F. Renahan's *Collections on Irish Church History*, edited by Rev. Daniel M'Carthy, vol. i., page 8. Dublin, 1861, 8vo.

² See Rev. Dr. Leland's *History of Ireland, from the Invasion of Henry II.*, vol. ii., Book iii., chap. viii., page 212.

³ It lasted from November 17th, 1558, until she died, on the 24th of March, 1603.

⁴ The names of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and of the knights and representatives are to be found in James Hardiman's *Statute of the Fortieth Year of King Edward III.*, &c. Edited, in the *Statute of Kilkenny*, for the Irish Archæological Society, Appendix, No. ii., pp. 134-138.

⁵ See *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1603-1624, page 314.

⁶ See *ibid.*, page 338.

⁷ See Dr. Leland's *History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II.*, vol. ii., book iv., chap. i., pp. 224-226.

⁸ See *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1603-1624, Appendix, page 455.

prorogations took place to the thirteenth year of Elizabeth.¹

When twenty-seven years of her reign elapsed, a parliament was again summoned.² Probably, owing to anticipated opposition from the members, as also to the disturbed state of Ireland, and to the great difficulty of bringing the knights and burgesses together, that assembly had not been previously convened. The country of the Pale was then greatly wasted, owing to the Irish incursions and arbitrary orders issued in council for the imposition of taxes. These causes aroused a spirit of opposition and dissatisfaction among the Anglo-Irish subjects. A remonstrance to the Lord Lieutenant, Sir Henry Sydney, against a system of taxation so oppressive and unconstitutional followed. Confidential agents were despatched to England, with a remonstrance signed by several lords and gentlemen of the Pale. At first, those agents were committed to the tower, as if they had been deemed guilty of high treason; but the dangerous consequences to be apprehended in Ireland of prosecuting them further were soon recognized, and they were dismissed with a caution, while the politic Sir John Perrot was sent over to act as the Queen's deputy.

¹ In the time of Sir Henry Sydney's viceregency, the Irish statutes were first printed. The following statement is found in the manuscript classed Titus B. IX. of the Cotton collection, in the British Museum :— "The statutes of Ireland from the 10th yere of King Henrie the Sixt to the thirteenth yere of the Queene's Ma^{tie} that now is, printed at London, 1572, by the procurement of Sir Henry Sydney, Knight of the Garter, lord president of Wales and lord deputy of Ireland, having sumoned all the Justices of both benches, with the chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the M^r of the Rolls, and referred to them the copying out and examining of all the statutes as were of Record and not published; which they did, and delivered the same perfectly written and examined, with all their hands subscribed to every one of them." A copy of this work, so important for a knowledge of the early Irish statutes, is not to be found in any public library of Ireland. It was printed by R. Tottell, in London.

² In James Hardiman's *Statute of the Fortieth year of King Edward III.*, &c., the names of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as also those of the shires or counties and of the cities and boroughs are set forth. See Appendix No. iii., pp. 139–142.

³ The orders to regulate proceedings in the "Lower or Comen House of Parlyament" are also very interesting for the historical and political student. See *ibid.*, page 143.

In the new parliament, no effort was made to forward the Reformed religion ; and the first attempt of the court party was to move for a suspension of Poynings' law. Most of the transmitted bills were opposed ; but, finding the parliament in a disposition to maintain the rights of Ireland against all demands and instructions from England, the crown minister prorogued it, after a short session of opposition. The second session of this parliament opened on the 26th of April, 1586. This was the third and last parliament of Queen Elizabeth.

Only two or three shires in Leinster, and a few corporate towns in Munster, at this period, were preserved, and with great difficulty, from the native Irish inroads. All the other districts of Ireland were either exempt from English law and government, or they were so devoid of garrisons, that writs could not run therein, nor could cess or dues be exacted for the necessities of the State. Wherefore, supplies and munitions of war had mainly to be borne at the charge of the English exchequer, in order to maintain the Irish establishment. The thrifty Queen frequently complained of those heavy expenses incurred by her deputies in Ireland, while she very grudgingly submitted to the constant drains on her resources, but which were found necessary to support her title and supremacy in the kingdom of Ireland. Moreover, the ancient Anglo-Norman barons there had been so wasted and reduced in their large estates, that they were in great poverty, and unable to support their dignities in the Upper House of Parliament. In those days, many of the Pale esquires were created barons, to fill up a void among the ancient and higher nobility.

JOHN CANON O'HANLON.

THE LIVING ROSARY IN DETAIL.

I.—A PROLOGUS GALEATUS.

TO the general account of the Living Rosary, which I have already supplied in the I. E. RECORD of last September, I shall now have to add a detailed account. This I shall be compelled to divide into three articles. The first will be devoted to establishing the doctrine already laid down in general in my last article, and showing how it all applies to Ireland; for, unless I do this, it will be idle to proceed from general principles unadmitted to what is more particular. It will thus form a sort of *Prologus Galeatus* to the coming treatise. The second article will set down in accurate detail the whole machinery of the Living Rosary sodality. And the third will treat of the practical working of this machinery, so as to secure the smoothest movement and the best results. This, I hope, will exhaust the subject.

How, then, about the two statements in my article, which seem to have occasioned the “wide-spread feeling of uneasiness among the Irish clergy” vouched for on page 942 of last October’s I. E. RECORD?

First, does the legitimate source of authority over the Living Rosary in Ireland reside in the Irish Dominican Provincial, and in him alone?

My answer is in the affirmative.

On page 945 of last October’s I. E. RECORD, the question is answered in the negative:—

“All the requisite faculties for instituting and carrying on the sodalities of the Living Rosary can be obtained, as they always have been, from our bishops, who have, in the comprehensive words of the *Instruction*¹ already referred to, the power to erect *quascumque sodalitates a S. Sede approbatas*, and to bless the beads and scapulars pertaining to them.”

Now the words of the *Instruction* referred to do not warrant this statement. Let us examine it in detail.

The document in question is a letter addressed by the

¹ *Instr. S. Cong. de Prop. Fide*, June, 1889, I. E. RECORD, September, 1889, page 850.

Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to the bishops subject to his Congregation, in order to communicate to them certain information. It consists of three parts: the first declares that the Congregation possesses from the Holy See the power of granting certain faculties to the bishops; the second explains how these faculties work when granted; the third gives information on certain kindred subjects, which do not, however, enter into the present discussion. The following is the text of the letter, a few unimportant omissions being made here and there for the sake of clearness. In the first part are contained four statements:—

“A. 1. Authority had for a long time past been granted to this Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith for giving to Archbishops, Bishops, &c. . . . the power of erecting in places subject to them pious sodalities of what kind soever approved of by the Holy See

“B. 2. But after it had been determined by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics, issued 16th July, 1887, with regard to the Confraternities of the Most Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, and of the Seven Dolours, that they should not be erected unless letters granting faculties for their erection had been previously sought and obtained from the respective Superiors of the Orders existing at the time, it was doubted by some as to whether the aforesaid decree did not regard missionary places also where many circumstances occur to prevent what is ordered by it from being conveniently put into execution.

“C. 3. Consequently, to remove all ambiguity” [the Holy Father declared] “that this Sacred Council of the Propagation of the Faith could continue to use the same faculties regarding the erection of confraternities approved of by the Holy See, which it had before the promulgation of the aforesaid decree of the 16th July, 1887.

“D. 4. And in an Audience His Holiness has ordered moreover, that, notwithstanding any previous prohibition of the Holy See, power might be freely given to erect even Confraternities of the Most Sacred Rosary—in such a way, however, that the faithful ascribed to them only gain the indulgences granted in common to all canonically erected confraternities in general.”

Then comes the second part of the *Instruction*, which shows how such faculties work when granted, both with regard to confraternities in general, and to the Confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary in particular:—

“E. 1. The Superiors of Missions, then, who are subject to

this Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, must know that they can validly and lawfully exercise the faculties to be made over (*faciendas*) to them by it . . . without being first bound to ask for or obtain the permission or assent of any Superior of any regular Order whatsoever.

"F. 2. However, with regard to the Confraternities of the Most Sacred Rosary, if they want them so organized as to enjoy those special indulgences which belong to confraternities erected by the authority of the Master-General of the Order of Preachers, then it is necessary for them to have recourse to him."

This is the only portion of the *Instruction* that bears on the point under discussion.

Now it is quite evident that the first part of this *Instruction* has reference exclusively to the powers of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda itself, not to the powers of the bishops under Propaganda. It simply declares, under the section I have lettered A, that Propaganda for a long time past had possessed the powers of enabling bishops to erect confraternities, &c. ; under B, that doubt had been thrown upon this ; under C, that the Pope had removed that doubt and declared that the Congregation could go on using its powers ; and, under D, that this even applied (though in a restricted way) to the Congregation of the Most Sacred Rosary. Section A, which states that Propaganda has enjoyed these powers of enabling bishops to erect confraternities independently of the regular prelate, says nothing about its actually employing them ; much less does it declare that it thereby communicates them indiscriminately to all bishops. It only states that the Congregation *has* the powers to communicate, if it sees fit. And yet this very section has been quoted (October I. E. RECORD, 1890, page 944) as an all-sufficient proof of the Irish bishops having actually received these powers from Propaganda. They could have received them ; therefore they have ; such has been the inference—an inference from *posse* to *esse*.

Then, with regard to the second part of the *Instruction*, section E is just as powerless in proving that these extraordinary powers have been communicated to the Irish bishops. It says Superiors of Missions can exercise the faculties *to be made over to them* ; i. e., which *will, may, or can*

be made over to them (*faciendas*, the gerundive participle, employed for lack of a future participle passive) ; not which *have been*, or *are hereby*, made over to them ; for in this case the word to have been used would have been, not *faciendas*, but *factas*.

The *Instruction* then proves absolutely nothing as to the fact of the Irish bishops having received these powers from Propaganda. When a bishop wishes to receive any extraordinary powers from that or any other Congregation, which are not contained in his ordinary formula, he has to petition for them ; and until his petition is granted by an express document, he, of course, does not possess them. It is needless to state that the powers in question are not contained in the Formula Sexta.

Now, either personally or through others, I have consulted several Irish bishops on this point, and have received from each an assurance that these powers have not been conceded to him. One of them did me the extreme courtesy to show me the papers he received from Propaganda on his application for full powers as to the Rosary and other confraternities. These were the very same that priests get (though with the right to delegate) for blessing beads, enrolling in confraternities, &c., but not for *erecting* confraternities or sodalities. To another bishop even *those* faculties were refused, quite lately, on his application for their renewal. And I doubt whether any bishop in this country is in possession of the other faculties here in question.

Being now in possession of the *fact*, viz., that the Dominican Provincial in Ireland, and he alone, is the legitimate superior of the Living Rosary sodality, it might be useful, perhaps, to inquire whether the Sacred Congregation is ever likely to give the bishops in Ireland an independent share in his powers. Light on the subject may be obtained, I think, from section B of the *Instruction*. There the reason is insinuated which would move Propaganda to place such extraordinary powers in the hands of bishops ; namely, the existence of "*loca Missionum in quibus plura rerum adjuncta prohibent quominus quae per illud (Decretum,*

16 *Julii*, 1887), *praecipuntur commode possint executioni mandari.*" In Ireland, however, where there are so many Orders, in so many towns, it is quite easy to communicate with their Provincials and obtain the requisite faculties from them; so that it is not easy to see what reason there would be to incline the Sacred Congregation to supersede the ordinary disposition of ecclesiastical legislation. We are not in the wilds of Borneo or Patagonia, where either there are no Religious Orders existing, or where communication with the centre of authority would be extremely difficult, if not quite impossible.

Again, we may prove the mind of the Sacred Congregation from the formula in which it concedes to bishops as well as to priests, both secular and regular, in this country, the power of enrolling¹ the faithful in the different confraternities, and blessing the appropriate beads and scapulars. In this regular printed form the clause occurs: "*exceptio locis ubi adsunt Regulares ex privilegio sui Ordinis ejusmodi facultate gaudentes.*" That is to say, the Sacred Congregation never intends to have two independent and rival founts of authority in the same place. And this reason seems to me so conclusive, that I should not wonder at the clause being left even were the formula issued to a bishop in Thibet or Tartary.

We may test the mind of the Congregation in yet another way. In the formulas issued by the Generals of Religious Orders empowering priests, whether secular or of a different Order, to enroll, bless, &c., a precisely similar restrictive clause is uniformly to be met with. Now the mind of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda cannot be different from the mind of the heads of Religious Orders; for it would be absurd to imagine that there could be two diverse and opposed interests in the Church as regards the communication of its spiritual treasures. Both secular and regular prelates are commissioned by the same Apostolic authority, they are both equally anxious to act upon their commission of beneficence, and they are both equally concerned that the

¹ Not, however, it will be observed, of *erecting* a confraternity.

distribution of spiritual treasures should take place in a uniform and orderly way. There must be no strife, no contention, between the dispensers of the merits of Christ and His saints.

I should scarcely deem it likely then that the Sacred Congregation would interfere in Ireland with what has hitherto worked so well. With regard to the Living Rosary sodality, I can answer for the fact, that since it fell into the hands of the Order by the brief of 1877, priests in different parts of the country have continuously applied to the Irish Dominican Provincial for faculties as directors, and have received them from him, in due course, by means of a regular printed diploma, the terms of which I shall publish further on.

It is not right, then, to say that the brief of 1877, *Quod jure haereditario*, is "hitherto unheard of by most priests" (I. E. RECORD, Oct., 1890, page 942, line 7); or that the consequences of my teaching are "sweeping and revolutionary in their character" (page 944, line 2); or that "Father Byrne's article on the Living Rosary, so far as it concerns this country, might as well never have been written" (page 945, line 13); or that "its teaching need not excite the least uneasiness in the mind of any priest" (*ibid.*). For, as I have just stated, the brief of 1877 *has* been heard of by a great many priests (though at the date of its issue the I. E. RECORD was not in existence to record it), and they have obeyed its authority, and applied for and received their faculties from the legitimate source. The consequences of my teaching are not "revolutionary," for it must be remembered that, in addition to the priests just spoken of, there must necessarily be a considerable number alive now who date their appointment as Living Rosary directors from before 1877, and who have quietly and legitimately held on their sodalities without any disturbance whatsoever. Moreover, I fail to see how a change made or imposed by the legitimate authority (the Church) could in any way be justly styled "revolutionary." I have proved that my teaching *does* concern this country, and if there should chance to be any priest, who, believing himself to be a Living Rosary director, has neither received his appointment on or prior to

the 15th of November, 1877, nor from the Dominican prelate after that date, such an one may very well feel considerable uneasiness in his mind, which nothing should be able to dispel short of a document from Propaganda expressly authorizing his bishop to appoint him Living Rosary director, or a diploma of directorate from the Irish Dominican Provincial.

It now remains for me to ask and answer the question : Is the use of beads bearing the Dominican blessing a necessary condition for gaining the indulgences of the Living Rosary?

I have already indicated my position with regard to this point in the following broad proposition :—" To gain the indulgences of the Living Rosary, which are very numerous, one must be legitimately admitted into the sodality, and use beads bearing the Dominican blessing " (I. E. RECORD, Sept. 1890, page 820, line 8, *a fine*).

I must observe that when I wrote the above, I had no idea at all of giving explicit and detailed information concerning the Living Rosary indulgences and the conditions required for gaining them. Hence my statement, though perfectly true, is very incomplete, and needs considerable evolution, in order to be adequately understood. Any person accurately acquainted with the full official elenchus of these indulgences would at once see the practical necessity of my remark, and would understand it in its true bearing ; those not possessed of this accurate acquaintance would, I trusted, accept the statement on authority, follow its teaching—which would cost them no trouble—and be made happy by gaining all the indulgences indiscriminately, without having to stop to inquire : " Have I a right to this ? " or, " Must I stop short at that ? "

I shall now lay before the reader the full truth as regards this question, accurately expressed in every detail. I shall then show how it is in no way and in no point contradictory to the proposition I have already laid down. This, I hope, will free me from any further obligation of dealing with this contentious matter, and will leave me at liberty to evolve in

detail what remains to be said concerning the machinery and working of the Living Rosary sodality.

The indulgences of the Living Rosary may be conveniently arranged, for the purposes of this discussion, in the following order, according to the various dates of their concession :—

First, those granted by Pope Gregory XVI., by the brief *Benedicentes Domino*, dated 27th January, 1832. These are :

A. (1) "A plenary indulgence the first holiday after admission to the sodality. Conditions : Confession and Communion.

B. (2) "The indulgences which the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, have decreed for the recitation of the Rosary." No condition mentioned, or indulgences explicitly defined.

C. (3) "An indulgence of one hundred days as often as the part of the Rosary fixed by the rule of the pious exercise is recited on ferial days ; and an indulgence of seven years, with as many quarantines, if the same work is religiously performed on Sundays and other feast days throughout the year, those even from which the precept of hearing mass has been taken away, and throughout the octaves of the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, Resurrection, Corpus Christi, Pentecost, and the Assumption, Birth, and Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. "

D. (4) A plenary indulgence, on the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, All Saints, and the third Sunday of each month. Conditions : the previous recitation of the daily decade for at least a month, unless the person is prevented by a legitimate cause ; Confession and Communion on the days mentioned ; and "*pia preces in aliqua ecclesia.*"

It must be noticed, under B, that the Pope does not state definitely what these indulgences are, and says nothing at all about their conditions. We must understand, consequently, that, looking on this Living Rosary as the same species of devotion as the well-known Dominican Rosary, which is always understood whenever the Rosary is mentioned without any peculiar epithet, he simply declared that the indulgences already in force for the recital of the Rosary applied to it in its own measure, and, of course, on the same conditions. Now, the only indulgences granted to *the faithful in general* before his time, for the mere recitation of the Rosary were, to judge from the official elenchus published by the Dominican General, those of Benedict XIII. by bull *Sanctissimus*, 13th April, 1726, which consisted

of one hundred days for each "Our Father" and "Hail, Mary," provided the Rosaries were blessed by priests of the Order of Preachers, and that at least the third part of the Rosary were recited. If this was kept up for a year, a plenary indulgence might be gained on any day after fulfilling the usual conditions of confession and communion. Now, as the Living Rosary is the Rosary, not of fifteen, or of five, but of single mysteries (I. E. RECORD, Sept., 1890, page 816, line 24), if we substitute for the minimum recitation of five decades required by Benedict XIII. the recital of the single decade required by the rule of the Living Rosary, we shall see plainly and definitely what indulgences are to be understood under clause B. We shall see also, as a necessary consequence, that to gain them the beads must have been blessed by a Dominican priest.

The next grant of indulgences is by rescript of Gregory XVI., 7th June, 1839, for the benefit of the *officials* of the sodality:—

E. "1. 100 days to *Zelators*, for fulfilment of any of their duties.

"2. 300 days to presidents of at least eleven *Zelators*, for the same."

These indulgences, of course, cannot concern beads.

The next addition to the indulgences of the Living Rosary is to be found in the authentic appendix to the *Raccolta* approved of by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgence and Sacred Relics, 8th May, 1865. To avoid repetitions, I will merely state that to this date we may assign the addition of the following feasts to the days on which may be gained the plenary indulgences marked D. The feasts of our Lord's Birth, Circumcision, Epiphany, Resurrection and Ascension, Corpus Christi, Pentecost, Trinity; all the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary, whether great or small, provided they are celebrated by the whole Church.

At this juncture the present Archbishop of Dublin published a list of the Living Rosary indulgences in the I. E. RECORD, May, 1871, exactly corresponding with those I have now recorded, except that he left undefined the class of

indulgences I have marked B. Nothing else certainly could have been expected at that date; for it was not till 1878 that the exact extent of this class of indulgences was put beyond a doubt by an authentic document of the Sacred Congregation. No wonder also that he stated in a second article (I. E. RECORD, June, 1871), that "for the indulgence of the Living Rosary neither the use nor the possession of beads, medals, &c., is required. Gregory XVI., in granting these indulgences, prescribed only the recitation of the prayers, according to the rules of the association; and these make no mention of any such condition." Here it will be seen that the archbishop did not even regard the Living Rosary as anything particularly Dominican in character; he speaks of the indulgences in quite the same breath as those known as the "Apostolic," to obtain which the possession of a blessed medal (!) is sufficient. And no wonder, for it was not till six years later that the devotion was declared by Apostolic authority to be Dominican *jure hereditario*. It is just as unfair then to Dr. Walsh to quote him as an authority on the present legislation of the Living Rosary sodality as it would be to St. Thomas of Aquin to quote him as an authority on the present state of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

Not Dr. Walsh alone, but the Vicar-General of the order, Father Joseph M. Sanvito, writing as "Supremus Moderator" of the sodality, 15th November, 1877, avoids insisting on the necessity of the Dominican blessing, which had not as yet been expressly insisted upon by Apostolic authority. His words at that date (three months after the brief *Quod jure hereditario*) are simply these:—

"In posterum autem, ut quis in Sodalitatem Rosarii-Viventis legitime co-optetur et lucretur Indulgentias huic Sodalitati concessas, necessarium erit illum eligi aut approbari ab aliqua Zelatrice seu Zelatore, qui ipse approbatus seu institutus fuerit ab aliquo legitimo Rosarii Viventis Directore."

The next event of the little history I am tracing occurred 2nd February, 1878. This was the issuing of an authentic "Summarium Indulgentiarum" for the Living Rosary, by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences and Sacred Relics.

To be brief, it sets down the indulgences exactly as I have done above, evolving those marked B as follows :—

“IV. Indulgentias omnibus fidelibus Rosarium recitantibus ab Apostolica Sede usque ad annum 1832 concessas (Greg. XVI in Brevi *Benedictes*, 27th Jan. 1832), et ideo. 1, centum dies pro quolibet *Pater* et quolibet *Ave*, dummodo utantur corona precatória de more benedicta per aliquem Sacerdotem Ordinis Praedicatorum (Benedictus XIII, April. 1726), vel per alium Sacerdotem, qui a Rmo Ordinis Magistro Generali facultatem Rosaria benedicendi obtinuerit; 2, in die a singulis Sodalibus semel quotannis eligenda Indulgentiam Plenariam defunctis applicabilem, si contriti, confessi, et sacra communione refecti, consuetas preces juxta intentiones Summi Pontificis effuderint, dummodo quotidianam decadem per integrum annum recitaverint, utendo corona ut supra benedicta.”

The “Summarium” concludes :—

“Sacra Congregatio, Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis preposita, Indulgentias in praesenti Summario contentas uti authenticas recognovit, proindeque typis imprimi ac publicar posse censuit.

“Datum ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis, die 2 Februarii, 1878.

“AL. CARD. OREGLIA A S. STEPHANO, *Praef.*

“Loco ✠ sigilli.

“A. PANICI, *Secretarius.*”

I publish this termination to emphasize the authenticity of the document, which is by no means to be considered a mere unauthenticated sheet, but an instrument possessed of legislative force. For it is issued with the same authority and formality as any other decree of the Sacred Congregation.

The matter being now decided beyond doubt or question with regard to indulgences B, the Vicar-General of the Order wrote as follows, 5th June, 1879, among other authoritative declarations as “Supremus Moderator” :—

“Ad lucrandas indulgentias huic Sodalitati non semel concessas, atque in Summario a S. Congregatione, sub die 2 Februarii, 1878, approbato designatas, singuli Sodales ab aliquo legitimo Zelatore admitti necesse habent, atque ‘*uti corona precatória de more benedicta per aliquem Sacerdotem Ordinis Praedicatorum, vel per alium Sacerdotem, qui a Rmo Ordinis Magistro Generali facultatem benedicendi Rosaria obtinuerit.*’” (Summ.)

The same language is used by the Master-General,

Father Joseph M. Larroca, 22nd April, 1887, speaking with the same authority as "Supremus Moderator":—

"Ad lucrandas indulgentias Sodalitati Rosarii Viventis non semel concessas vel in posterum concedendas, singuli Sodales ab aliquo legitimo Zelatore admitti necesse habent.

"Etiam necesse est prædictos Sodales uti corona precatória, de more benedicta per aliquem sacerdotem Ordinis Prædicatorum, vel per alium sacerdotem, qui a Rmo Ordinis Magistro Generali facultatem benedicendi Rosaria obtinuerit."

Now, it will be noticed that the two Generals do not say that the use of Dominican beads is necessary for the acquisition of *each and every* indulgence. They simply say: "ad lucrandas indulgentias huic sodalitati concessas." "The indulgences conceded" is a term to be understood collectively, not distributively, and, of course, means in order to gain the *entire body* of the Living Rosary indulgences. That is, if you do not use Dominican beads, you will not gain *all*, you will lose *some*. The words of the Generals cannot impose any further necessity than that already imposed by Apostolic authority, as, of course, to do so would be to exceed the functions of a "Supremus Moderator," and assume those of a Congregation.

Now, taking into consideration the universal and unbroken tradition in the Church, which for so many ages had allied the use of the beads¹ to the use of the prayers—taking into consideration the fact that the Living Rosary by the brief *Quod jure hæreditario* had been so emphatically declared to be of Dominican lineage and a branch of the old Dominican stock, taking into consideration that at some future period, when, by long and undisputed possession, the Living Rosary sodality would have become unmistakably Dominican in its character of a regular training-ground for candidates to the great Rosary Confraternity, that then the Sacred Congregation might by no means improbably affix by an express decree the use of the Dominican beads as a necessary condition to the acquirement of all the indulgences without distinction,

¹ I use this word, of course, in its modern sense, signifying the "corona," not in the archaic English sense of the word, meaning "prayers."

it may very well be supposed that the two Dominican Generals, with the prudence and foresight of true prelates and legislators, chose their language with deliberation, and adopted a form of words which would be perfectly well adapted to existing circumstances, and would at the same time indicate the direction in which they desired the current of events to tend. For as "Supremi Moderatores" they had a perfect right to prescribe the use of Dominican beads as of precept, even though not a necessary condition for the gaining of each and every indulgence. By this means too a plain and simple *norma agendi* would be provided for the faithful, by means of which they would gain every indulgence and avoid unnecessary mental confusion as to the fulfilment of the conditions.

I understand the words of the Supremi Moderatores, then, in the sense of a precept, indicating their desire concerning the use of Dominican beads in all cases. I do not, however, and did not, consider that negligence to fulfil this precept would entail the loss of indulgences C and D. I do, however, and did, consider that such non-conformity would entail the loss of indulgences B.

Finally, in practice, this requirement of the use of Dominican beads will present no difficulty; for priests, when receiving the diploma of Directorate from the Irish Dominican Provincial, receive at the same time power to confer the Dominican blessing. This diploma, which has been in use in Ireland for the last fourteen years, runs as follows:—

Nos. Fr.

Prior Provincialis Hiberniæ Ordinis Praedicatorum.

Inter principales Officii nostri partes esse reputamus, ut magis in dies propagetur et floreat devotio erga Beatissimam Deiparam ejusque Rosarium, quod haereditario jure ad Ordinem nostrum pertinere saepius ab Apostolica Sede declaratum est. Cum igitur SS. D. N. fel. rec. Pius PP. IX. per Brev. sub die 17 Aug. 1877. Supremam Rosarii Viventis moderationem Magistro Generali Ordinis nostri commiserit, Nos, Ejus delegatione, Te . . . instituimus, et facimus Directorem Rosarii Viventis in civitate seu loco qui vulgari vocabulo dicitur . . . institutumque decernimus et declaramus cum omnibus juribus et gratiis,

quæ talium Directorum muneri seu officio competere dignoscuntur.

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Datum . . . in Conv. N. . . . die . . . Mense, 18.

Fr. —, *Prior Provincialis Hiberniæ.*

Fr. —, *a Secretis.*

Reg. Fol.

T. M. BYRNE, O.P.

ANECDOTA OXONIENSIA.¹

THE *Book of Lismore* is a large vellum MS. of the fifteenth century, preserved in Lismore Castle, Co. Waterford, and belonging to the Duke of Devonshire. The present volume contains, extracted therefrom, the Lives of SS. Patrick, Columba, Brigit, Senan, Finnian of Clonard, Finnchu of Brigown (Mitchelstown), Brendan of Ardfert, Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, and Mochua of Balla (Mayo).

With respect to the first, the present editor issued in the Rolls' Series, in 1887, *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, with other Documents relating to that Saint*. Amongst the latter appears a "Homily," comparison with which shows that the fresh matter contained in the Lismore Life amounts to no more than thirty-seven lines of this edition. With regard to the second and third Lives, homilies on SS. Columba and Brigit were printed (along with that just mentioned) by the editor, in 1877. The only substantial difference between them and those here given consists of four new incidents in the latter Life, equal to forty-seven lines of text. Moreover, most, if not the whole, of what is of linguistic value in the three compositions has been embodied in Windisch's *Dictionary*; whilst the facts, with the exceptions named, have long since passed into popular hagiography. There seems, accordingly, to have been no valid reason for including them in a volume of *Anecdota*.

¹ *Lives of Saints from The Book of Lismore*. Edited by Whitley Stokes, D.C.L. Oxford, 1890.

In reference to the other Lives, it has to be premised that for corrupt transcription *The Book of Lismore* may defy competition. In one place the scribe writes (page 280): "It is not I that am answerable for the meaningless words that are in this Life, but the bad manuscript." Similarly, here and there we find such editorial remarks as: "This is corrupt" (page 65); "the [word] of the MS. is nonsense" (page 161); "here *The Book of Lismore* is very corrupt" (page 228). Of each Life there are two apparently independent copies in other MSS. From these, where divergencies arise, the English version is regularly made, the Lismore text being left untranslated. Why, therefore, the latter has been printed, it is not easy to see; except, perhaps, that it belongs to a Duke. In addition, of the six Lives, no less than five, we learn, are extant in two Latin versions respectively. These, however, are excluded, although the book is swelled to an inordinate length with irrelevant matter.

The preface opens with a diffuse description of the contents of *The Book of Lismore*. Then we have a textual synopsis, long drawn out, in the mode familiar to those who are acquainted with that in *The Tripartite*: horrent with hyphens and asterisks and equation-marks and root-signs, designed to exhibit the language of the Lives. Its practical value is about the same as that of the conspectus in *The Tripartite*. But the terminology is hard to beat. In *depraccoit*, for instance, *a* seems a corruption for *e*. Not so, however: it is "*a* for post-tonic *e*" (page xlv.). Latin *q* for native *c* was hitherto deemed a harmless affectation of scribal learning. All the same, it is "the velar guttural *q*" (page xlviii.). Of noteworthy novelties we have "stems in *-tîon*" (page lvii.), and the editor's best-known discovery, the aorist, is alliteratively divided (pages lxxiv., lxxv.), into *simple* and *sigmatic*. But some examples of the *simple*, it is acutely noted, may possibly be *praeterito-presents* (page lxxiv.)! In the matter of *c* versus *k*, the latter letter is now triumphant. *Ac* and *sec* and *vac*, for instance, of *The Tripartite* (page lxxxvi.) now stand as *ak* and *sek* and *vek* (page lxxv.).

As a specimen of candour, the following is, perhaps,

worthy of note. In the *Stowe Missal* (page 249) *atnopuir Deo* was rendered *he offers them* (i.e., the bread and wine) *to God*. That is, the celebrant pronounces the consecration formula. Whereupon the editor declared *ex cathedra*: "I can say with confidence that in Old-Irish *n* never signifies *them*" (*Academy*, No. 792). In a subsequent number (802) of the same journal evidence to which he could not object was produced, showing that *n* did mean *them*. But the editor would not own his error. Now, however, when the *volte-face* is not likely to be detected, *n = them* appears amongst the "infix personal pronouns" (page lxiii). *Quo teneam vultum mutantem Protea nodo?*

Next, we have a list of loan-words. This is not quite complete, whilst it contains nothing original that is of value. To show its accuracy, *caisel* is said (page lxxxiii.) to be derived from *castellum*. The absence of *t* in the native word makes this impossible. Moreover, the meaning is not the same. When the writer in *The Book of Armagh* (fol. 16 d) wanted to latinize *caisel* (i.e., Cashel), he chose, not *castellum*, but *maceria* (stone-wall). Another example will be dealt with later on.

Then comes a lengthy synopsis of the contents, again after the method adopted in *The Tripartite*, with however this, amongst minor differences, that there the collected headings are printed in the ordinary way; whilst here, as befits a university edition, they will be found arranged like the *schema justitiæ* in the old editions of St. Thomas (2. 2. q. lvii.). It contains some remarkable items. The most primeval mode of carriage by land was on a human being's back (page c.). The wheeled vehicle called *carpat* was drawn by a pair of horses, and had two hind shafts (*ib.*). Ergo, the car was placed before the horse—a new example of hysteron-proteron. "From the phrase 'they leap on their horses' we may infer the absence of stirrups" (page ci.). *Cailech* (from *calicem*) is the paten (page cvii.). The gospel of St. Ciaran meant "gospelar," "the portions of the Gospels used in the mass" (*ib.*). At the time, of course, there was a fixed Gospel, John vi. 51-57 (*Stowe Missal*, folio 17 b). "Penance, Matrimony, and Holy Orders, are referred to in these Lives ;

but not as sacraments " (page cvii.). Until the editor defines a sacrament, it would be labour in vain to produce evidence to satisfy him. It is to be hoped the definition will not be of a piece with his well-known distinction between the Conception and the Incarnation. Meanwhile our readers will be relieved to find that the Lives contain repentance, confession, and confessor, " who was always a bishop or a priest " (page cxviii.). There is also mention of *lawful connection* (*ib.*).

Perhaps the most important section of its kind in the book is that descriptive (page 72) of the Shannon bearing the box to and from Inis Cathaig, to bring the " sacrifice," in order that nuns might communicate. Compare, it will suffice to observe for the present, the Conciliar decrees quoted in the Royal Irish Academy edition of the *Stowe Missal* (*Antiq.*, xxvii., page 254). To the editor, naturally, it bore no significance. He has, consequently, omitted reference thereto.

We proceed now to inquire how far the text and translation are reliable, and what are the extent and character of the illustrative material. Here most of the errors arise from lack of the intuitive perception which knowledge of the living speech alone can give. As to the text, though the letters of the MS. (as a facsimile prefixed exhibits) are as large as medium-sized capitals, the first thing the student has got to do is to eliminate up to one hundred and forty errata that are corrected at the end. Of these, no less than five are found in the transcript of the two columns represented in the facsimile. Add a sixth: page 97, line 12, for *a n-æninadh*, read *a n-æininadh*. To show the editorial supervision, on the very first page, *potius dicendus est propheta quam evangelista* is given as applied by St. Jerome to Isaiah. But, with charming inconsistency, the nouns change places (*evangelista quam propheta*) later on (page 150). What was the original, and where it is to be found, you will search in vain in this bulky tome. Our readers need scarcely be reminded that the dictum is taken in substance from the *Prologus Galeatus*: *Quorum primus (Isaias) non prophetiam mihi videtur texere, sed evangelium.*

With respect to the translation, here and there quatrains occur (amounting to thirty-two) which the editor admits his inability to master. No rendering is attempted. Moreover, a poem, in twenty-two stanzas, by the poet St. Colman, the founder of Cloyne, is in great part confessedly unintelligible to the editor. The various metrical forms, including the stately measure of St. Colman's verse, have not been explained, nor, consequently, is there any attempt made to attain the meaning by their aid.

In addition, two things have to be premised for the information of the majority of readers who cannot consult the original. First, the English does not always fully represent the Irish. For instance, an incident in the life of St. Senan is rightly described by the editor as "a truly beautiful legend, vulgarized by Thomas Moore in his *St. Senanus and the Lady*" (page 340). Therein we read, according to the translation (page 219): "'Go,' saith Senan, 'to thy sister, who dwells in yon island,'" &c. But the text (page 72) has: "'O Canair, go,' saith Senan, 'to my mother, thy sister,'" &c. (*A Chanir . . . docum mo máthar, do sethar*). The beauty, it will scarcely be denied, is enhanced by the bond of kindred thus revealed.

Secondly, the arrangement of the text is not always adhered to in the translation. Here is a case in point. "'If I should be taken,' saith he, 'I am ready for that.' 'O Odran,' saith Colombcille, 'thou shalt have the reward thereof'" (page 178). Now, take the editorial print (page 30): "*Diam-gabthasa,*" *ol se.* "*As errlam leam sin, a Odhrain,*" *ar Columcille.* "*Ratfia a logh.*" This means: "If I were taken," saith he. "That is acceptable to me," saith Columcille. "Thou shalt have its reward."

As in the text, so here more than seventy corrections (given in the notes, or at the end) must be incorporated before you can with safety attempt to quote. Their nature may be inferred from the following:—"For *sun rose*, read *light appeared*;" "for *of*, read *day before*;" "for *cow-dung which lay before*, read *cloth-cap (?) on the head of*." A cursory perusal on our part has made additions to the list. Here are specimens which our readers who know the native

speech will appreciate. *A lan do ór ocus do argut do chumhdach minn ocus mainisdrech*—"its fill of gold and silver to cover relics and shrines withal" (pages 26, 174). But in the loan-word list *mainisdrech* is said to be from *ministerium*, "a credence-table." The meaning (see *Textual Studies on The Tripartite, Trans., R.I.A.*, xxix., page 185) is: *its fill of gold and of silver to make reliquaries and service-sets* (chalices and patens).

Tancatar do bennachadh do Brigit—"they came to be blessed by Brigit" (pages 45, 193). But this rendering would require in the original *da mbennachadh*. The meaning is: they came to salute (pay their respects to) Brigit. Who has not heard of the national greeting, *Dia is Muire dhuit*—"God and Mary [be] for thee" (and the response, *Dia is Muire is Padraig dhuit*—"God and Mary and Patrick [be] for thee")? This Christian *benediction* supplanted the pagan *M'ochen* (found *passim* in native secular literature) as a salutation. Thus *bennachadh do* (to give blessing to) came to signify to salute (pay respect to).

Focerd menma in coca thairis cur'bhá slan a sechtmain—"the mind of the cook reflected (?) that his week was complete" (pages 60, 207). But the translation should be: "the mind of the cook passed over it (lit. cast [itself] beyond [the request made], until his (the person who asked) week was complete."

Beir mbiscaidh cidh dodfucc ille—"curse whoever brought thee here" (pages 102, 250). The Irish of this English is *beir mhiscaidh do'nti dodfucc ille*. It is to be rendered: "take [my] curse [with thee]. What brought thee hither?" It shows the completeness of the elaborate linguistic conspectus that this *cidh* is not found amongst the interrogative, nor *do-d-fucc* amongst the infixed, pronouns.

A branch of the O'Conors suffered from the yellow plague. Here is what happened: *roshirset cleirigh coicidh Connacht dia bein dibh ocus ni fhuaratar, cu tancatar airm im-bui Mochua*, "the clerics of the province of Connaught sought to banish it from them, and they succeeded not. So they came to the place where Mochua was dwelling" (pages 143, 287). But one would think this was a matter rather for the

plague-stricken than for the clerics. And so the original says. The scribe, however, led his editor astray. *Cleirigh* (a similar instance of nom. pl. for ac. pl. occurs) is the object, not the subject of *roshirset*. With this obvious explanation the sentence is quite plain. They sought out the clerics of the province of Connaught to take it away from them, and they found not [one to do it] until they came to the place wherein was Mochua.

One time St. Mochua wanted to get in to a lake-island, but the boat was not brought to him. Whereupon he said it would not be required thenceforth. *Tuarcaibh iarsin an talam cu tiaghur do chois innti osin cusaniu*, "Then he raises up the earth, so that one fares on foot into the island from that time till to-day" (pages 143, 287). But *tuarcaibh* (as shown elsewhere in the present text) is used here not in the primary sense of *to raise*, but in the secondary and idiomatic meaning, *to raise [the head]*, *to rise up*, *to appear*. Hence the rendering is: Uprose after that the earth (from beneath the water), so that one fares a-foot into it from that till to-day.

We conclude with the following, which has a double interest:—*Is ailitre ocus is deoraidecht dam in saegul iar n-intsamail na sruithe remthechtach*—"I have pilgrimage and exile in the world, even as the elders who went before" (pages 22, 170). But, in the first place, *saegul* (world) is nominative; and, secondly, *is*, being a mere copula, can never predicate. The meaning is: "Pilgrimage and exile is the world to me, after the manner of the seniors who went before." At foot is a note: "This is a paraphrase of the Latin, *Advena sum apud te Domine, et peregrinus sicut omnes per mundum*, Ps. xxxix. 12." This "Latin" is taken from the editor's *Three Middle-Irish Homilies* (page 96). In the MS. (*Lebar Breac*) the two last vocables are represented by *p.m.* *World* led the editor to read them into *per mundum*. Such is the biblical knowledge of an Oxford editor. Read *patres mei*, with the reference, Ps. xxxviii. 13.

Similar Scriptural proficiency is displayed in reference to another quotation. In the *Life of St. Columba* is a passgge thus translated (page 168): "'Verily,' saith the Apostle, 'the sons of Abraham are all who resemble him in perfect faith.'"

At foot is a note: "This is a paraphrase of the Latin '*Omnes qui sunt ex fide, hi sunt filii Abraham,*' Gal. iii. 7." Here every third word is a blunder. The reading—what are we come to, when a reviewer has to do such drudgery?—is: *Qui ex fide sunt, ii sunt filii Abrahæ*. But these things pale their ineffectual fires in presence of the Index (page 373), where "John S., Apostle" is differentiated from "John, son of Zebedee!"

"That down to the end of the eleventh century the secular clergy sometimes had wives, appears from the fact that Patrick's grandfather was a deacon" (page cxi.). But, with due respect, "Patrick's grandfather" did not live in Ireland, nor at the end of the eleventh century. This may accordingly pair off with the conclusion in *The Tripartite* (page clviii.), that polygamy existed; and hence St. Patrick, like St. Paul, required for the bishopric of Leinster a husband of one wife. In the editor's exegesis St. Paul's bishops were, accordingly, polygamists; that is, having more than one wife at a time! To show the candour exhibited on this point, here is a native comment on 1 Tim. iii. 2 from the Würzburg *Codex Paulinus* (fol. 28 b) printed and translated (*The Old-Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe*, pages 165, 324) by the editor, but passed over by him in this place and in *The Tripartite*: "*Unius uxoris virum—re nairite graid, iar mbathius*"—*before reception of Order, after Baptism*. That the clergy sometimes had wives, is, no doubt, true; but that either marriage or cohabitation was permitted *after* ordination, not a tittle of evidence has ever been produced to prove or infer.

"Nothing is said of purgatory" (page cvi.). Of course not. The *name* is not found. But, what of the *thing*? If the Ancient Irish Church admitted but heaven and hell, why was a requiem sung "for the repose of the soul of the dead" (page cii.)? Again, why were the following expressions shut out (*ib.*) by the editor?—*Do breith o phcin docum nimhe*, "to bring from torment to heaven" (page 18); *ind ithfern*, "in hell" (*ib.*). This is the doctrine attributed to St. Patrick. Yet Dr. Stokes asks us to infer that the Irish Church held that all souls went either straight to heaven or straight to hell (page cvi.).

Of the hundreds of native persons mentioned in the book, in not more than ten instances have the times in which they flourished been supplied. In the historical events, scarce a date has been added. The value of the little given can be readily tested. The editor affects to draw from the sources. Two short excerpts, for instance, taken from the *Annals of Innisfallen* profess to be copied from the *Bodleian MS.* (Rawlinson, b. 503). Withal he has apparently not waked up to the fact that in chronology, as in other things, *The Four Masters* (?) have grown obsolete. Accordingly, he follows them in placing, for example, the death of Bec mac De at A.D. 557 (page 350); of Blathmac, joint-king of Ireland, at A.D. 664 (page 347); of Dubdaleithe, abbot of Kilskeery, County Meath, at A.D. 745 (page 306). The true years, according to the *Annals of Ulster*, are 558, 665, and 750, respectively. "Ob. A.D. 901" applied (page xxxix.) to Cainchomraic, bishop of Clonmacnoise, looks original. The correct date, if we follow the *Ulster Annals*, is A.D. 903.

In connection herewith it is, perhaps, superfluous to observe that the editor does not profess to emulate the example of Dr. Reeves in the *Adamnan*. Results similar to those derived by that ripe scholar from comparison of his text with independent native authorities you will here seek in vain. Such things Dr. Stokes, doubtless, considers as belonging to "those undesigned coincidences, of which," according to him, the present reviewer, "like other theologians, is so fond." Thereby, however, he has let slip an opportunity which those foreigners which he fawns upon so would (if they had the wit to perceive it) give a deal to perceive it, give a deal to possess. Greater, perhaps, than the glory of sending forth an *editio princeps* is the fame of proving that a recension is a forgery. Well, we do not plume ourselves much on being the first to discover that the so-called Life of St. Finnchu in this collection will hardly be accepted in its present form until our topography is readjusted and our history rewritten.

In technical chronology, the following deserves notice. On the 8th of the Kalends of February, St. Ciaran set up in Clonmacnoise, on the 10th of the moon, on a Saturday (page

275). He died there after seven months, on the 5th of the Ides of September, on a Saturday, on the 18th of the moon (page 278). The only information the editor gives is a reference to the first passage to prove that the distinction between the solar and lunar months was known (page ciii.). But it needs no great computist to discover at a glance that the two places are utterly at variance. First, the regular letter of January 25th being *d*, and that of September 9th *g*, whenever the former falls on Saturday, the latter (except on a leap year) falls on Tuesday. Secondly, January 25th, Saturday, and moon 10, can concur; but they require September 9th, Tuesday (or Wednesday) and moon 1st. Finally, September 9th and moon 18th cannot coincide, because new moon does not fall on August 23 in any year of the Decemnovennial Cycle.

Worse still, though it lay under his hand, the editor does not say that herein one of the Latin Lives differs essentially from the Irish. The Salamanca Codex gives the first series as January 23rd, Saturday; moon 10. Here from it has been concluded (*Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, page 261) that Clonmacnoise was founded on that day and date, A.D. 544. The text, however, is demonstrably corrupt. New moon that year was on January 11th; moon 13, on January 23rd. The same Codex gives the second series as September 9th, Saturday; moon 15; data which are said (*ib.*, page 263) to mark A.D. 544 as the year of the saint's death. But the text is doubly depraved. For in the year in question (Lit. Dom. C, B) September 9th fell on Friday; new moon on September 4th; moon 15 on September 18th (not on September 9th). How to reconcile all these discrepancies is beside the present purpose.

In the Index of Persons a striking evidence of accuracy is the bisection of personages whose names are household words to all students. Thus, "Colman alias MacLenin, 301," and "Colman MacLenin, 251," stand four lines apart (page 370), being thus clearly taken to be different. But they are one and the same, the founder of Cloyne. Again, "Fergus Cennfota MacConaill Gulbain, 301," and "Fergus MacConaill, 159, 171," are placed one after the

other. Plainly, they are understood to be distinct persons. They are the one son of the Conall Gulban (son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, from whom Tirconnell was named. The worst case is, perhaps, that of the well-known king who (page 373) is given as "Loeguire" and (lower in the same column) "Loeguire Mac Neill," with different references.

In the Index of Places no serious effort at identification appears to have been made. The island of Ard Nemid, for instance (page 209-210), a little research would have discovered to be the Great Island, in Cork Harbour. Similarly, Inis Cara (*ib.*) is the parish of that name in Cork County. Sliab Cua is not, of course, as stated (page 381), "Knockmeldown, County Waterford." Furthermore, there is plain evidence that in some cases the Index was compiled without reference to the text. St. Patrick asked for a site for his church on *Druim Sailech* (ridge of tallows), the place where Armagh is to-day (page 165). This *Druim Sailech*, we are informed (page 378), is "a ridge about seven miles south of Roscrea." The northerners came to seize Munster, and encamped by Loch Silenn. They were routed by the Munster men, who cast the heads of the slain into the lake, thenceforth called Loch Cenn (lake of heads) (pages 243, 244). Who can doubt but that the conflict took place in the southern province? But the Oxford topographer (page 380) will have it that the lake is Loch Sheelin, "on the borders of Cavan, Longford and Meath."

The Index of Irish words contains many vocables that have already done duty in *The Tripartite*. The recondite character of the greater portion may be estimated from such items as *aibit*, habit; *aitenndae*, furzy; *all*, cliff; *alt*, a steep; *ancaire*, anchor. Its value is shown in "*leth atoibe*, a connected passage (literally 'side that adheres') " page 385). That is, to take the first example in the book, Isaiah ix. 1 adheres to ix. 2: in other words, verse 1 is *the side that adheres to* verse 2. This is the new Biblical criticism. But the panegyrist did not think thus. He says, rightly, that the *place of adherence* of his text, ix. 2, was ix. 1. The phrase is *leth atóibe* [*th*]*e*, the second word being the genitive of the infinitive. Infected *t* (*th*), not being pronounced, was omitted here and elsewhere in transcription.

Nor is evidence of candour wanting. When hard pressed, the editor quoted (*Academy*, No. 803) from "Lebar Brec. 251a, 68," to prove that *toibe* is gen. sing. of *toeb*. Whereupon the genuine and corrupt forms (which he had before him when he thus wrote) were, for the second time, made public (*ib.*, No. 816) from the Royal Irish Academy edition of the *Stowe Missal* :—

A—Text, p. 251.
in oxil in tuib deiss.

B—Text, p. 264 L. B. 251a, 68.
isind achsail toibe deiss.

(In the armpit of the right side.)

No disproof was essayed. The case is far stronger now. Elsewhere in L. B. (4 a) *taib* in gen. sg. Moreover, the present texts have *taeibh* and *thaeibh*. Notwithstanding, "toibe in L. B. 251a, 68," and *taebi* in an equally reputable authority, are given (page 401) as "pointing to the s-declension" (in which, it has to be remarked, the genitive singular ends in *i*).

The foregoing, which, did space permit, could be added to considerably, will suffice to prove that in dealing with material such as that in question no reliable result is obtainable without a grasp of native idiom, knowledge of Catholic doctrine and discipline, familiarity with chronology, and acquaintance at first-hand with national history.

B. MACCARTHY.

THE CATHOLIC TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT : THE SUREST WAY TO ITS SUCCESS.—II.

THE general purpose of this movement and its threefold division have been set before the readers of the I. E. RECORD in our last essay. The former consists in the promotion of God's glory and of our people's salvation by effective efforts to suppress the prevailing vice of intemperance ; the latter implies—(a) the rescue of present victims ; (b) the prevention of others from becoming victims ; and (c) the reformation of popular opinions and customs, so far as they

create and maintain many fatal temptations against the fourth cardinal virtue. Besides, it has been explained and, in some manner, vindicated that our surest means for succeeding just now in the first of these essential parts of reform is nothing short of the formation, as widespread as may be, of total abstinence associations, based on religion, and enlisting all classes, especially such as are conspicuous for their edification. In the present paper we hope to show the necessity of this same means regarding the second essential—the *preservation of those who are in danger, more or less remote, and above all of the young.*

THE PRESERVATION OF CHILDREN AND OTHERS.

Our assertion that the preservation of children and of others happily free from even temptations to intemperance is an indispensable part of the work in hand, will not be questioned. Withal we do not always find a proper appreciation of the special motives and peculiar circumstances of the case. Some appear to trifle with it; some raise objections; some place limitations which do not quite stand to reason; and some warn all concerned as persons without prudence. Now the preservation of the rising generations from intemperance, as from all other vices, is so important both to our children and to society, that for this reason alone its place among the objects of our temperance movement is the very first place. Their time to come is longest. They are to be the parents of another generation. They will take our own place and hold power over all human interests in a short time. If intemperate, they had better never to have been born. The evils we deplore would be perpetuated. But if saved from the dangers now surrounding them, and also inspired with an heroic enthusiasm or that holy zeal recommended by the Synod of Maynooth against intemperance and all that leads to it, it may be hoped that Ireland will see the day when drunkenness shall have become rare, and when intoxicating drinks will be “used with caution.” Indeed this happy result is certain to be realized to admiration, if our young people be led in the way of total abstinence. Thus we have two reasons of paramount cogency for our

present proposal—advantage and necessity on the children's part, and the same on the part of society. Let us have the children secure from intemperance, and success is secure. They of whom we have had to write such sad things—the present victims—will either be converted, and, having become exemplary will powerfully, *if prudently*, aid our cause; otherwise—and this is sadder still—they shall have speedily finished their course, “not seeing half their days.”

Moreover, total abstinence stands in its most hopeful light when professed by children and by youths in general. The difficulties, often disheartening, experienced in inducing adults to become total abstainers is not found here. The children are willing, even eager, to pledge themselves, and thus purchase at the easiest price a genuine treasure of virtue and happiness. There are difficulties concerning the stability of the child's resolution and the maintenance of a temperance association for youth, about which we shall submit our views further down; but these difficulties are non-intrinsic and may be coped with successfully; so that, in addition to advantage and necessity, peculiar facility and richness of hope may be claimed as arguments in favour of the children's total abstinence association.

WHO ARE INCLUDED ?

The terms “children” and “youth” mean, as we use them, all who have not attained the age of manhood or womanhood. Of course all classes are included; and both sexes. But there is special and obvious necessity for extending our consideration beyond the children of our primary and intermediate schools—practically a million. The advanced students of every profession, and of every department of art and science—above all our ecclesiastical students—must be enlisted; and, though last not least, our young men and women apprenticed to business or trade. This scope is most comprehensive, but not excessive. To all the enumerated, our arguments fully extend; for all, the rule that prevention is better than cure holds good; and regarding all, we think that the very difficulties which are to be met in this part of our work show its urgent necessity. Special

attention may be called to the importance of imbuing our candidates for the sacred ministry with "a perfect spirit" and of training them in similarly perfect practice regarding intoxicating drinks. The Statutes of the Synod of Maynooth ordain as follows:—

"Saepissime etiam exhortandi sunt, praesertim autem hisce temporibus, quando intemperantiae vitium tam grassatur, ut mortificationem Jesu semper in corporibus suis circumferentes, in omnibus temperantiae et modestiae studeant, et in omnibus Christi bonus odor fiant,"¹

And we are assured by those prelates who have been able to apply the test of fair trial, that the combined preaching and practice of total abstinence enables a priest to multiply twenty-fold the fruits of his mission among the Irish people, whether at home or abroad. This consideration is respectfully submitted to the superiors and students of our Irish seminaries.

WHAT PLEDGE.

The next point is, what pledge should be administered to our children and young friends in their present circumstances? In our humble and simple opinion any other pledge than that of total abstinence should prove a curse to those little ones who run and cling to us for a blessing or a smile, or to those young men and women about to take a place by our side and to share our dangers and responsibilities. To them a partial pledge should be, if not "a mockery," certainly "a delusion and a snare;" and to such a proposal, if it could be entertained, might be applied the words of our divine Lord: "What man is there among you, of whom if his son shall ask bread, will he reach him a stone? or if he shall ask a fish, will he reach him a serpent?" (Matt. vii. 9, 10). Yes, there are among us parents and others who exhibit conduct which our Lord supposed to be incompatible with good nature and common sense: "They know not how to give good gifts to their children." (Matt. vii. 11). The readers will be pleased to have the results of making children and young persons

¹ *Acta et Decreta Synodi Maynutianae*, A.D. 1875, No. 321.

accustomed to the use of strong drink set before them by one who is most capable of doing so with full effect. Accordingly we beg to transcribe some sentences from a sermon delivered by Cardinal Manning to a youthful congregation of his own flock. His eminence said :—

“ When I see a congregation of little children together, I always think there is nothing more beautiful. Even the stars in the firmament are not so beautiful in the sight of God as the souls of little innocent children. And then I say to myself: In a few years these little children who are now ten or twelve years old will be sixteen, or eighteen, or twenty. What will they be then? . . . Shall I tell you what we can see—what we do see, I am sorry to say, too often? We find that boys who were good boys at school . . . when they leave school get out of our sight, and we do not see them again for years. And girls who were humble, modest, obedient, loving, when they were at school . . . when they leave school are also lost to us; we lose sight of them; and what becomes of them? Oh, I can tell you this, that many a poor boy grows up to be a man, and comes back to us in a miserable plight. He has been doing wrong, he has got into a habit of drinking, and that habit has been his ruin. And many a poor girl who was so innocent at school comes back to us after years spent away from her church, wrecked and ruined; and through what? I believe in nineteen cases out of twenty, drink is at the bottom of it.

“ Is it not our duty, therefore, to do all we can to keep you in the innocence of your baptism and in the brightness of your will, as God made it? So long as boy or girl, man or woman, is sober and temperate, having the knowledge of the holy faith . . . he or she will be steadfast against temptation, and persevere in the right way; but the moment in which intoxicating drink darkens the reason, blinds the conscience, and sets the heart and passions on fire, and makes the will weak, there is no sin that may not be committed, no commandment of God that may not be broken, no depth of degradation into which one may not fall. And, therefore, dear children, as God loves you, and as we love you—and we love you for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shed His precious blood for you, and we love you as the lambs of the flock committed to our care—our great desire is to keep you in your innocence, and train you up so that you may never know the temptations; for if you never know the taste of intoxicating drink, you will never be tempted; and you will, I believe, persevere in the innocence of your baptism and in the love of God.

“ There are some fathers who are so careless, and some mothers who are so foolish, that they wont allow their children to be enrolled in the League of the Cross. Nay, they go further

than that. They send their children to the public-house . . . and the poor little boy, or poor little girl, will go to the public-house, and hear the curses and swearing, and the horrible bad language, and see the drunken people ; and so from their earliest childhood become familiar with all that can corrupt and darken, and debase and degrade their heart and will. How is it possible that fathers and mothers can do what I call such a murderous thing as to put their little ones in the danger of such a horrible temptation—because I can tell you that many a drunkard began when he was a boy, going to a public-house to fetch drink for his parents. He was ‘treated,’ as they say ; that is, some wicked man or woman made the poor little boy taste the intoxicating drink, and after a while he began to like it. And many a poor girl learned the taste in the same way, and that was the beginning of her ruin.”

Now, all that Cardinal Manning addressed to children of a particular class and station in London, holds “*mutatis mutandis*” regarding all classes in Ireland. This is manifest in the experience of all. We shall, however, cite one of the many authoritative witnesses in order to impress all concerned with a due sense of this evil. The late Bishop of Ferns, Dr. Warren, in a pastoral, dated October 15th, 1879, wrote :—

“We warn parents and employers, that they are bound to set in their own persons an example of temperance to those who are subject to them, and to watch lest, through their negligence, those entrusted to their charge should fall victims to drink. ‘Train up a young man,’ says Solomon, ‘in the way in which he should walk, and when he is old he will not depart from it.’ (Prov xxii.) If, contrary to this advice, our young children are brought up in the way in which they should not walk—if they are taught to like and to love strong drinks in their infancy and in their youth, they will follow this practice in their after life, and thus acquire a habit, which to many of them will prove their inevitable ruin.

“Some months ago a respectably-dressed boy came and asked to be allowed to take the pledge against using intoxicating drinks. Though a mere boy he was a confirmed drunkard, and bore on his youthful features the repulsive characteristics of the victims of drink. He volunteered to say :—‘I don’t wish to take the pledge for a long time ;’ and giving his reason for not wishing to do so, he said—‘I was always accustomed to drink from the time I was a child, and I am afraid I would not be able to give it up for a long time.’

“Who, we may inquire, was the first to give drink to this

unhappy boy, when he was a mere child, and afterwards to continue to do so in the years that followed childhood? Doubtless, one who was near and dear to him, but who lived long enough to see and feel the effects of such parental folly. And alas! how many mothers do we find who act in this manner, who accustom their children to the use of strong drinks from their tenderest years, and who under various pretexts make these drinks sweet and agreeable to them, without thinking what bitter experience has taught us must be the fearful consequences, a few years later on in life, to many of them.

"How very differently, does history tell us, the pagan mothers of Sparta acted towards their children! They wished, from merely human and patriotic motives, to bring up their children with a horror of drunkenness. And how did they proceed? They first made their slaves drunk with wine; and then, when maddened and rendered foolish with drink, they brought them into the presence of their children, believing thereby to inspire them with a loathing of the vice of drunkenness and of the ways that lead to it. Oh, that many Christian mothers would endeavour to inspire a like horror of 'this way of ruin' in the souls of their children, whom God has given them to bring up and to educate for the kingdom of heaven!"

Our quotations are indeed lengthy, but not too long. We are omitting other weighty and conclusive testimonies; and trust that the respected readers of the I. E. RECORD will accept with full and earnest conviction our propositions:—
 (a) That the proper pledge for children and youth is that of total abstinence; (b) that they should, if possible, be kept from knowing the taste of intoxicating drink; and (c) that a horror of intemperance, with a dread of every avenue leading to it, should be impressed upon them, with all the earnestness of prudent zeal, from the earliest years. If so, blessed results are ensured—results "desirable beyond silver and gold"—results, thank God, already foreseen and described by some of our present pastors, as in the following passage of the Leinster Provincial Pastoral for last Passion Sunday (pages 20, 21):—

"Whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the possibility of forming for adults an organization, at once widespread and durable, on the basis of total abstinence alone, there is, we gladly observe, practically no difference of opinion as to the course to be taken in the case of children. For children, at all events, the advantage of total abstinence, and the possibility of

securing its general observance, are unquestioned. In their case, save in some exceptional instances, no need is even supposed to exist which should hinder their being brought up without knowing the taste of intoxicating drink. If they are brought up without knowing the taste of it, they will know no longing for it, and there will be no grave temptation to them to abandon the principles of total abstinence in after life.

"From year to year many thousands of them will reach the age of maturity, and will pass, as a matter of course, into the ranks of the total abstainers, adding largely, year after year, to the number of grown-up men and women by whom the virtue of temperance is practised in its most exemplary form. Especially in one respect, all this will tend to the better observance of temperance, and so to the salvation of souls. For with every such increase in the number of those who practice total abstinence, many of the sources of temptation that now prove fatal to the good resolutions of so many of our people will, one by one, disappear. Temptations arising from the evil influence of others will become less frequent, and far easier to overcome. The influence of good example will be strengthened. A sound public opinion on the subject of intemperance will speedily be formed; and this, with God's blessing, will prove to be, in His hand, one of the chief instruments in the working out of a lasting temperance reform."

DO YOUNG CHILDREN UNDERSTAND THE PLEDGE ?

Taking now the objections and difficulties connected with our question, it had better be shown, in the first place, that even very young children understand the nature of the renunciation implied by a total abstinence pledge. Everyone knows that all children are very premature in appreciating the things which gratify the taste, and are captivated or fascinated, far more than grown people, by all that is "good to eat, and fair to the eyes, and delightful to behold." They know well what they give up by the pledge, and if they do it so eagerly, it is because they feel that it is no loss to natural pleasure and well-being; and they are right. "Sometimes," said Cardinal Manning, in the address upon which we have already drawn so freely, "I am told children do not understand what the pledge is, and I always answer, 'Children understand what the pledge is better than you do.'" Hence we should respectfully beg to give our vote against any limitations in the children's pledge. There is no deception involved in this pledge. If it be a blessing, why curtail its

tenure, as a matter of course, and thereby even provoke its anticipated forfeiture? For, the placing of a term begets a more painful sense of restriction, and a pledge till twenty-one years, considering the present popular esteem and love of drink, acts pretty much like a partial pledge, in whetting and even creating natural desires and passion. This, we know, is against the general practice at home. It is held that after twenty-one—or any other term—there is little or no danger. Well, we submit that the prevailing or general views regarding our relations with intoxicating drink, if judged by their fruits, cannot be pronounced satisfactory; and experience teaches that many who grew up as total abstainers, and who took no strong drink till long-settled in life, afterwards became most pitiable victims. Of course they were saved from personal temptation till they began to drink; but when some exterior temptation led them “to indulge moderately,” the drink itself did the rest. The safest and simplest pledge, for children and youth, appears to us to be *total abstinence, without limit of time, and understood to allow no kind or quantity of intoxicating drink, except when really needed as medicine*. This pledge is thoroughly understood, it is absolutely beneficial, and it alone will securely save. A pledge till twenty-one, and then renewable or to be renewed, is not so easy, not so safe, not so efficacious, and not so meritorious as one for life, and all at once.

WILL CHILDREN AND YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN TAKE THIS PLEDGE?

Our children—those who are young, and all boys and girls still at school—will take the total abstinence pledge *without limit of time* so readily and so eagerly from the bishop or from a priest, that people who love drink say: “They don’t know what they are asked to do.” A recent American newspaper, recounting proceedings connected with the Centenary of Father Mathew, reports that a certain archbishop—a gifted son of Ireland—said in the course of his speech:—

“Fifty years ago Father Mathew came to his native town, and after serving mass, Father Mathew asked him to accompany

him. 'I did so [said the archbishop], and he went from place to place administering the pledge; and every time he administered it, I took the pledge.'"

A priest who has had considerable experience as a conductor of retreats in our higher schools — colleges and convents — has ever found two facts which surprise some when told. First, that the total abstinence pledge, proposed on the grounds of prudence, edification, and devotion, has a strong attraction for many even amongst the grown children; secondly, that there is always a decided majority in favour of the pledge without limit of time, or, as the phrase has it, "for life." For example, at a retreat in a certain diocesan college which had a total of one hundred and eleven Catholic students, ninety-four took the pledge for life, and eleven till the age of twenty-one. It is true that there has been a total abstinence association maintained among the students over ten years; that the present, as the former, president leads; and that there has been a strong spirit aroused throughout the diocese against the snares of intemperance by the action of both bishops and clergy: but there was no undue pressure employed, no mere enthusiasm excited; parents were consulted, and the boys themselves were called on to come forward and to inscribe their respective names upon the register.

WILL SUCH PLEDGES BE KEPT?

Too much may easily be made of the above and similar facts. The blossom is not the fruit; and trees once laden with blossom may be found bearing but little fruit. Thus the grand results forecasted in the quotation from the pastoral of our Leinster prelates depend upon the protection, vigilance and edification which parents and all concerned afford to children and young persons who have taken the pledge.

A little girl, a few years ago, took the pledge from the bishop, together with her school companions. In due time she remarked that "a black bottle" was kept locked up by the mother; and she felt tempted to taste what might be in it. An opportunity came; the contents tasted; the pledge,

as the child thought, broken. A companion child was entrusted with the secret ; but the secret passed to the nun in charge, and Mary was asked by her mistress before all in the school : " Mary, have you broken the pledge ?" Then poor little Mary, crying, sobbed out :—" Oh, please ma'am, I only took one little sup out of mamma's black bottle."

On the contrary, we know a person, and more than one, who took the pledge even at four years of age, and who, through the care and encouragement of a wise mother, has never tasted certain strong drinks, and has not the least desire to do so.

These are typical cases regarding young children. Very much the same is true of our young men and women. The latter, in a particular way, will dislike strong drink, if only fashion be set against its use ; and will regard it as a duty of their station to belong to an association formed not merely for the reclamation of drunkards, but chiefly for the edification of children, and for self-preservation. But if fashion leads to drink, they will not be unfashionable, and must in many cases become intemperate. Young men have stronger temptations, and must often stand where it is difficult not to fall. They are self-trusting, imprudent, and wilful. The wise man declares that the way of a young man is a mystery. Should his companions frequent bars, and delight in frequent glasses, he will be one with them, and will bring on swift destruction. But should he in good time become associated with others young as himself and yet filled with zeal against the ways of ruin, successful at business, valued by employers, sought for by friends, and spending their recreation hour in safety, his future will be one of progressive prosperity. Before us lies a speech delivered in Dublin, by the Rev. Dr. Conatty, President of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, A.D. 1889, containing some passages which support this view with great effect. We have to omit all but the following :—

" I solemnly assure you, the greatest difficulty and trouble we American priests have is given us by the young Irish greenhorns who drift into the liquor saloons on their arrival, and thus pave the way for afterwards becoming easy victims to the giant evil of intemperance."

Just before, he had given the following advice to emigrants :—

“Take my advice, and, before you step on board the vessel for America, arm yourselves for the struggle by placing yourselves under the protection of the total abstinence pledge.”

For our young men, then, total abstinence is above all things necessary; and though it be, we cannot practically think of holding them to its observance without the example and influence of many others who have no such necessity; without religious organization and adequate counter-attractions to the haunts and snares of intemperance. This of the laity; but of the seminarists—our best hope—what answer may be given to the query: “Will they keep their pledge?” The answer is an affirmative. Nowadays the more adverse conditions of society are, happily, altered. The advice of physician or of friend is no longer against keeping the pledge; the fatal pressure of society at table and on other occasions has ceased; the rebuke of elders is no longer heard. Consequently the student in passing from the initial to the final stages of his course, allowed just occasional contact with the world abroad, will find his resolution increased in manly depth. Then, ordained and imbued with apostolic fortitude and zeal, he begins, as our Lord, “to do and to teach,” and inherits the mission of the apostle of temperance—Theobald Mathew. So, thank God, the best work for our needed reform can be carried on where the Church has full fair play—in the very nurseries of her priesthood. Maynooth, All Hallows, with other seminaries at home and far away, will year by year send forth priests to preach and practise that which is, as we have shown, our only hope of saving the rising generations from the snares and ruin of intemperance.

OUR ARGUMENT.

Summing up, then, on this point, we venture to claim that the practice of total abstinence is, *at present*, necessary to the youth of Ireland as a means of preserving the virtue of temperance; and that the organization of all classes in religious associations for the purpose of upholding and

propagating total abstinence is necessary for the perseverance and preservation of the youthful members of their own families and of society at large. Ample confirmation of this conclusion is at hand ; suffice it, however, to adduce once more the words of the Vicar of Christ :—

“Hence we esteem worthy of all commendation the noble resolve of your pious associations, by which they pledge themselves to abstain from every kind of intoxicating drink. Nor can it at all be doubted that this determination is a proper and truly efficacious remedy for this very great evil, and that so much the more strongly will all be induced to put this bridle upon appetite, by how much the greater are the dignity and influence of those who give the example.”

The question, How can this be made sufficiently general ? now arises ; but it must be again postponed till the means for the third essential part of our reform shall have been considered.

MICHAEL KELLY, M.S.S.

Liturgical Questions.

I.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE PRAYERS TO BE SAID AFTER MASS.

“Your reply” to “P.P.,” on the subject of the papal prayers after mass, encourages X. Y. to ask a few questions on the same subject.

“1. What is the meaning of the word ‘ecclesiis’ in the rubric prefixed to the text of the ‘prayers’? This rubric, according to the I. E. RECORD of the year 1886, page 1050, is as follows :—‘Preces jussu Papae Leonis XIII. in omnibus orbis ecclesiis post privatae Missae celebrationem flexis genibus recitandae.’ Does the word ‘ecclesiis’ in this place admit of such wide interpretation as to include private oratories, and even private houses, where a priest may happen to celebrate

‘ See I. E. RECORD vol. xi., Nov. 1890, page 1043.

mass? Mass may be said on board ship at sea, or under the open sky. Are the prayers to be said in such circumstances?

"2. On Christmas Day, when a priest says three masses in immediate succession, not having left the altar from the beginning of the first mass until the end of the third, is he to say the 'prayers,' in question, after each of the three masses, or only after the last? The usage of saying the *De Profundis* after the last only, is scarcely parallel, since, not knowing the origin of the custom, we may fairly suppose it is in accordance with the original rescript or indult. In the case of the 'prayers,' there is nothing to indicate that the first and second masses do not fall under the papal law.

"3. If a priest is under the necessity of administering Holy Communion immediately after mass before he leaves the altar, ought he first to say the *De Profundis* and the 'prayers,' and then distribute the Holy Communion; or is he to say the 'prayers' only, leaving the *De Profundis* until after the Holy Communion has been administered? The reason for doubting is a reply of the Sacred Congregation of Rites to the following effect:—'*Preces a SS. Domino nostro Papa Leone XIII. præsriptæ recitandæ sunt immediate expleto ultimo Evangelio,*' 23 Nov., 1887. "X. Y."

1. Whatever may be the signification of the word *ecclesiis* in the rubric referred to by our correspondent, there can be no doubt about the meaning of the rubric itself. The rubric does not mean, as is insinuated in the question, that the prayers ordered by the Pope to be said after low masses, are to be said only in churches, properly so-called, to the exclusion of oratories and all other places in which it is lawful to say mass. It means that these prayers are to be said after every low mass, no matter where celebrated.

This interpretation of the rubric is founded—first, on the universal practice, which, after the legislator himself, is the safest and best guide to follow. There is no doubt the universal practice is to recite these prayers after every low mass, whether celebrated on land or on sea, whether in a cathedral or a peasant's cottage. Secondly, this interpretation has been, at least tacitly, approved of by the Congregation of Rites. For in a question proposed to this Congregation these prayers are thus referred to:—*An preces*

post finem cujusque missae sine cantu celebratae, etc. ?

These words clearly imply that the prayers are to be said after every low mass. There is here no restricting word like the word *ecclesiis*, which has excited our correspondent's doubts. Now had it been the intention of the Holy Father, and consequently the meaning of the rubric, that the recital of these prayers should be confined to churches, the Congregation, in replying to this question, should have pointed out to the *orator* that his interpretation of the rubric was incorrect. The Congregation, however, did no such thing. The question is replied to without note or comment.

Thirdly, in the French translation of a recent work on Indulgences, written in Rome, by Father Beringer, S.J., the section on these prayers is headed, *Prières à dire à genoux à la fin de chaque messe basse*.

Finally, this same phrase, *in fine cujusque missae sine cantu celebratae*, occurs in the official document by which his Holiness first prescribed the recital of prayers after mass. The rubric to which our correspondent calls attention was merely prefixed to these prayers when published in their present form in 1886. It is true that in the former as well as in the latter document the word *ecclesiis* occurs—in *omnibus tum Urbis tum Catholici orbis Ecclesiis* is the context in the older. But from what has been said it is clear that the phrase, *in fine cujusque missae*, is by no means restricted by this word. What occurs to us as the most probable explanation of the use of the word is that the whole phrase is merely a circumlocutory form for *in Universa Ecclesia*; and, consequently, that it does not refer at all to the material building. The word generally used for "church" in this latter sense is *templum*, not *ecclesia*. Thus, in the documents regarding the October devotions, we have such phrases as *in curialibus templis*; *in aliis templis*; *in omnibus Catholici orbis parochialibus templis*, &c.

2. When a priest says three masses consecutively on Christmas Day he is to say the prayers after the last only. No doubt the letter of the rubric seems to exclude this

¹*Acta S. Sedis*, vol. xvii., page 95.

opinion, which, nevertheless, we conceive to be in strict accordance with the spirit of it. The custom prevailing in Ireland regarding the recital of the *De Profundis*, is not, we admit, a sufficient reason for treating these prayers similarly; but would it not appear that the same feeling which begot the custom of reciting the former only after the last of the three masses, is quite justified in begetting a similar custom with regard to the latter also? The following answer to this same question is taken from the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, which, though not an official publication, is of the very highest authority on liturgical matters:—

“*Quaer.* Preces post missam praescriptae dicendae ne sunt in die Nativitatis Domini post unamquamque, vel post ultimam tantum?”

“*Resp.* Negative ad primum, ad alterum affirmative. Ratio est quia licet unaquaeque ex tribus missis completum actum de se constituat ut hac de causa post singulas dicendae illae preces videantur, nihilominus hi tres singuli actus antonomastice liturgici ita sunt peragendi ut nullus alius actus in Missali haud praescriptus inter illos immiscendus sit. Adde preces de quibus in casu ad missam non pertinere neque stricte liturgicas posse dici, sed potius extra-liturgicas, ut infra unam et alteram missam eae recitari non debeant. Lex enim est ut post primam statim dicatur altera, si decenda sit; et post alteram tertia missa; preces vero dictae partim missae, nulla ratione constituunt.”¹

3. Had our correspondent taken the trouble to read the question to which the reply he quotes was given by the Congregation of Rites, he would not have the least foundation for the doubt he proposes for solution. For his greater convenience, as well as for the benefit of others, we subjoin the question and answer in full:—

“*Quaer.* Utrum preces praescriptas in quibusdam casibus, nempe vel alicujus parvae functionis vel communionis distri-

¹ Since writing the above, our correspondent X.Y. has kindly sent us the following questions proposed to the Congregation of Rites, with the replies given by the Congregation:—

“Num in die festo Nativitatis D.N.J.C. a sacerdote tres missas celebrante preces istae etiam tunc, quando post primam aut secundam missam non discedit ab altari, post unamquamque missam peragendae sint?”

“An vero sufficiat, si duntaxat peragantur quoties ab altari disceditur, sive discessio post primam missam, sive post secundam, aut demum post tertiam fiat?”

“Negative ad primam partem: affirmative ad secundam (die 30 Ap. 1889).”

buendae, peracta demum adnexa missae caeremonia recitare liceat, vel an subsequi missam ipsae semper immediate debeant?

“*Resp.* Preces a SSmo. D. N. Leone Papa XIII.,¹ prae-scriptae, recitandae sunt immediate expleto ultimo Evangelio.”¹

As in Ireland the *De Profundis* is said immediately after the last Gospel, and the prayers only after the *De Profundis*, it follows that Communion is not to be given, nor any other ceremony to be performed, until both the psalm and the prayers have been recited.

II.

THE VOTIVE OFFICE OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

“Kindly allow me to add one other question, although on a different subject. By a decree of the 20th March, 1706, the Irish clergy were authorized to recite the Votive Office of the Most Holy Sacrament every Thursday, not impeded by a feast of nine lessons, except during the Advent and Lent, on vigils, and on certain *ferias*. This office is given in the proper at the end of the Maynooth Breviary. The Sacred Congregation of Rites declared that by the recent grant of Votive Offices nothing was changed in the former grants. It appears, therefore, to follow that the Office of the Most Holy Sacrament, which during the year the Irish clergy are privileged to say, is that prescribed by the decree of March, 1706; whilst that which during Advent or Lent, or on certain vigils, the *Ordo* refers to, is the office in accordance with the recent grant. The two offices are not identical. May I ask, consequently, if it would not be well to have some indication in the *Ordo* which would help to prevent any mistake as to the correct office?

“X. Y.”

Our correspondent has mistaken the import of the decree of March 20th, 1706. In the first place it was a general decree, and not, as he implies, a decree special to Ireland. Secondly, it did not authorize the Irish clergy, or the clergy of any other nation, to recite the Votive Office of the Most Holy Sacrament on Thursdays, or on any other day of the week. Lastly, it did not approve of any particular form of Votive Office whatsoever. It did, however, declare that the indult granting to certain nations, religions, and churches,

¹ *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. xxiii., page 128.

the privilege of reciting the Votive Office of the Most Holy Sacrament on Thursdays not already occupied by a feast of nine lessons either occurring or transferred, did not extend to the Thursdays of Advent or Lent. Hence the Office of the Most Holy Sacrament given at the end of the "Maynooth" (?) breviary—and, we may add, in the Irish supplement of breviaries printed in Tours and other places on the continent for many years—was not approved of by the decree cited by our correspondent; nor, as far as we can learn, by any previous or subsequent decrees of the Congregation of Rites.

The office referred to differs from the ordinary Votive of the Most Holy Sacrament only in the lessons of the second and third nocturns. In the ordinary office these are taken from the several days within the octave of Corpus Christi, and vary from month to month, while in what we may for the present call the Irish Office, these lessons are always taken from the Office of the Feast of Corpus Christi itself, and are consequently invariable. Herein lies the entire difference. Now, as the Irish Office differed only in this particular from the office granted to other countries from the beginning, there is a *prima facie* reason for doubting whether this form of the office was ever approved of. This doubt is strengthened by the absence of all documentary evidence; and, indeed, taking all the circumstances into consideration, we have no hesitation in saying that it is morally certain the Irish form of this Votive Office never had the requisite approval. But as the difference is so immaterial, and the number of times it could be recited each year so small, the violation of the liturgical laws was of the most venial kind.

But granting for a moment that this form of the office had been approved, the general privilege recently extended to the whole Church of reciting the more usual form of this office would surely apply to Irish priests; and, consequently, that they could, not only during Advent and Lent, but also at all other times, recite the new office. The declaration that this recent grant of Votive Offices did not interfere with former grants, would seem to refer rather to the matter or object of the offices than to their form.

At all events, the Irish priests not only may avail themselves of the new privilege, and read the Votive Office of the Most Holy Sacrament given among the others, but we are decidedly of opinion that when they elect to read a Votive Office in honour of this mystery, they are bound to read this one, and no other.

III.

REQUIEM MASS WITHIN THE OCTAVE OF ALL SAINTS.

"Would you kindly say in the next number of the I. E. RECORD, which of the masses *pro defunctis* is a priest to say on a day within the octave of All Saints when he says mass in black vestments? Is it not the *Missa Quotidiana*, with the prayer *Pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis* only, with the *Dies Irae*? Does not that prayer, with the *Dies Irae*, harmonize more with the intentions of the donors than do the preceding prayers in the same mass?

"SACERDOS."

The Requiem mass to be said in the circumstances contemplated by our correspondent is, as he himself suggests, the *Missa Quotidiana*, but with three instead of only one prayer, and with or without the *Dies Irae*, according to the good pleasure of the celebrant. We do not quite understand what our correspondent means by saying that the prayer *Pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis* would harmonize better with the intentions of the donors of *honoraria*. If a donor wished to have mass offered for one soul, or for several specified souls, how would this prayer harmonize with his intention? Besides, even though a priest is celebrating a Requiem mass for the souls in purgatory in general in discharge of an obligation, either during the octave of All Saints, or at any other time, how is he acting more in accordance with the intention of the donor by saying only the prayer *Fidelium*, than by saying it in addition to two others? Moreover, granting for argument's sake our correspondent's contention, will anyone maintain that the rubrics of the missal, the strictest and most sacred body of ecclesiastical laws in existence, are to be changed so as to make them harmonize with the wish or intention of every donor of a *honorarium*? In a private Requiem mass three prayers must always be said, unless on what are known as the privileged days, among

which, however, are not included the octave of All Saints. The *Dies Irae* must be said when only one prayer is said, and may be said in every Requiem mass.

IV.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE BROWN SCAPULAR.

"The I. E. RECORD for this month (October, 1890) states, on page 944, that the Instruction of Propaganda, of June, 1889, to bishops in missionary countries under its charge, declares those bishops to be still possessed of the same ample faculties 'in all their plenitude' which were granted them before July 16, 1887, in reference to the confraternities of the Holy Trinity, Mount Carmel, and the Seven Dolors, notwithstanding the decree issued on the date last mentioned.

"Please state in your next, or following number, if this means—(1) that priests in those missionary countries you describe are not obliged to take and transmit to a Carmelite convent the names of persons invested by them in the scapular of Mount Carmel for inscription in the register. Can we *validly enrol* persons as we used to do previous to July 16, 1889, without taking their names? (2) Are we obliged to use the new formula for investing in the 'Brown Scapular' under pain of nullity?

"I suppose the priests to have had faculties for investing from the bishop before July 16, 1887, and to have received no instructions from him on the matter since. "J. J. W."

We beg to refer our correspondent to the September number of the I. E. RECORD¹ for all the necessary information regarding the Brown Scapular. We may, however, here repeat that the names *must be enrolled*; the register in which the names are entered must be the register of a duly established confraternity, or—what is equivalent—must be kept in a Carmelite convent.

V.

MAY THE CHOIR SING DURING THE CONSECRATION?

"At the parochial mass on Sundays it is in many places customary for the choir to continue singing during the solemn moments of the consecration. Kindly say what you think of this custom. Should it be tolerated, or abolished? "INQUIRER."

What we think about this custom can be stated in a very

¹ Page 845, *et seq.*

few words. We are decidedly of opinion that it should be abolished—quietly, of course, and prudently; but, nevertheless, effectually. Such a custom would seem to be founded on complete forgetfulness of the tremendous mysteries which fill up the moments of consecration. Reverence for these mysteries demands not only interior adoration and worship, but also the exterior manifestation of these inward feelings. And though vocal music can be made to express feelings of joy and sorrow, or to embody acts of love and praise, yet its language fails to convey the sentiments which fill the hearts of the pious, while, in their very presence, bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Christ. But it is not on the intrinsic inappropriateness of singing during the consecration that we rely for proof that it should be forbidden. It is a cause of distraction, and is calculated to weaken the reverence of the people for the Blessed Sacrament. The singers themselves must necessarily be distracted. It is difficult, if not impossible, for them to combine attention to the conductor's wand and the music sheet with due attention to the sublime mysteries of the consecration. They sing to give glory to God. During the consecration they should remain silent for His glory, and join with the priest and the remainder of the people in mute and heartfelt adoration. And not only are those who sing distracted, but many, if not all, in the church are likewise distracted. This is the case, no matter of what kind the singing is, but especially when it is of that theatrical kind, which is sometimes to be heard in our churches.

These are merely *à priori* reasons, with which, however, we should expect to find the liturgy in harmony. And we are not disappointed. The *Ceremonial* has the following:—¹ “The choir (after the Preface) proceeds with the singing, as far as *Benedictus qui venit*, &c., exclusively. Then the Blessed Sacrament is elevated, AND THE CHOIR REMAINS SILENT, AND ADORES WITH THE REST.”

Liturgical writers are in agreement on this question, as

¹ l. 2, c. 8, n. 70°, “Chorus prosequitur cantum usque ad *Benedictus qui venit*, &c., quo finito et non prius elevatur Sacramentum. Tunc silet chorus et cum aliis adorat.”

indeed they must, by seeing how clear and definite are the words of the *Ceremonial*. Thus Wapelhorst, for example, says without any limitation or exception, that it is not lawful to sing during the Elevation.¹

The choir should, therefore, sing the *Sanctus*, &c., in such a manner as to finish the portion prescribed before the consecration. But whether they have finished or not, they should at once cease when the bell rings to warn the people that the consecration is about to commence. We may remark that the organ may continue to play, provided the music be of a grave and solemn character.²

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence.

PRIESTS AND POLITICS.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—In the article of the Rev. J. S. Vaughan, under this title, in the January Number of the I. E. RECORD, page 42, there occurred a quotation from certain "regulations," given in an Appendix to the Diocesan Synods of Shrewsbury, with his (perhaps, I may say) slightly facetious comments on the same. It is, I think, unfortunate, that the writer should have quoted only half the paragraph of the bishop's regulation, as, taken apart from the preceding words, it is liable to misconstruction. May I present your readers with the entire passage?

"Since the influence of his high position is given to the priest as a sacred trust, to be exercised for the welfare of his *entire* flock, and the use of such influence for the furthering of his mere private or personal views would be a grave breach of that trust, we prohibit all public action of our clergy, whether on platforms or by writing, in the strife of party politics, unless where a distinctively Catholic question, such as the defence of schools, calls for our united action."

¹ "Ad elevationem SS. Sacramenti cantare non licet," n. 98, 5°.

² *Ceremonial*, loc. cit.

The bishop's view on this subject is more fully developed in his Pastoral of September 27th, 1889, in which, summing up the duties of a priest, his Lordship writes (page 380) :—

“ ‘The priest must be, in fine, a leader of the people in all that is Catholic; sometimes alone in his leadership, sometimes in concert with those of the laity who will help him in his work.

“ ‘True, he is not free, as others, to descend from the height where God has placed him to the level of party quarrels, nor to use the influence of his sacred character, which is the Church's solemn trust for the doing of her work among souls, as a partisan in the strife of opinions where men may differ without sin. He is appointed the healer and not the maker of divisions among his flock. Yet he is, at the same time, the teacher of those principles of the Divine law by which men must be ruled in every circumstance of life; and these he may and must teach.

“ ‘He must teach that, however righteous the end we strive for, no end can justify a means which the Church condemns. He must be ready, if need be, to forfeit without hesitation the popular favour which is to be earned by softening down or suppressing a Catholic teaching or principle: and it needs some courage to speak the truth out plainly when it is not acceptable to those he addresses. The true priest who works for God and souls will not shrink from this if the need arise. He will remember his Master's words to those who sought the applause of men by pandering to their evil ways:—*Woe to you when men shall bless you: for according to these things did their fathers to the false prophets.*’ ”—Yours faithfully.

WILFRID DALLOW.

Upton Hall, Birkenhead.

APPENDIX TO LEHMKUHL'S "THEOLOGIA MORALIS."

“VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am thankful to your correspondent for the information given regarding the Appendix to Lehmkühl's Theology. Still it does not meet my case. The edition I have is the third, and I know the book has run to the fifth edition with very many corrections, &c., not found in the third, and which are all more or less important. I have no doubt many priests would be very anxious to procure an appendix containing all these. If such an appendix has not yet been published, may I suggest the advisability

of doing so, either, by way of supplement to the one mentioned by your correspondent, or by an independent one, which would contain all corrections from the first edition up to the fifth and last. And this might prove a complete and final one, as the learned author is not likely, I believe, to issue any further 'amended' edition.

I presume to direct these remarks especially to the publishers, Messrs. Burns & Oates, London, and Herder, Friburgi, Brisgoniæ, in the hope that they will remedy the desired want.

A SUBSCRIBER.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,—I see from the *Literarischer Handweiser*, that P. Lehmkuhl has published an appendix to his *Theologia Moralis*, containing, in thirty pages, all the changes made from the second to the sixth edition, price forty pfennige; publisher, Herder. As there was question about this in the I. E. RECORD some time ago, I think that this information may be welcome to you.—Yours,

H. BEVERUNGE.

Documents.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS, LEO XIII., COMMENDING DEVOTION TO THE HOLY FAMILY.

DILECTE FILII NOSTER, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Novum argumentum perspecti tui erga hanc Apostolicam Sedem studii et obsequii prodiderunt litterae Augusto mense exeunte ad Nos datae, quibus vota Nobis significasti plurium fidelium, ut veneratio quae Christo Domino ac Matri Virgini et S. Josepho domesticae Ejus societatis consortibus, sub Sacrae Familiae titulo exhibetur, ad ampliorem in Ecclesia cultus dignitatem provehatur, atque de hac re, uti fieri debet in causis gravibus fidem ac disciplinam spectantibus, sententiam et judicium hujus Apostolicae Sedis postulasti. Tuae observantiae et prudentiae officium Nos plurimi aestimantes, confestim postulationis tuae rationem habendam censuimus, ac rem propositam Consilio

Nostro sacris ritibus praeposito cognoscendam mandavimus, ut deinde ad Nos consulta et exquisita referret. Re itaque diligenter expensa, Tibi nunc significamus, ob peculiares justasque causas Nos decrevisse ut pietatis cultus erga Sacram Familiam nullis aliis inductis ejus exercendi novis formis in eo statu servetur, in quo auctoritate hujus Apostolicae Sedis probatus fuit, atque ut potissimum christianae domus Sacram Familiam ad venerationem et exemplum propositum habeant, juxta instituta pia illius Consociationis, quam Decessor Noster fel. rec. Pius IX suis litteris die V Januarii Anno MDCCCLXX datis, probavit et commendavit, atque in spem certam maximorum fructuum latius in dies propagari exoptavit. Quam spem salutarium bonorum et Nos ultro in ejusdem Societatis spiritu ponimus; confidimus enim Fideles omnes probe intelligentes, in cultu quem Sacrae Familiae exhibent, sese mysterium vitae absconditae venerari, quam Christus cum Virgine Matre et S. Josepho egit, inde magnos stimulos habituros ad fidei fervorem augendum, et virtutes imitandas, quae in divino Magistro, ac Deipara Ejusque Sponso sanctissimo fulserunt. Hae autem virtutes, ut non semel monuimus, dum aeternae vitae mercedem pariunt, ad prosperitatem etiam domesticae et civilis societatis tam misere hoc tempore laborantis spectant; cum ex familiis sancte constitutis, civitatis etiam commune bonum, cujus familia fundamentum est, necessario consequatur. Majus vero fiducia Nostra incrementum capit dum cogitamus, Sacrae Familiae cultores ex instituto Societatis quam diximus, a Christo Domino gratiam per merita Matris Virginis et S. Josephi sedulo efflagitantes, propitiam indubie opem experturos, ut vitam sancte componant, atque uti in domibus suis concordiam, caritatem, in adversis tolerantiam morumque honestatem laetentur efflorescere. Vota igitur ad Deum effundimus, ut germanus memoratae Societatis spiritus in dies latius inter Fideles emanet ac vigeat, atque in hanc rem operam suam collaturos tum sacrorum Antistites, tum omnes Ecclesiae administros non dubitamus. In mandatis, autem dedimus Consilio Nostro sacris ritibus praepositio, ut orandi formulam ad te mittat, quam confici et edi curavimus in usum fidelium ad domos suas Sacrae Familiae consecrandas, tum etiam quotidianae precationis exemplar a fidelibus in Sacrae Familiae veneratione persolvendae. Tuo demum in Nos obsequio, Dilecte Fili Noster, parem dilectionis affectum libenter profitemur, et in auspiciis coelestium munus, Apostolicam Benedictionem

Tibi et Clero ac Fidelibus, quibus praesides, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xx Novembris Anno MDCCCXC, Pontificatus Nostri Decimo tertio.

LEO PAPA XIII.

FORM TO BE SAID BY CHRISTIAN FAMILIES WHO CONSECRATE
THEMSELVES TO THE HOLY FAMILY.

FORMULA RECITANDA A CHRISTIANIS FAMILIIS QUAE SE SACRAE
FAMILIAE CONSECRANT.

O Jesu Redemptor noster amabilissime, qui e coelo missus ut mundum doctrina et exemplo illustrares, majorem mortalis tuae vitae partem in humili domo Nazarena traducere voluisti, Mariae et Josepho subditus illamque Familiam consecrasti, quae cunctis christianis familiis futura erat exemplo, nostram hanc domum, quae Tibi se totam nunc devovet, benignus suscipe. Tu illam protege et custodi, et sanctum tui timorem in ea confirma, una cum pace et concordia christianae caritatis; ut divino exemplari Familiae tuae similis fiat, omnesque ad unum quibus ea constat, beatitudinis sempiternae sint compotes.

O amantissima Jesu Christi Mater et mater nostra Maria, tua pietate et clementia fac ut consecrationem hanc nostram Jesus acceptam habeat et sua nobis beneficia et benedictiones largiatur.

O Joseph, sanctissime Jesu et Mariae custos, in universis animae et corporis necessitatibus nobis tuis precibus succurre; ut tecum una et beata Virgine Mariae aeternas divino Redemptori Jesu Christo laudes et gratias rependere possimus.

INDULGENCED PRAYER TO BE SAID DAILY BEFORE A PICTURE
OF THE HOLY FAMILY.

ORATIO QUOTIDIE RECITANDA ANTE IMAGINEM SACRAE FAMILIAE.

O amantissime Jesu, qui ineffabilibus tuis virtutibus et vitae domesticae exemplis familiam a te electam in terris consecrasti, clementer aspice nostram hanc domum, quae ad tuos, pedes provoluta propitium te sibi deprecatur. Memento tuam esse hanc domum; quoniam tibi se peculiari cultu sacravit ac devovit. Ipsam benignus tuere, a periculis eripe, ipsi in necessitatibus

occurre, et virtutem largire, qua in imitatione Familiae tuae sanctae jugiter perseveret; ut mortalis suae vitae tempore in Tui ebsequio et amore fideliter inhaerens, valeat tandem aeternas tibi laudes persolvere in coelis.

O Maria Mater dulcissima, tuum praesidium imploramus, certi divinum tuum Unigenitum precibus tuis obsecuturum.

Tuque etiam, gloriosissime Patriarcha sancte Joseph, potenti tuo patrocinio nobis succurre et Mariae manibus vota nostra Jesu Christo porrigenda submitte.

Indulgentia 300 dierum semel in die lucranda ab iis qui se Sacrae Familiae dedicant juxta formulam a S. Rituum Congregatione editam.

LEO PP. XIII.

Jesus, Mary, and Joseph, teach us, help us, save us. Amen.

Indulgentia 200 dierum semel in die lucranda.

LEO PP. XIII.

DECISIONS OF ROMAN CONGREGATION—ERECTION OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS.

SUMMARY.

1. The application for such faculty need not be in writing.
2. The faculty granted by the bishop to erect the Stations of the Cross is invalid unless given in writing.
3. That the written faculty should declare the fact that the bishop who grants it has himself received powers to erect Stations, is to be recommended, though not necessary.
4. Documentary evidence of the erection ought to be kept either amongst the *acta* of the bishop, or in the mission archives; but this is not essential for the validity of the erection.

EX S. CONGR. INDULGENTIARUM.

Dubia de Necessariis

ad

Validam Erectionem Stationum Viae Crucis.

Episcopus Constantiensis et Abrincensis, provinciae Rothomagensis in Gallia, huic Sacrae Indulgentiarum Congregationi humiliter exponit:

Quum in una Apamiensi die 25 Septembris, 1841 (*Decret. Authent. S. C. Indulgentiarum, Edit. Ratisb. n. 294*) legatur dis-

positio sequentis tenoris: "Circa erectionem Stationum Viae Crucis, impetratis antea ab Apostolica Sede necessariis et opportunis facultatibus, omnia et singula, quae talem erectionem respiciunt, scripto fiant, tam nempe postulatio quam ejusdem erectionis concessio, quarum instrumentum in codicibus seu in actis Episcopatus remaneat, et testimonium saltem in codicibus paroeciae seu loci, ubi fuerint erectae praefatae Stationes, inseratur;" hinc quaeritur:

I. An postulatio erectionis scripto fieri debeat sub poena nullitatis?

II. An ipsa concessio Episcopi, qui ab Apostolica Sede facultatem obtinuit erigendi Stationes Viae Crucis, item scripto fieri debeat sub poena nullitatis?

III. An in ipsa Episcopi concessione mentio fieri debeat facultatis obtentae ab ipsa Apostolica Sede erigendi Stationes Viae Crucis, sub poena nullitatis?

IV. An tandem testimonium erectionis in actis Episcopatus aut in codicibus paroeciae seu loci in quo fit erectio Stationum Viae Crucis, inserendum sit sub eadem nullitatis poena?

Porro Sacra Congregatio propositis quaesitis ita respondendum censuit:

Ad. I. *Negative.*

Ad. II. *Affirmative.*

Ad. III. *Congruit ut fiat mentio, sed non est necessaria.*

Ad. IV. *Praescribitur insertio testimonii erectionis in actis Episcopalibus et in codicibus paroeciae seu loci, etc., sed non sub poena nullitatis.*

Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 6 Augusti, 1890.

S. Cong. Indulg., 6 Aug., 1890.

Notices of Books.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS PER MODUM CONFERENTIARUM.

Auctore Clarissimo P. Benjamin Elbel, O.S.F. Novis
Curis Edidit P. F. Irenæus Bierbaum, O.S.F., Pro-
vinciæ Saxoniae S. Crucis Lector Jubilatus.

FATHER ELBEL wrote his valuable work on theology in the first part of the last century. It passed rapidly through several editions; and has received the warmest praise and the highest commendations from the principal writers on moral theology since that time. It is constantly quoted by St. Liguori and Gury; whilst Lehmkuhl writes of its author: "Inter primarios scriptores theologiae moralis numerandus." We are glad, then, that the work is being republished under the care of Father Bierbaum of the same Order.

The whole work will be republished in ten parts. As yet only the first part has appeared, which treats of human acts, conscience, laws, and sins; the remaining parts will appear in due course within the next two years.

It is unnecessary for us to write a detailed review of a work which has been before the world, and has elicited unstinted praise from theologians for a period of more than a century. It is written in the form of conferences. Each conference consists of—(1) a summary of the contents of the conference; (2) an exposition of theological principles; (3) a statement of practical cases, similar to those in Gury's "*Casus Conscientiae*," and the application of the principles already explained to them; and (4) the *conference* concludes with a section of "*Corollaria*." The treatment of questions in this first part which we have received, is remarkable for its great order and lucidity, its solidity and admirable application of principles to the solution of practical cases. Answers that are at variance with recent decrees of the Roman Congregations will be corrected in this edition. We can strongly recommend this work to priests who are anxious to add a good treatise on theology to their library.

D. C.

THE SCIENCE OF THE SAINTS IN PRACTICE. By Father Pagani. New Edition, 3 vols. London: Burns & Oates.

A BOOK on any of the natural sciences written forty years ago would, doubtless, be regarded to-day as antiquated and out of date.

The march of mind has left the men of science of the past a long way behind; much of their teaching has had to be modified, and much must now be set aside as no longer tenable. Not so, however, with regard to *The Science of the Saints*, or *The Science of the Supernatural Life*. And although sanctity appears in ever new and varying forms, and admits of indefinite progress, yet the science or theory of the supernatural, which from the beginning until now has been practically applied by the saints in the lives they led, has ever been the same, and there is nothing new to be added to it. Therefore a spiritual book of forty years ago, written by a master of the spiritual life, should be as welcome to-day as it was then. Such a work can never become antiquated, or fall behind in modern progress.

The Science of the Saints, by Father Pagani, of the Fathers of Charity, is well-known in this country, and will still be found on the shelves of many a Catholic library side by side with *The Lives of the Saints*, from which its spiritual honey has been chiefly extracted. But the work is becoming rare, and for some time past out of print. To meet this want a new edition of *The Science of the Saints* is now being published by Messrs. Burns & Oates, and the first of three volumes in which it will appear is already in the hands of the booksellers.

As, however, there are many to whom the book will appear new, a brief notice of the author and his work will help, no doubt, to make its value appreciated again, as it was forty years ago. Father Pagani, the saintly author, was regarded in his day as a man of great spiritual discernment and penetration, as well as of singular meekness and sweetness, which peculiarly fitted him for the direction of souls. Before entering the Institute of Charity, of which he afterwards became the second general, Father Pagani was spiritual director of the Seminary of Novara, and it was here that he first manifested a wonderful spiritual influence which charmed so much those who placed themselves under his direction. Here also he wrote his first book, *Anima Divota, or Derout Soul*, which for its sweet spiritual fragrance found such favour among the pious of his native land, that to this day it remains one of the most popular books of devotion in Italy. Translated into English by the author, it is also well-known in this country.

The Science of the Saints is a practical treatise on the principal Christian virtues, abundantly illustrated with interesting

examples from Holy Scripture as well as from *The Lives of the Saints*. It was written chiefly for devout souls such as are trying to live an interior and supernatural life by following in the footsteps of our Lord and His saints. Hence this work is eminently adapted for the use of ecclesiastics and of religious communities, since such are specially called by God to aspire to a higher perfection of life than is usually attained by ordinary Christians.

The author, following the course of the year, treats of twelve Christian virtues, proposing one of these for consideration during the whole of each month. But as every virtue may be regarded from many different points of view, so Father Pagani for each day of the month unfolds to the reader a special charm and attraction of the virtue under consideration, illustrating it with suitable examples from the lives of the saints. Thus we have a virtue, or a different aspect of a virtue, illustrated in life, as subject-matter for pious meditation on each day of the year. Now, there is a very great advantage to be derived from this classification of the examples of the saints according to the order of the virtues. For not only by this grouping of examples are we better able to retain them in the memory, but what is of still greater importance, we are able to note how the virtues thus separately set forth in order in *The Science of the Saints*, really repeat themselves as the characteristic features of *all* God's saints, and so we become accustomed to recognise a certain order of virtue in true sanctity, and to distinguish also in the lives of the saints between what is substantial and what is merely accidental in the many extraordinary things they did. For the above reasons it would seem that *The Science of the Saints* thus arranged may be, perhaps, even more useful as a guide to the interior life than the indiscriminate reading of *The Lives of the Saints*. The work, originally written by the author in English, and dedicated by him to the present Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, at a time when the latter was a simple priest, now comes out in its new form with the *imprimatur* of his eminence. We think the pious reader will find *The Science of the Saints* charming spiritual reading.

IDOLS; OR THE SECRET OF THE RUE CHAUSÉE D'ANTIN.

By Raoul de Navery. Translated from the French. By Anna T. Sadlier. Dublin: M. H. Gill.

It is admitted on all sides that bad literature is one of the greatest evils of our time. Every missionary priest has experience of the baneful effects it produces, especially amongst the young.

In newspapers, periodicals, and books, it penetrates everywhere, makes victims in all grades, insinuates its poison in every direction with the most fatal results. It sullies the imagination, perverts the intelligence, corrupts the heart, darkens and smothers the conscience. In recent years the "novel" has become a favourite medium for communicating what is most vicious in the heart, as well as what is most false and misleading in the mind of man. An art which is in itself noble and elevating has been turned from its purpose to be made the fascinating purveyor of error and of vice. It seems to many that on account of the extraordinary licence which the press enjoys in modern times the only effective antidote to such an evil is the production of a light literature, which, whilst neglecting none of the devices of art, will keep clear of the shoals on which so many have been lost, and supply the votaries of fiction with sound and moral works. This was the idea which inspired the Countess Hahn-Hahn, in Germany, and sustained her in the laborious task of furnishing the reading public of that country with a series of novels which, for purity of language, fertility of thought and imagination, elevation of ideas, artistic development of plots, scenes, and narration, hold the very highest place in modern German literature.

It was a similar reaction in Italy which produced, perhaps the only Italian novel, if it can be so designated, which has acquired world-wide fame. In France the writers of bad novels, numerous though they are, have not had the field of fiction entirely to themselves. Foremost amongst those whose works in that country have exercised a benign and salutary influence over the present generation are Raoul de Naverly, Zenäide, Fleuriot, Eugenie de Guerin, Paul Féval, and to a large extent also M. Xavier Marmier and M. Octave Feuillet, both distinguished members of the Academy. Whilst making full acknowledgment of what has been done on the same lines in both England and Ireland, we welcome this excellent translation of one of M. Raoul de Naverly's best works. The story is thrilling enough for any nerves, but it is told with a certain power of restraint which enables the author to captivate his reader, and fascinate him along to the very last chapter. And the general effect is good; the narration is often highly dramatic; the tone is earnestly Catholic and pure; the moral impression excellent. The pictures of family life which it unveils—if we leave the tragic element

aside—are true to the life; Benedict Fougerais, the Abbé Pomereul, Sabine, are perfect. Some of the minor characters are not quite so natural; but allowances have to be made for fiction. The establishment in the Rue Git-le-Coeur is the Parisian counterpart of Fagan's den, and the resort of Bill Sykes in London; but Jean Machû is a much more desperate villain than his brethren of the London confraternity. We do not care very much to find the seal of the confessional made the pivot of such stories; but as it has been done at all this author has used it not only with telling artistic force, but with the greatest reverence for the subject, and an uncommon insight into the ways of Providence and the working of grace in the human heart. The translation is free, pure, and natural. With the exception of a few Gallicisms, which are almost inevitable, it could scarcely be better. We heartily wish it the success which it deserves.

J. F. H.

CASELL'S NEW GERMAN DICTIONARY. German-English and English-German. London: Cassell & Co.

THIS is, we believe, a great improvement on any German dictionary hitherto published. It costs just about one-third the price of Flügel's, is made up in one compact volume, and is printed in clear type. The German-English part of it is specially good. It contains a vast number of words, and gives a much larger and more satisfactory list of examples, with directions and combinations under each word, than Flügel's or any others. Students engaged in the study of German could not make a better investment.

RATIONAL RELIGION. By the Rev. John Conway.
Milwaukee: Hoffmann Brothers.

CONSIDERING the vast ground which Father Conway goes over in this small volume we cannot expect to find any of the numerous subjects it touches upon exhaustively treated. Indeed, the author's object seems to have been to present to busy men of the world, both Catholic and non-Catholic, a succinct and practical compendium of Catholic teaching on all the great questions that lie at the foundation of religion, supporting these truths of Catholic dogma with short, pithy, and suggestive arguments, and employing the same brief though varied method in the destructive criticism of his opponents. In this object Father Conway has very well succeeded, and, we have no doubt, his book will do good amongst the class of readers for whom it is intended.

HOLY LIVES. I. THE LEPER QUEEN. II. THE BLESSED ONES OF 1888. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THE two volumes of this series before us can be heartily recommended as very useful books for parochial libraries, and also to heads of schools, as beautiful and instructive prizes for boys and girls.

I. *The Leper Queen* is an edifying legend of the self-sacrifice of Aleidis, the daughter of a Hungarian Count. The remnant of the sixth crusade brought back from the East the dreaded leprosy. It spread rapidly, and "make way for the leper," became a familiar cry in the streets of many a town in Hungary. The poor wretches who were struck were hurried away to the pent-houses, from which they were released only by death. Aleidis, wishing to devote her life to the poor lepers, prayed that she might be attacked by the disease, in order to escape marriage. Her prayer was heard, and on the day of her betrothal the leper's mark was discovered on her head. She then devoted the remainder of her life to attending the lepers.

II. *The Blessed Ones of 1888* contains sketches of the lives of the four whom Leo XIII., in the year of his Sacerdotal Jubilee, numbered amongst the beatified. The work of translation from the original German has been very well done by E. A. Donnelly.

I. ON THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. By Dr. Vaughan: Burns & Oates.

II. THE GARDEN OF DIVINE LOVE. By Rev. J. A. Maltus, O.P.: Burns & Oates.

III. THE SEVEN DOLOURS. By Kenelm Digby Best. Burns & Oates.

IV. THE SODALITY MANUAL. By Rev. J. A. Cullen, S.J. M. H. Gill & Son.

I. To the ordinary Catholic reader, as well as to the missionary priest, this little *brochure* of the Bishop of Salford cannot fail to be a most useful book for spiritual reading. The object which the writer proposed to himself—to give an explanation of the great Sacrifice of the New Law, and of the benefits to be derived therefrom—is fully attained. Even within its narrow limits we have much of what has been written by the great Fathers of the Church on the subject; nor are Cardinal Newman and Father Dalgairns passed over. From every point of view, this little book is to be considered a valuable addition to our Catholic literature.

II. This is a collection of very touching and beautiful prayers. It is a most suitable book of devotion, and will be found very useful in making thanksgiving after Holy Communion.

III. This is a little volume of hymns of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin, by a priest of the Oratory. Many of the hymns are very beautiful, and embody in appropriate rhythmic lines striking thoughts on the subject.

IV. This is an excellent prayer-book for members of sodalities. It contains, besides prayers for Mass, holy Communion, &c., the Office of the Dead, and the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin. It is clearly printed, and well brought out, by Messrs. Gill, and bears the *imprimatur* of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin.

EUCCHARISTIC JEWELS. By Percy Fitzgerald. Burns & Oates.

THIS is a companion volume to the *Jewels of the Mass*, by the same author, and, like it, is a charming little work. Although it consists for the most part of quotations from the Fathers and great Catholic writers on the Blessed Eucharist, yet they are so admirably selected and interwoven, that one almost forgets it is the work of different men. The writer's own passages are in a highly ornate and very pleasing style. Altogether the setting of these jewels displays the work of a master-hand.

A STRING OF PEARLS. From Longfellow. Selected and arranged by V. R. T. London: R. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row. 1890.

WE have very great pleasure in noticing this tiny and beautiful volume of selections from Longfellow. It is aptly styled a *String of Pearls*; for as pearls are emblematic of tears, and tears are the expression of deep feeling, so these selections are from a poet whose distinguishing characteristic is pathos, and whose leading quality is, like the pearl, childlike simplicity. The little gems are beautiful, indeed, and beautifully set—so beautiful that one would wish they had been more numerous; for as the compiler has told us in the words of Longfellow:—

“ I have but marked the place,
But half the secret told;
That, following this slight trace,
Others may find the gold.”

The little volume has already run to a second edition, and we know no more beautiful and cheap present than this charming *String of Pearls*.
J. C.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1891.

RÉNAN AND THE KINGS OF ISRAEL.

AT last the third volume of M. Rénan's *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel* has appeared, and with it is completed the sketch of the kings of Israel. A dramatic and highly-coloured picture, surely; but very misleading, and disfigured with numberless blots of bias and prejudice. How could it be otherwise? The narrative of Samuel and Kings is treated in the most arbitrary fashion—rejected or admitted, apparently according to the caprice of the writer, whilst next to no weight is attached to the books of Chronicles. "What these modern historiographies add," says M. Rénan,¹ "to the old accounts of the books of Samuel and Kings is of little value." Can we be surprised, then, if we find M. Rénan's history of the kings often little better than a caricature of the true story of the kingdom of Israel?

In the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters of the first book of Samuel the story is told of the establishment of the kingly power in Israel. Everything sacred and supernatural in the institution and functions of the kings, M. Rénan is determined to remove; and, accordingly, he proceeds to set forth their duties and position in the following words:²—

"The king, or *melek*, so enthusiastically demanded—evidently because the circumstances of the century demanded him—is obviously the *basileus* of the Homeric Greeks. The *basileus*, as his name indicates, marches at the head of the people, leads his

¹ Vol. ii., page 3, note.

Vol. i., page 391.

people to battle, staff in hand ; such is his duty, such his office. He is the German *Herzog*. Enormous transformations were necessary for a royalty instituted under such auspices to become a sort of sacrament."

With the idea of reducing the rôle of the Hebrew kings to that of a mere leader in the fight, M. Rénan compares them with the *basileus* of the Homeric Greeks. He could not have been more unfortunate in his illustration. For it is beyond all question that the *basileus* of Homer was something far more than merely a general to marshal the people for battle. Aristotle, speaking of the kings (*βασιλεῖς*) of the Heroic or Homeric age, tells us,¹ *κύριοι δ' ἦσαν τε κατὰ πόλεμον ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν, ὅσαι μὴ ἱερατικαί*² *καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰς δίκας ἔκρινον*—from which passage it is clear that their jurisdiction extended not over the battle-field alone, but also over the administration of justice, as judges and defenders of right ; and over the services of religion, as offerers of sacrifice to the gods. It is clear that Aristotle and Rénan are at variance. Which of the two is right? Dr. Grote, perhaps the leading authority on Grecian history, evidently follows the opinion of Aristotle.

"In war [he says of the Homeric king] he is the leader, foremost in personal prowess, and directing all military movements ; in peace he is the general protector of the injured and oppressed ; he further offers up these public prayers and sacrifices which are intended to obtain for the whole people the favour of the gods."

Furthermore, as illustrating what in Greece was considered to be the most important duty of the kingly office, after the abolition of the kings, the sacrificial function alone remained connected with the name of king. Thus, when in Athens, in the year 683 B.C., the duties of the kings of old were divided among the nine archons, it was not the leader in war that was called the *archon-basileus*, but the archon that represented the king as high priest of the nation.⁴

¹ *Politics*, 13, 4, 12.

² "Sacrifices requiring a priest acquainted with special rites."—Jebb (*Introduction to Homer*, page 48, note).

³ *History of Greece*, vol. ii., page 5.

⁴ The commander was known as *ὁ πολέμαρχος*.

M. Rénan is therefore completely in error as to the duties of the Homeric *basileus*. Is he likely to be any more accurate in regard to the Hebrew *melek*? He read in the first book of Samuel the exclamation of the people, that their king was to go out before them and fight their battles for them, and then his facile pen apparently rushed impetuously on, describing the completely warlike character of the Jewish king; and he illustrated his view with a completely imaginary description of the duties of the Homeric king. In his enthusiasm he clearly forgot that the people in the very same passage¹ ask in the first place for a king to judge (*i.e.*, to rule) them; and that, on the occasion of their first request for a king,² they ask only for "a king to judge us, as all nations have," saying nothing at all about wars or battles.

M. Rénan entertains a very low estimate of the kingdom of Israel during the period when it was under the rule of Saul, David and Solomon. Thus, of David:—

"There existed neither religion nor written legislation. Family life, strongly established amongst his subjects, relieved the sovereign from many cares. The government of David may thus be conceived as something very simple and very strong. We may imagine it upon the model of the petty royalty of Abderkader at Mascara, or according to the dynastic attempts we see in our own day in Abyssinia. The manner in which things go on at the court of such a *negus*, at Magdala or at Gondar, is a perfect image of the royalty of David, in his *millo* of Sion. The distribution and duties of the officials, the organization of the revenues, the fidelity of the ministers, the character of the writings, still few in number, would probably offer to the traveller acquainted with Biblical matters, who should visit Abyssinia, strange points of resemblance."³

The Biblical scholar travelling to Abyssinia, would be sure to fall in with a copy of the Pentateuch there. Would M. Rénan allow that such a volume was to be found in Israel in David's time? Indeed, M. Rénan seems to us to give a very unfaithful picture of the kingdom of Israel in its early days. Abyssinia is a country grown old in Christianity; for the Christian religion has existed there since the days of Constantine. Sixteen hundred years ago the authority of the emperors was well established; in our own days,

¹ 1 Sam. viii. 20.

² 1 Sam. viii. 5.

³ Vol. ii., page 2.

however, anarchy has prevailed there to such an extent, that at one period, not many years ago, eight persons were alive, each of whom had been emperor. Indeed the emperor's authority is but little, and the governors of provinces are continually at war with one another.¹

Does this picture give us a correct idea of the kingdom over which David and Solomon ruled? Certainly, if so, the resemblance is very slight. The Jewish monarchy was young, only at its beginning. Still it was full of vital force. Witness the energy with which David got the upper hand of his enemies on every side. "The neighbouring peoples, Hebrew, Chananian, Aramean, Philistine, to the heights of Hermon and the desert, were vigorously subjected, and more or less made tributary."² Then David and Solomon were both firmly planted at the head of affairs. "Everyone," says M. Rénan, of David,³ "feared him; an order of his was executed from Dan to Beër-Seba." Nor was this so for himself alone; he transmitted the crown to his sons, and the kingdom remained in his family, as M. Rénan admits,⁴ for four centuries. More than this, David began, and Solomon completed, the building and beautifying of Jerusalem; so that, thanks to the riches and activity of Solomon, "Jerusalem rivalled the most brilliant cities of Egypt and Phœnicia."⁵ Skilled workmen from Tyre, and the most costly materials from foreign parts were employed on the works; the ambassadors of Solomon appeared at distant courts; he formed an alliance with the powerful kingdom of Egypt;⁶ whilst his ships, built at Asiongheber, on the Red Sea, accomplished voyages "to Ophir, that is to say, to Western India."⁷ In a word, even from M. Rénan's admissions, it is clear that the kingdom grew rapidly in power and resources during David's reign, and occupied a position of importance and dignity under the sceptre of Solomon, his successor.

What are we to say of M. Rénan's estimate of King David's character? To speak plainly, it is a gross and wanton insult to the memory of the Psalmist of Israel, the ancestor

¹ *English Encyclopædia* (Knight). Geography, Abyssinia.

² Vol. ii., page 43.

³ Vol. ii., page 1.

⁴ Vol. ii., page 72.

Vol. ii., chap. xi

⁵ Vol. ii., page 121.

⁷ Vol. ii., page 114.

of Jesus Christ. "He was capable," says M. *Rénan*,¹ of the greatest crimes, when the circumstances required it." Again, "what is especially extraordinary in his fortune, is the fact that his enemies died at the very moment that his greater 'good required it.'" In another place³ he says that to his other qualities he joined "the doubtful art of profiting by every crime, without ever directly committing any." In fact, remarks and insinuations such as these, painting the character of David as that of an unscrupulous and hypocritical wretch, recur constantly through the account of his life. He is represented as a man at the bottom of every deed of violence, yet so contriving as outwardly to appear a gentle and unoffending soul.

What is the evidence for this atrocious charge? Saul and Jonathan disappeared at the moment most opportune for David.⁴ Joab, David's commander-in-chief, got rid of Abner, the general of the party of Saul.⁵ "David," says M. *Rénan*, "affected to be inconsolable. He had to be forced to take food." Isbaal, son of Saul, was assassinated in his sleep at Mahanaïm.⁶ Absalom, having revolted from his father, was slain in battle by the soldiers of Joab.⁷ Joab also murdered Amasa, his rival.⁸ Finally, M. *Rénan* says,⁹ alluding to the last testament of David to his son Solomon, "he showed the black perfidy of his hypocritical soul in what related to Joab and Semei." He is alluding to David's directions to his son to see that Joab and Semei do not go unpunished for their crimes.

Now, in regard to the last instance adduced by M. *Rénan*, we may say at once it is a flagrant instance of the gross unfairness he displays in the treatment of his subject. For our own part, we think it enough explanation of David's direction to his son in regard to Joab and Semei to point to Joab's many crimes and Semei's exposed treachery. They both deserved punishment; and it was natural for David not to wish his son, at the outset of his career, to fall into the hands of two such men. But how does the matter stand in the

¹ Vol. i., page 413.⁴ Vol. i., page 430.⁷ Vol. ii., page 82.³ Vol. i., page 430.⁵ Vol. i., page 441.⁸ Vol. ii., page 87.⁶ Vol. i., page 438.⁹ Vol. i., page 442.⁹ Vol. ii., page 92.

case of M. *Rénan*? He prides himself upon being a historian who bases his narrative upon the most approved critical results. He is not slow to point out any passages in the books of *Kings* that are, according to "critics," of doubtful authority. Will it be believed, then, that the chapter of *Kings* upon which he bases this odious charge against David is such a passage? Yet not a word of doubt is thrown upon it. "The testament attributed to him (David) in 1 *Kings*, ii.," says Wellhausen,¹ "cannot be justly laid to his charge; it is the libel of a later hand seeking to invest him with a fictitious glory." Upon what principle of honesty, then, can M. *Rénan*, with his views of "critical science," bring such a charge as this against King David, without a word of qualification, upon the authority of a passage which he must consider, to say the least, of very dubious authority?

But, looking at the whole case, and fully prepared to stand by the narrative of *Kings* in its entirety, we may say that M. *Rénan's* case rests upon no solid foundation. Wellhausen,² the leading "critic" of the day, says of King David, "his personal character has often been treated with undue disparagement." He finds the explanation of many of his deeds in the rude age in which he lived; and, finally, he says, "it is unjust to hold him responsible for the deaths of Abner and Amasa, or to attribute to him any conspiracy with the hierocracy for the destruction of Saul."

But on what does M. *Rénan* really base his charge against David? The cause and circumstances of the deaths of David's enemies which are referred to in the books of *Kings*, are there assigned. Upon what authority, then, does M. *Rénan* make David responsible for them? Upon certain documents, apparently, that existed—so he says—before "the narratives were arranged in such a way as that he might not be responsible." In the preface to the first volume of his history, M. *Rénan* said: "I admit that any opinions as to individuals are, save in exceptional cases, only possible within an historic period either very rich in documents or very near our own." We are dealing here with an individual

¹ *Israel*, page 455. This is obviously not our view.

² *Israel*, page 455.

³ Vol. ii., page 87.

who lived three thousand years ago. No documents exist sustaining M. *Rénan's* contention. The most that can be said is, that he suspects that over two thousand years ago such documents did exist; and on the strength of these he judges and condemns the Psalmist of Israel. Nothing more unjust could be conceived. Well, at least his conclusion is based on the teaching of the new "criticism"? No. Wellhausen, the leader of the modern school, is directly opposed to him. The fact is, the case is bolstered up by rejecting for the moment the principles of the science he is supposed to follow, and by making use of any means, fair or foul, to defile and vilify the character of the ancestor of Jesus Christ.

After the death of Solomon a schism took place in the kingdom.¹ Two kings reigned in Israel—one in the north, and one in the south—till the destruction of Samaria, in the year 721 B.C. M. *Rénan* has no difficulty in assigning the cause of the separation.

"The cause [he says²] that led the tribes of Israel³ to separate from the kingdom centralized at Jerusalem was the prevailing taste for freedom of life as of old. We have often had occasion to say that the old tribal spirit, the habits of the nomad and patriarchal life, still lived in Joseph. Such a spirit lent itself to no great organization, either civil, military, or religious."

The idea of "the tribal spirit" seems to have taken firm hold of M. *Rénan's* mind, and it is regularly "trotted out" as an explanation of many of the important problems connected with the history of the chosen people. The ordinary reader of Israelitish history will probably see sufficient reasons to account for the division of the kingdom without having recourse to the "tribal spirit" hypothesis. He will, doubtless, find the explanation of it in the heavy exactions and rigorous government of the late king, and also in the exceptional exemptions allowed to Juda, and the general discontent aroused by Solomon's innovations. Add to all this the exasperating conduct of the new king and the

¹ Date uncertain. Probably between 975 and 950 B.C.

² Vol. ii., page 192.

³ The north kingdom was called Israel; the south kingdom, Juda.

existence of a popular opponent to him in the person of Jeroboam, and the causes of the rupture become adequately explained. Nor is it easy to see how the establishment of a separate monarchy in the north could have any effect other than that of centralizing more than ever the government of the country, by diminishing the extent of the kingdom, and increasing the need for expenditure, armaments, and fortified towns to defend the people against foreign attacks.

At all events, during the reign of Roboam, the kingdom of Israel was divided into two kingdoms, and so continued till, with the fall of Samaria, the north kingdom came to an end in the year 721 B.C. We may lay down a very simple rule by which M. *Rénan's* estimate of the kings that ruled during that period can be ascertained. He invariably takes a view in opposition to that held by the writers of *Kings and Chronicles*. At the very least, he finds reasons to question the accuracy of the sacred writer, to say a good word for kings represented as bad, or to make dark insinuations against God-fearing monarchs. Ahab is "a remarkable sovereign—brave, intelligent, moderate, devoted to the ideas of civilization."¹ "Cunning cruelty made up the character of Jehu."² It was Joas' firmness towards the clergy that gave him a bad name.³ And so, through the long list of sovereigns, M. *Rénan*, relying upon his wonderful power of reading between the lines, draws a picture of the kings completely at variance with that of the sacred writers.

About the year 765 or 760 B.C. a new power made its first appearance in the valleys of the Orontes and of the Jordan. It was the Assyrian empire.

"The Grecian empire"⁴ [says M. *Rénan*, in words with which we are, speaking generally, in accord], the Roman empire, and, to a certain point, the Persian empire, have been forgiven their violence, because of the general good they have procured, and the contribution they have made to human progress. The Assyrian empire appears to have done nothing but harm. We can see no idea it has propagated, no good cause it has served. Like the Tartar empires of the middle age, it has passed along only to

¹ Vol. ii., page 301.

² Vol. ii., page 412.

³ Vol. ii., page 316.

⁴ Vol. ii., page 455.

destroy. Perhaps, however, the Tartar blood already predominated in these terrible hordes, and the sombre conquerors who terrified the eighth century before Jesus Christ had more than a mere external relation with the Turks, with Attila, and with Gengiskhan."

Such was the power with which Israel was now brought in contact. "It was the first appearance of military force in the world," and "the result was a brutal despotism." Immense numbers of *bas-reliefs* show us this ancient military system at work. Scenes of torture are represented with as much care and relish as scenes of victory. The king is the centre of the picture. There is no great minister, no great captain, no great painter. The king is everything; besides him there are but soldiers, servants, executioners. The lot of the prisoner in the hands of such men as these was horrible in the extreme. Captivity came to be regarded as the great calamity of life.

"As a general tendency," says M. Rénan,¹ "the prophets will be in favour of Assyria." And, again,² speaking of Osee: "The pressure of Assyria is already so strong that the seer dares to predict the captivity of the two kingdoms, and even to announce that the people will take refuge in Egypt, as indeed, will happen one hundred and seventy-five years later; after the taking of Jerusalem." The first of these statements is clearly untrue. The mere brutality of the Assyrians, and the horror in which they were held—as made clear by M. Rénan himself—is sufficient refutation of the statement. The real explanation of the position of the prophets is contained in the second quotation. Constantly throughout his history M. Rénan records³ the forcible language of these holy men against the idolatry, injustice, extortion, ungodliness, and other sins of kings, priests, and people. They warn the nation against the vengeance of heaven. Now, the Assyrians appear on the scene, and the prophets point to them as a scourge of God. However much they dread them, they declare them to be the instrument of God's punishment, and

¹ Vol. ii., page 465.

² Vol. ii., page 467.

³ Cf. ii., chap. xix. (Osee); chap. xxi. (Isaiah), &c.

they foretell the certain doom of Israel. They have no love for the Assyrians, but they boldly proclaim the will of God.

Assyria first swooped down upon Israel about the year 735 B.C. Manahen was then king of Israel. He submitted, and paid the barbarian conqueror one thousand talents of silver. Not long after Achaz, king of Juda, called in the help of the Assyrian monarch to aid him against Israel. Meanwhile Osee came to the throne of the north kingdom. The state of disorganization in his dominions was complete. On the other hand, the Assyrian power was at its height, under the rule of Salmanasar, successor of Theglathphalasar, who was emperor of all hither Asia. Osee at first bought off his hostility by submission and the payment of a tribute; then he intrigued with Egypt against his master. Isaiah was for submission. "The alliance with Egypt," said he,¹ "is but lying and perfidy." It was now too late to recede, for Salmanasar was coming down upon Israel like a blight. For three years Samaria held out against him. Then it fell, and all the notable portion of the population was taken into captivity. The north kingdom was at an end, after an existence of about two centuries and a half.

We have had occasion before to speak of the Hebrew prophets. The prophet or *nabi* of Israel differed from the *μάντρες* of the Greeks and the *vates* of the Romans. The prophets both in Greece and in Rome were members of a profession; they had a regular place in the organization of the state. In Israel, the *nabi* was a man apart; he was not necessarily connected with the priesthood; his appearance was erratic, and depended upon the special mission of God. It is true, M. Rénan speaks of them as organized in bodies. "What gave its chief strength to Jahveist prophetism," he says,² "was its corporate organization, with its adepts and novices," an organization which went by the name of "the sons of the prophets." Though married, they lived in little cells, ate together, and assembled in the community-rooms for exercises in common, above all to hear their master." Such is his statement. But there is no evidence to show

¹ Vol. ii., page 521.

² Vol. ii., page 279.

that the schools to which he refers were anything more than bodies of religious men united together with the view of serving God.

As usual, M. *Rénan* has formed a somewhat startling opinion as to the character of the prophets. "The prophet of the eighth century is therefore," he says,¹ "a journalist in the open air, himself declaiming his article . . . His first object was to reach the people, to assemble the crowd. For that purpose, the prophet did not reject any of these extravagant expedients which the modern publicist thinks he has invented." Again, to take another instance.² "Jerusalem possessed a band of loud talkers (*i.e.*, the prophets), whom we can compare only with the radical journalists of our own day, and who rendered all government impossible." Let these two instances suffice. Over and over again M. *Rénan* compares the Hebrew prophets to the journalists, the radicals,³ the radical journalists of the present day.

These passages, and the line of thought they represent, are an excellent illustration of the shallowness that pervades M. *Rénan's* history. The modern radical speaks in support of the lower orders; the prophet was the protector of the poor. The radical journalist is violent in his methods of attracting attention; the prophet not unfrequently made use of dramatic effect to gain the ear of the people. The radical is opposed to war; the prophet at times declaimed against the folly of resisting the Assyrians and Babylonians. Therefore the general conclusion: the prophet of the eighth century is the journalist of to-day; he can only be compared with the radical journalist of our own day. Could any proposition be more extravagant?

M. *Rénan* himself points out⁴ "that a triple barrier of prejudices—religious, moral, and social—estranged Israel from all that which other peoples regarded as progress. Its ideal was behindhand, in a life which it considered as the only one worthy of the free man, the pastoral or agricultural life," &c.; and in the sentence before he states that "more

¹ Vol. ii., page 422.

² Vol. iii., page 277.

³ The radicals here referred to are foreign radicals.

⁴ "Vol. ii., page 266.

than ever the prophets, preachers of these great reactionary dogmata, became the interpreters of the true sentiment of the nation." The prophets, therefore, represented the views of the nation, and the nation was opposed to progress—so says M. Rénan. Still we are to believe that the prophets of old represented the journalist and radical of our days.

In reality the two classes of men differed *toto calo*, and nothing will give us a better idea of the difference between them than the productions of the two. The articles of the radical journalist are ephemeral; they will not bear examination; they die with the day which gave them birth. The words of the prophets have been handed down from generation to generation; they are golden words; they will live for ever. The radical is an enemy of religion; the prophet was a man profoundly possessed with the spirit of piety and holiness. The radical lives like his neighbours; he pretends only to increase the creature comforts of the people. The prophet was a man of the strictest and most ascetical life. He sought the honour of God alone: he fearlessly denounced the unjust man: he threatened the sinner: he upheld the weak and oppressed: his prophecies as to the future told of a kingdom, not of this world, but a spiritual kingdom, where peace and justice should reign—in fact, the Church of God.

What views did the prophets hold as to the life to come? M. Rénan is quite clear upon the point. "Never is the least appeal made by the sages of this time," he says,¹ "to rewards and punishments beyond the grave." Again, speaking of the prophet Amos,² he says that "he shows clearly by his conduct that the people believed neither in rewards or punishments to come, and wished, consequently, the reign of absolute justice here below." Is it clear from the writings of the Old Testament that neither prophets nor people believed in rewards or punishments hereafter? Far from it. To take but one instance, Job, in the book of Job, which M. Rénan assigns to the reign of Ezechias, in the eighth century B.C., expresses the hope that "he will rise out of the

¹ Vol. iii., page 22.

Vol. ii., page 434.

earth on the last day," and that "he will see God."¹ This too because of his sufferings and tribulations here below. Indeed, M. Rénan is able to make the statement he does only by ignoring the fact that the word *scheol* is not always used merely of the grave, but sometimes also of hell, the place of punishment of the wicked.

With his usual confidence, and fully assured that he has made out his case on this subject, M. Rénan remarks:² "The reality in this matter presented strange difficulties to the most easily satisfied of thinkers, seeing that the good man is often unfortunate, and the wicked apparently as often rewarded. Jahveism was engulfed in this abyss." He continues with his usual flippancy: "Jahve, questioned upon the chapter of his providence, gives no reply except in the form of claps of thunder. The government of the world is perfectly just without men being able to say how." All this is empty rhetoric—it proves too much. Certainly the prophets would require to have been much more simple than M. Rénan gives them credit for having been, if their views on the future life were such as he asserts. The belief in perfect justice of Jahve was universal in Israel. Day after day the good man was seen afflicted and in misfortune, whilst the sinner prospered and enjoyed length of days; and still we are to believe that the prophets, full of zeal and uprightness, went on teaching the justice of God, and that this justice is manifested entirely in this life. The idea is absurd. It becomes more so when we know that it is certain that the Israelites believed in a future life. Indeed, apart from other proof, their belief in necromancy,³ which M. Rénan says "was more in vogue than ever" in the eighth century, makes this fact clear. Are we to suppose then that the Israelites believed in a life beyond the grave, but considered that after death God's justice was no longer brought into play? In reality the only reasonable explanation of the words and actions of the prophets is the supposition that they believed in rewards and punishments, not only in this life, but also in that which is to come.

¹ Job xix. 25-26.

² Vol. iii., page 22.

³ Cf. Saul at Endor.

Though we have a far higher idea of the prophets than M. Rénan, still he accords to them one honour to which, in our opinion, they have no claim. The Hexateuch—*i.e.*, the Pentateuch with the book of Josue—was, according to M. Rénan, the creation of Hebrew prophetism. It will be necessary for us now, as briefly as we can, to sketch out M. Rénan's views as to the origin of the Hexateuch.

"The use of writing," says M. Rénan,¹ "was widely spread under David and Solomon." Still we are to suppose that at that time not a line of the Pentateuch had been written. There existed, however—so says M. Rénan—two sets of traditions; one relating to the primitive history of man, the deluge, &c., of Babylonian or Harranian origin,² embracing also souvenirs of Ur-Casdim and Abraham, and tales about Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph in Egypt; the other, more historical in character, though not entirely free from fable, beginning with the sojourn of the tribes on the confines of Egypt, consisting of stories regarding the deliverance from Egypt, Moses, and the passage through the desert. These various traditions resulted in a book of patriarchal and other legends. "From this double series of traditions," says M. Rénan,³ "resulted two consecutive writings; or rather, perhaps, what people considered to be but one book." This was in the tenth century B.C.

Besides this book of legends we are to imagine—the imagination plays an important part in M. Rénan's theory—the existence of two collections of hymns or songs; one of them, the book of the Wars of the Lord, referred to in the book of Numbers;⁴ the other, the book of the Just, referred to in the book of Josue.⁵ No one questions the existence of two books bearing these names; but we fail to see upon what grounds M. Rénan refers their authorship to the tenth century B.C. His motive is obvious: to gain an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the book of Numbers, since there is a reference in that book to the book of the Wars of the Lord. But it is not at all so clear why these books should not

¹ Vol. ii., page 205.² Vol. ii., page 206.³ Vol. ii., page 208.⁴ Num. xxi. 14, &c.⁵ Jos. x. 13.

have been made up of chants, added at various times, and dating back, in part at least, to the very commencement of the wanderings in the desert. However, according to M. *Rénan*, these two books of chants belong to the tenth century B.C.

We have now to advance rather more than a century, remembering that there existed two distinct kingdoms in Israel—the north kingdom and the south kingdom. About the year 850, in the reign of Jehu, M. *Rénan* tells us¹ that a redaction of its sacred history was carried out in the north kingdom. This redaction was the work of a prophet of the school of Elias, and it was founded in great measure upon the book of legends referred to above. The writer is known as the Jehovist, because of his constant use of the term Jahve or Jehovah for God, and his work is supposed to be contained chiefly in the book of Genesis, though parts of it are also to be found elsewhere in the Hexateuch. “There is no doubt,” says M. *Rénan*,² “that the writer who by agreement is called ‘the Jehovist,’ in undertaking his sacred history, had for his principal object to insert therein a code, summing up in a short form the precepts of Jahve.” Where is this code to be found? We are informed that it still exists in what is commonly called the book of the Covenant.³

So much for the north kingdom. In the south kingdom a similar work was undertaken some few years later, about 825 or 830 B.C. The writer who in this case is known as the Elohist, was, we are told,⁴ a priest of the temple of Jerusalem. He had at his disposal no such work as the book of legends of the northern kingdom, but he had many traditions common to both countries before the separation, and he had besides many documents, unknown in the north, which were preserved in the temple of Jerusalem. On the whole, the work of the Elohist was very like that of the Jehovist; and as the latter inserted in his redaction the legislative code known as the book of the Covenant, so the former included in his that well-known foundation of moral law, the Decalogue, or Ten Commandments.

¹ Vol. ii., page 361.

² Ex. xx. 22–xxiii. 19.

³ Vol. ii., page 362.

⁴ Vol. ii., page 395.

In the year 721 B.C., the north kingdom came to an end, and soon the inconvenience of two sacred histories, so like and yet so divergent in detail, began to be felt. Accordingly, in the reign of Ezechias, the two narratives were welded together by an unknown hand. The resulting volume contained, M. *Rénan* assures us,¹ about one-half the present Hexateuch. Roughly speaking, neither Deuteronomy nor Leviticus was there, but most of the rest of the Hexateuch was there, and perhaps² the volume ended with the canticle of Moses, which now forms the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy.

Apparently the Israelites were still dissatisfied with their sacred history. We read in the fourth book of Kings,³ how, when some repairs were being made in the temple buildings, in the reign of Josias, the high-priest Helcias found in the temple the book of the Law, and gave it to Saphan the scribe, who, in his turn, delivered it to the king. This "book of the Law" was, in all probability, a very old copy of Deuteronomy, if not the original copy of Moses himself. M. *Rénan* is quite satisfied that the discovery of this book in the temple was all a fraud.⁴ It was no old book at all, that was found; but a new book, that had been hidden in the temple, and was brought out as the discovery of an old one. Jeremias the prophet he considers to have been the moving spirit in the matter; and he has no doubt the book discovered was our present Deuteronomy from chapter iv. 45 to the end of chapter xxviii. What, we may well ask, was the object of all this intrigue and deceit? "People wanted," says M. *Rénan*,⁵ "a book which would sum up the legislative ideal of the theocratic school—the rule of a perfect state under Jahve." Deuteronomy, which Helcias discovered in the temple, was supposed to supply this want. But then, M. *Rénan* tells us, that Deuteronomy "is only a new publication" of the old Law. It is based on the Decalogue, which was already known. "As regards the laws, the new code innovates very little. Upon nearly every point it only repeats the prescriptions of the book of the Covenant."⁶ This being

¹ Vol. iii., page 362.⁴ Vol. iii., chap. xv.

Vol. iii., page 66.

Vol. iii., page 208.

³ Chapter xxii.⁶ Vol. iii., page 212.

so, how can it be said to have been a book satisfying the aspirations of the people? Is it at all likely then that Jeremias and the heads of the temple at Jerusalem¹ would have descended to all this deceit and fraud for the purpose of palming off on King Josias a book which contained little or nothing not already written in the sacred code of Israel?

Thus, according to M. *Rénan*, the book of Deuteronomy came into being. We have yet to account for the book of Leviticus; but we shall say only a brief word about it, as M. *Rénan* regards it as belonging to the period of the captivity, and it is therefore outside our subject. "As Jeremias was the inspirer of Deuteronomy, so was Ezechiel of Leviticus,"² says M. *Rénan*. And again, speaking of the twenty or five-and-twenty years that followed the captivity, he says, "nearly all the sacerdotal and levitical part of the *thora* appears to us, in substance, to belong to this period; the form was afterwards many times retouched." So that the book of Leviticus, and some kindred legislation in other parts of the Hexateuch would be substantially the work of the years preceding 560 B.C. After that, speaking roughly, the Hexateuch was complete, though M. *Rénan* is of opinion it underwent many re-editings at a later date.

Such, in brief, is M. *Rénan's* theory of the origin of the Hexateuch. Is it the unanimous decision of modern critical science? Far from it. The number of different theories is legion, and each theorizer defends his own particular views with the utmost confidence; in so doing, demolishing the edifices erected with much labour by his rivals. The result is a babel of discordant voices, each claiming to have solved the complex problem. The Catholic student can afford to regard the conflict with equanimity, confident that the sacred volume will emerge unscathed from the ordeal. In the present paper it is impossible for us to enter upon a detailed examination of the question, so we shall content

¹ Vol. iii., page 299.

² Vol. iii., page 432.

ourselves with making the following quotation from an eminent Catholic writer :¹—

“The difference of opinion amongst ‘critics’ is sufficiently great: we should never come to an end, if we endeavoured to enumerate and explain them all. No one, however, will experience any difficulty in finding a scheme to his taste. Any one who wishes to accept two authors of the Pentateuch, may have recourse to Tuch. Anyone who believes there were three, may consult Dr. Wette. The student who prefers four, can quote as his authorities, Hupfield, Schrader, Nicolas; Vaihinger and Dillman will be of assistance to one who holds to five; Noeldeke and Knobel are authorities in favour of six or seven authors. If, however, any person has convinced himself that there are an indefinite number of authors, he has Ewald on his side. Moreover, authorities will not fail the student, if he assert that the Pentateuch was completed in the time of Josue (Delitzsch, Kurtz), or of Saul (Staehelin), or of David (Bleek), or of Solomon (Tuch), or of Josias (Knobel), or in the last year before the Babylonian captivity (Schrader), or in the time of Esdras (Wellhausen), or during the interval between Nehemias and Alexander the Great (Reuss), or in the days of the first Ptolemys, when the Alexandrine version was made (Delitzsch), or at the time of the Machabees (Seinecke). Furthermore, he has no reason to be afraid of going wrong in assigning different passages and verses to different authors; for whether he decides upon attributing a given passage or verse to the Elohist or Jahvist, he will not be without authorities: *e.g.*, Gen. vi. 1-8, is attributed by Hupfield to the Jahvist; by Schrader partly to the theocratic, partly to the prophetic writer; by Delitzsch to a writer who is neither Elohist nor Jahvist: Gen. vii. 23, is attributed to the Elohist by Tuch, Staehelin, Delitzsch; one half of the verse only is assigned to the Elohist by Dillman; the whole verse is attributed to the Jahvist by Noeldeke and Wellhausen, to the prophetic writer by Schrader: Gen. xlix. is ascribed to the Elohist by Tuch and Ewald, to the Jahvist by Hupfield, to the prophetic writer by Schrader, &c. Finally, should he, in regard to a verse, be perplexed as to the writer to whom he ought to refer it, he will be able to avail himself of the new expressions of modern critical science to conceal an arbitrary unsupported judgment. In such cases he can assert that the Jahvist ‘has carefully imitated,’ or ‘partially followed,’ the Elohist; or that ‘he has built up his edifice upon an Elohistic foundation;’ or that ‘he has employed an Elohistic colouring;’ or that ‘he has introduced Elohistic phrases,’ or that ‘he has retained an Elohistic footnote or marginal note,’ &c.”

¹ Cornely, vol. ii., page 81.

A word, in conclusion, as to the later kings of Juda. Ezechias is acknowledged by M. *Rénan* to have been a great king.¹ During his reign took place the invasion and complete defeat of the Assyrian monarch Sennacherib.² Manasses, who reigned from 696 to 641, we know to have been a wicked prince. M. *Rénan*, however, asserts that his conduct differed in nothing from that of his father ;³ his reign, according to him, was very prosperous⁴ and very long. As to his captivity and repentance, he says, "what we read in the books of Chronicles of a pretended captivity of Manasses in Assyria is only a fable." This too, notwithstanding the confirmation of the books of Chronicles supplied by recent discoveries among the cuneiform inscriptions ! Of Josias, who was a good and pious prince, M. *Rénan* says that he was entirely in the hands of the priests.

Meanwhile Ninive was destroyed, and the Assyrian empire came to an end in the year 625 B.C., according to the prophecy of Nahum, delivered one hundred and twenty-five years before. Babylon now became the centre of power in the east, and the Babylonian empire became the great danger for Juda. In the year 605, Nabuchodonosor made his appearance, as M. *Rénan* expresses it, "upon the stage of the world." Jeremias was at that time the moving power in Jerusalem, and he warned the people that punishment was at hand because of their sins. Once, in the reign of Joachim, Nabuchodonosor appeared in the holy city ; but he was merciful, and permitted the king to retain his throne.⁵ Disunion, however, prevailed in Sion, and a revolt took place against Babylon. Vengeance was at hand, for the Babylonian monarch once more turned his arms against the kingdom of Juda. Town after town fell before him, and last of all, in 598, fell Jerusalem itself ; the people were carried into captivity. For a few brief years, Sedecias, a nominee of Nabuchodonosor, sat upon the throne of Juda ; and with him ended the long line of kings descended from David.

¹ Vol. iii., page 3. ² Vol. iii., page 92. ³ Vol. iii., page 122.

⁴ Vol. iii., page 144.

⁵ Vol. iii., page 297.

Yet not ended ! for the prophecies of Isaiah have been fulfilled ; amongst others that one¹ which tells of the Child that shall sit upon the throne of David for ever. " Perhaps," says M. Rénan of that divine prophecy, " it is the image of an ideal king, such as a Jahveist might have dreamed him to be, which came to console the imagination of the afflicted prophet." A lame explanation, surely ! But a fair specimen of M. Rénan's style of prophetic interpretation. An image of an ideal king, indeed, the prophet was favoured with—the Son of God, who has established for ever the kingdom of peace and justice, who has prolonged the house of David to eternity.

J. A. HOWLETT.

IRISH PARLIAMENTS.—II.

WHEN King James I. ascended the throne² several arbitrary attempts were made to coerce the Catholics³ and the Puritans, as also to restrict the privileges and liberties of the Irish parliament. The chief agents in these transactions were Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord-Deputy ; Sir John Davis, Attorney-General ; and Sir Oliver St. John, Lord-Deputy. In the beginning of this reign, the Irish Catholics had hoped for toleration in the public exercise of their worship. Instead of this, however, several royal proclamations and several enactments were framed and executed against them with vigour.⁴ Those who refused to attend Protestant services were heavily fined, and they were stigmatized with

¹ Is. ix. 6, 7.

² He reigned from the 24th of March, 1603, to the 27th of March, 1625.

³ See Bishop Rothe's *Analecta Sacra Nova et Mira de Rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia*, published at Cologne, 1617. New edition, by Right Rev. Patrick F. Moran, Bishop of Ossory ; Dublin, 1884, 8vo.

⁴ See *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of James I.*, 1603-1606, edited by C. W. Russell, D.D., and John P. Prendergast, Esq., page 301, *et seq.*

the epithet of Recusants.¹ On the 20th of February, 1604, Sir John Davis wrote to Cecil from Castle Reban, county of Kildare, regarding the many abuses existing in Ireland, which had now been completely subdued by force of arms ; and, alluding to the parliament which he shortly expected to be summoned there he states, that a copy of Poynings' Act—which directed the manner of holding the parliament in that kingdom—had been forwarded to their lordships of the English Privy Council, together with all the other Acts which had either superseded or expounded that law. This he declared had been done, because he guessed that it was likely to be a matter for deliberation and counsel among them at that time. He wished, also, that the Privy Council at Dublin had instructions to consider what Acts were fit to be passed and to be agreed upon before that year had too far advanced.² With this letter various enclosures of documents were sent.³

An interval of twenty-seven years had elapsed since the last legislative assembly met. The most unconstitutional methods had been adopted⁴ to secure a preponderance for the Court party, when a parliament was

¹ In his speech as Attorney-General prosecuting some of them before the Irish Star Chamber Council in Dublin Castle, Sir John Davis lays down the monstrous doctrine, that the king was supreme in all matters ecclesiastical, and that it was not for subjects to question the prerogative royal in matters of government. The substance of this speech is contained in the *Carte Papers*, vol. lxi., page 117.

² According to the *State Papers of Ireland*, vol. ccxvi., 4.

³ Among these are Sir Edward Poynings' Act of 10 Henry VII., cap. 4 ; another Act of 28 King Henry VIII., cap. 4 ; the Repeal of Poynings' Act, under Leonard Graie, Lord-Deputy ; an Act of 4th Mary, cap. 4, declaring how Poynings' Act shall be expounded, under Thomas, Earl of Sussex ; Lord Deputy ; an Act of 11th Elizabeth, cap. 1., authorizing statutes, ordinances, and provisions to be made in this present parliament concerning the government of the common weal, and the augmentation of her Majesty's revenues, notwithstanding Poynings' Act, under Sir Henry Sydney, knight, Lord-Deputy ; as also an Act of the same year, cap. 8, and intituled, An Act that there be no bill certified into England for the repeal or suspending of the Statute passed in Poynings' time before the same bill be first agreed on in a session of parliament holden in this realm, by the great number of the lords and commons.

⁴ Some curious particulars relating to the election of members and a Speaker for this parliament may be found in the Patent Roll of Chancery, 16 Jac. 1, page 3.

summoned to meet at Dublin in 1613.¹ After some very disreputable scenes had been witnessed within the house, Sir John Davis was forcibly placed as speaker in the chair.² Then the Recusants indignantly retired from both houses. On the 21st of May, he delivered a very plausible speech in the higher house, when the Lord-Deputy Chichester had approved his election. This speech is filled with fulsome flattery of the king and his deputy, as also with varied historic misrepresentation³ in his political view of the situation.

In 1621, Sir Richard Bolton⁴ collected the statutes of the Irish parliaments into one folio volume, which was printed by the society of stationers, who were then printers to his Majesty. The work furnishes an idea of the legislation that prevailed in Ireland previous to that date. At a later period, he was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and author of *A Declaration setting forth How and by What Means the Laws and Statutes of England, from Time to Time, came to be of Force in Ireland*.⁵

¹ In a manuscript belonging to Trinity College Library, and classed F. 3. 17, a list of the members composing it may be found, as also the sums paid by their constituents to several of them for their attendance: viz., 13s. 4d. per diem to a knight; 10s. to a citizen, and 6s. 8d. to a burgess.

² From 1613 to 1800, we have a record of Irish Parliamentary proceedings in "The Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland," in thirty-eight fine folio volumes; with two thick folio volumes of a general index. Dublin: Printed by George Grierson, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty. 1796 to 1802.

³ It may be read in Rev. Dr. Leland's *History of Ireland from the Invasion of Henry II.* Appendix, pp. 489-501, with the writer's notes on it succeeding.

⁴ He became Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and afterwards he was Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

⁵ This tract was first printed in Walter Harris's *Hibernica*, part ii., pp. 9-45. Although Harris states that the name of Sir Richard Bolton appears on a copy of the manuscript, yet is he inclined, but without any good reason for his opinion, "rather to give the honour of the performance to Patrick Darcy, Esq., an eminent lawyer, and an active member of the House of Commons in the parliament assembled in Dublin, in 1640, when the Papists had a share in the Legislature as well as the Protestants." However, he subsequently publishes Serjeant Mayart's *Answer to a Book entitled, A Declaration setting forth How and by What Means the Laws and Statutes of England, from Time to Time, came to be in Force in Ireland*, written by Sir Richard Bolton. See *ibid.*, pp. 47-231. The question of authorship seems to be settled in the opening sentence of Mayart, where he refers to "that book by the Lord Chancellor,"

The reign of Charles I.¹ over Ireland was signalized by the tyrannical and arbitrary government of Viscount Wentworth, afterwards the unfortunate Earl of Strafford. His leading objects seem to have been the destruction of parliamentary independence, the procuring of subsidies for the king, and his abominable inquisition, to ensure the forfeiture of Irish estates, so that he might bestow them on his relations or partisans.² The encroachments on popular rights led to a confederacy of the Catholic with the Puritan members of parliament to resist; while remonstrances were addressed to the king. Afterwards, some concessions were obtained. However, the king would not consent that any part of Poynings' law should be repealed. The constitutional rights of Irish subjects were still insisted upon with great spirit. The Irish House of Commons appointed a prolocutor, Sir Patrick Darcy,³ at a conference with the Lords, to assert their case and requirements. That *Argument delivered by Patrick Darcy, Esquire; by the express Order of the House of Commons in the Parliament of Ireland, 9, Junii, 1641*, was printed by Thomas Bourke, printer to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, in 1643.⁴ All irregular or illegal practices and usurpations of public privileges were then condemned by the Irish House of Commons, while the liberties of Irish subjects were solemnly affirmed with strength and precision. The incidents of a prolonged war waged by the Irish Confederate Catholics against their

¹ He was king from the 27th of March, A.D. 1625, to the 30th of January, 1649, when he was beheaded.

² See *Ireland's Case briefly Stated; or a Summary Account of the Most Remarkable Transactions in that Kingdom since the Reformation*. By a true Lover of his King and Country, part i., pp. 18, 19. Printed in the year 1720, 18mo.

³ Thomas Moore, misconceiving Harris's negative doubt, has committed an extraordinary historical blunder in making Sir Patrick Darcy assume the name of Sir Richard Bolton. See *History of Ireland*, vol. ii., chap. xxxii., page 329, note.

⁴ This work was reprinted in Dublin by G. F. in 1764, and issued as a thin 12mo. volume, pp. 1-149. To this tract has been added the speech of Mr. Audley Mervin upon the Impeachment of Sir Richard Bolton, &c., March 4th, 1640. The latter is likewise a Dublin reprint, dated the same year, and by the same publisher; the paging being continued to page 176.

English rulers followed,¹ and almost put an end to further parliamentary proceedings during the rest of this reign.² The deposition of Charles I. by the Long Parliament in England, his trial, and subsequent execution, changed the whole character of the constitution there, and the monarchial form of government was abolished, a republican or popular representation having been instituted.

Early in the year 1649, the House of Peers was abolished, and in the lower house it was voted that the supreme national authority was vested in the representatives of the people. Still was the name of parliament maintained, while a radical revolution had been effected. A council of state, consisting of forty-one members, was selected for the purposes of general administration, but with powers limited in duration to twelve months. Three-fourths of the numbers selected had seats in the house. Notwithstanding the discontent of the royalist party, and their armed resistance in Ireland and in Scotland, the newly constituted government, with the aid of a large military and naval force, maintained tranquillity at home and prestige abroad, until the ambition of Oliver Cromwell, no less distinguished as an astute and intriguing politician than as a vigorous general, urged him violently to dissolve the parliament in 1653. This was succeeded by an assembly of the saints or godly persons, selected by the council in the presence of the lord-general, and consisting of one hundred and thirty-nine representatives for England, six for Wales, six for Ireland, and five for Scotland.³ This farce was soon played out, however, when Cromwell deemed it time to assume the rôle of Lord Protector, and vested with supreme power of his own conferring.

No parliament was held in Ireland during the time of

¹ See John T. Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland from 1641-1652, now for the first Time published*. With an Appendix of original Letters and Documents, three volumes, Dublin, 1879-1880, 4to.

² The fullest account of this civil war may be found in John T. Gilbert's *History of the Irish Confederation and the War in Ireland, 1641-1643*. Two volumes, Dublin, 1882, 4to; continued in vol. iii., from 1643-1644, Dublin, 1885, 4to; vol. iv., from 1644-1645, Dublin, 1888, 4to; vol. v., from 1645-1646, Dublin, 1889, 4to; vol. vi., from 1646-1648, Dublin, 1890, 4to; vol. vii., from 1646-1649, Dublin, 1891, 4to.

³ See Rev. Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, vol. xi., chap. i., page 4.

the English Commonwealth¹ and the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell.² Even in England the journalistic proceedings of parliament are wanting for that period; while there is a chasm in the acts, books and documents of parliament, from 1648 to 1660.³

From the thirteenth to the eighteenth of King Charles II.⁴ only one parliament, and that prorogued several times, was held in Ireland. Overridden and supervised as its proceedings were by the English Government and Parliament, their navigation laws and restrictions on Irish trade and commerce crippled all serious attempts to revive national industry or prosperity.⁵ In 1678, those Irish statutes previously issued by Sir Richard Bolton were reprinted by Benjamin Tooke, with the addition of subsequent acts to the session of the 17th and 18th of King Charles II. inclusive.⁶ This forms the best record

¹ This interregnum continued from the 30th of January, 1649, to the 29th of May, 1660.

² "As to what was done for *Ireland* in the parliament of *England* in *Cromwell's* time, besides the confusion and irregularity of all proceeding in those days, which hinders any of them to be brought into precedent in these times, we shall find also that then there were *representatives* sent out of this kingdom, who sate in the parliament of *England*, which then was only the *House of Commons*. We cannot, therefore, argue from hence, that *England* may bind us; for we see they allowed us *representatives*, without which, they rightly concluded, they could not make laws obligatory to us."—William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, pp. 101, 102.

³ See *General Report to the King in Council from the Honourable Board of Commissioners on the Public Records*, page 76.

⁴ He began to reign *de facto*, from May 29th, 1660; but the judges absurdly ruled that he was king *de jure* and *de facto* from the death of his father; so that the first year of his restoration to the throne is called the twelfth of his reign. He died on the 6th of February, 1685.

⁵ See Rt. Hon. John Hely Hutchinson's *Commercial Restraints of Ireland Considered*. In a Series of Letters to a noble Lord containing an Historical Account of the Affairs of that Kingdom, as far as they relate to this subject. The first edition of this valuable work was printed without the author's name in Dublin, 1779, by William Hallhead, No. 63, Dame-street, with a Preface: it contains nine letters, pp. 1-240, 8vo. There are three tabular Appendices, in folding sheets, giving under several previous years—in No. I. The Wool and Worsted-yarn exported to England; in No. II., The Drapery; and in No. III., The Linen Cloth. This work has been re-edited, with a sketch of the Author's Life, Introduction, Notes, and Index, by Rev. William G. Carroll, M.A., and Rector of St. Bride's Church, Dublin. A portrait of the author and handwriting are also given. Dublin, 1882, 12mo.

⁶ To this impression was added a thin and an incomplete Index.

of Irish parliamentary history, for the reigns of King Charles I. and King Charles II.

From that time to the Revolution, no parliament was held in Ireland. King James II., who succeeded to the English throne on the death of his brother Charles II., only reigned over England for three years, being obliged to abdicate on the 11th of December, 1688. However, he was acknowledged as king over Ireland, and he came to it on the 12th of March, 1689. On the 7th of May in that year, James II. opened a parliament in Dublin.¹ But, its acts were afterwards declared void,² and they have been expunged from the Rolls. Not alone by Irish Catholics, but even by numbers of the Irish Protestants, and especially by the Episcopalians, was he regarded as king *de jure*, while they raised a large army to sustain his cause.³ After a war, which was maintained in his interests for more than two years, the power and authority of that monarch ceased in Ireland—especially with the surrender of Limerick, on the 3rd of October, 1691.⁴

One parliament was held in Ireland during the joint reigns of William III. and Mary;⁵ while two parliaments

¹ The names of the Lords and Commons constituting it are to be found in the Appendix No. xxxi., xxxii., to Walter Harris's *History of the Life and Reign of William Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.* Dublin, 1749, fol.

² See William Molyneux's *Case of Ireland's being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*, page 109.

³ See further details in John D'Alton's *Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List* (1689). Dublin, 1885, 8vo.

⁴ The most interesting and circumstantial account of these events is that found in *Macariæ Excidium, or the Destruction of Cyprus; being a secret History of the War of the Revolution in Ireland*, by Colonel Charles O'Kelly, and as most learnedly and carefully edited for the Irish Archæological Society by John Cornelius O'Callaghan, whose notes and illustrations appended form the chief value of that work, published in Dublin, 1850, 4to.

⁵ By Statute of 1 William and Mary, session 2, chap. 2, it is stated, that the 13th of February, 1688-89, was "the day on which their Majesties accepted the Crown and Royal dignity of King and Queen of England." Queen Mary died on the 28th of December, 1694. Then the regal style was altered, and William III. commenced his seventh regnal year. His sixth year terminated on the 27th of that month. See *Journals of the House of Lords*, vol. xv., pp. 451, 452.

were convened during the single reign of King William III.¹ The first serious effort to promote constitutional independence by the Irish Protestants—for the Catholics had been denied all political rights—took place in 1698, when William Molyneux published his celebrated treatise, the *Case of Ireland being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England Stated*. This created a great ferment in England, where it was deemed to be of dangerous tendency to the crown and people, while the representatives of both houses there specially recommended the king to maintain the legislative supremacy of the English over the Irish parliament.

Sessions of parliament took place in Ireland during the second, fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth, and tenth year of Queen Anne's reign.² During this period, and in the following reign, the public spirit and caustic writings of that incomparable genius, Dean Swift, had a powerful influence over the minds of English and Irish politicians. They effected a strong feeling in favour of promoting Irish trade and industry; while they roused a spirit of opposition to the domination of England, on matters affecting the interests of Ireland. Meantime, penal enactments were intolerantly multiplied, by the members of our native parliament, on their proscribed fellow-countrymen who were Catholics.

Sessions of parliament were assembled in Ireland during the second, fourth, sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth year of the reign of George I.³ During this reign occurred the celebrated cause between Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesley, before the Irish Court of Exchequer, which was reversed on an appeal to the Irish House of Lords. From this tribunal Annesley appealed to the English peers, who decided in his favour, and these assumed to rescind the Irish Lords' decree. An opinion of the Irish judges ruled that the Irish parliament only had legal jurisdiction in such

¹ He died on the 8th of March, 1702. The particulars of his career are fully set forth in Walter Harris's *History of the Life and Reign of William Henry, Prince of Nassau and Orange, Stadtholder of the United Provinces, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.*

² It began on the 8th of March, 1702, and it continued to August 1st, 1714.

³ It continued from August 1st, 1714, to the 11th June, 1727.

cases, and Sherlock was accordingly put into possession of the estate. This led to a conflict of jurisdiction, and English jealousy was so greatly excited, that an act was passed by the parliament, in which it was declared that the King, Lords and Commons had, hath, and ought to have, full power and authority to make laws which should bind the people of Ireland. It was also determined that the Irish House of Lords had no power or jurisdiction to affirm or reverse a sentence or decree of any court within the kingdom, while its judgments in such matters should be regarded as null and void.

In 1723, the collection of Irish statutes issued by Benjamin Tooke was reprinted, without any additions. Those Acts, which passed during the reigns of King William and of Queen Mary, with those of Queen Anne, and of the succeeding kings, had been printed by the king's printers, at the close of each respective session. They were issued in different volumes, of various sizes, and in different styles of type, without indexes, or any aid to find the contents, or even the titles, but by inspecting the volumes of those sessions, in which the several acts were passed.

During the reign of George II.,¹ sessions of parliament were held in Ireland, in the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, fifteenth, seventeenth, nineteenth, twenty-first, twenty-third, twenty-fifth, twenty-seventh, twenty-ninth, thirtieth, thirty-first, and thirty-third years. The laws passed against the Irish Catholics were most proscriptive and abominable, while through the instrumentality of the Protestant Primate Boulter, court influence was exerted likewise, to enslave the northern Presbyterians, by means of tests, excluding them from official positions, and to extinguish generally all national aspirations or legislative independence. However, the celebrated Dr. Charles Lucas, in the Irish parliament and in the Dublin Corporation, strenuously opposed the government party. His advocacy of Irish rights and liberties even obliged him to fly from the country for a time, to avoid the prosecution and punishments destined for his patriotic exertions.

¹ From June 11th, 1727, to October 25th, 1760.

While the reign of George III.¹ lasted, Irish parliaments sat in the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth, twenty-first and twenty-second, twenty-third and twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, thirtieth, thirty-first, thirty-second, thirty-third, thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth, and fortieth years. Owing to the pensions paid from Irish revenues to unworthy placemen, the corrupting influences of the crown dominated the actions of parliament in the earlier years of this reign. However, the cause of reform, toleration, and constitutional rights began to make some progress.² The encroachments of the crown on the privileges of the Irish parliament were in some cases successfully resisted; while the spirit of liberty awakened by the American Revolution, and the formation of volunteers gave the Irish people and their representatives courage and resolution to demand a free trade, the Catholics obtaining likewise some concessions, which extended their social if not their political influence and comforts.

The volumes of Irish Acts of Parliament accumulating during the previous reigns, were found to have become so numerous, that they were unsuited for convenient use. Moreover, they became so dispersed, that it was difficult to obtain complete sets to answer the purposes of justice, especially at the assizes held in the various Irish counties. Therefore the House of Lords passed a resolution, on the 20th of April, 1762: "That the statutes at large of this Kingdom be forthwith printed and published under the inspection of the Lord Chancellor and Judges; and as an encouragement to the printer, a copy thereof be given to each member of both houses of Parliament."³

¹ From October 25th, 1760, to the 29th of January, 1820.

² See Francis Hardy's *Memoirs of the political and private Life of James Caulfield, Earl of Charlemont*, vol. i., London, 1812, 8vo.

³ In consequence of this, his Excellency the Earl of Halifax, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the 27th of April, 1762, directed Hugh Boulter Primrose Grierson to print and publish those statutes, as ordered. A fine folio edition in several volumes was issued in consequence, and it is the only approximately complete collection of Irish Statutes we now possess.

The illustrious Henry Grattan, inspirited by the citizen soldiery and by the almost unanimous voice of the Irish people, obtained a free trade for Ireland and the removal of commercial restrictions, in 1779. On the 19th of April, 1780, he moved a resolution also in the Irish House of Commons, that no power on earth, save that of the kings, lords, and commons, had a right to make laws for Ireland.¹ It was not then pressed to a division; but soon the tide of popular opinion, and the crisis produced by the state of affairs abroad, bore it onward in triumph. Accordingly, on the 16th of April, 1782, after a splendid oration, he moved a Declaration of Irish Rights, which was carried without a dissentient voice, and the British Parliament deemed it politic to assent. An Act was then passed, to repeal the statute of George I., for better securing the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain. The progressive prosperity of Ireland—agricultural, mechanical, and commercial—soon became manifest, under the fostering care of a native and unfettered parliament.

The wily machinations of William Pitt, who especially hated Ireland, aided by his subservient creatures in the Irish administration, began the realization of a long-formed project for extinguishing the legislature, and the right of Ireland to self-government. His tortuous and malign policy was exerted to undermine the fabric of independence already reared; to introduce insidious commercial propositions restricting trade enterprise; to disappoint the hopes of the Irish Catholics for Emancipation; to adopt arbitrary and atrocious measures, executed by unprincipled and corrupt officials, charged with absolute and despotic governmental powers. These proceedings fostered party spirit, and led to a sanguinary rebellion in 1798. Through the most unscrupulous of instruments, Lords Clare and Castlereagh, and through the most shameless corruption, that measure for a legislative union of Great Britain and Ireland came before both of their parliaments in 1799.² This motion was

¹ See *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Rt. Hon. Henry Grattan*, by his son, Henry Grattan, Esq., M.P., vol. ii., chap. ii., page 48.

² See Sir Charles Coote's *History of the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland*, chaps. i., ii. London, 1802, 8vo.

defeated by a narrow majority in the Irish House of Commons, and it had to be abandoned for that session.¹

However, having effectively exercised the powers of bribery and cajolery among the venal representatives who were gained over during the recess, that measure was again prepared ; yet, veiled under a vague speech from the throne, on the 15th January, 1800, and in which no allusion was made to the government project. But when an amendment, affirming a resolution to maintain the Constitution of 1782, as also to support the national freedom and independence, was defeated, Lord Castlereagh, the Irish Secretary, finding his efforts had now secured the object in view, pressed the measure of legislative union to its final and disastrous issue. It passed both houses in the course of that year.

The vastly greater majority of the Irish people—while among these are particularly included Protestants and even Orangemen—were united in opposition to the extinction of their native parliament. However, when they attempted to give public and constitutional expression to their protests, meetings were almost everywhere suppressed by the arbitrary government of the time. Terrorism and deception were alternately and simultaneously employed to silence opposition or agitation from without. Corruption and seduction were shamelessly tried within the Houses of Lords and Commons, already filled with placemen, pensioners and traders in the sale of boroughs. After some adjustments in the British and Irish Parliaments, the Act of a Legislative Union and its articles of a treaty, were proclaimed to the Irish nation, on the 1st day of January, 1801.

Robbed of their rights, which the people had neither the will nor the power to surrender, never from that time to the present have the Irish ratified or acquiesced in the measure for an incorporating union. On the contrary, their protests, complaints, and agitations are on record, every year since the

¹ The series of transactions by which this measure was carried is admirably set forth in Sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*. Paris, 1833, 8vo.

commencement of this century, and daily are they growing in intensity and impatience. The people well understand that the Act of Union has not conferred a single direct benefit, while it has inflicted innumerable evils upon Ireland. Nor has subsequent beneficial legislation been a consequence; while it has even weakened the power and resources of England, by yearly decreasing the prosperity of our impoverished country. It has driven millions of the Irish race into distant countries, to gain that subsistence abroad which has been denied them at home, with bitter memories of the national injury perpetrated, and to be imparted even to their posterity. Public opinion—which is only another expression for the public conscience—imperatively demands a restitution in full measure for the gross injustice perpetrated, and the rights which have been subjected to such shameful violation. The power to frame constitutions and laws for their own just government is inherent in all distinct nationalities, and required for all civilized people; while to that consideration the mind of every enlightened person in the empire—and especially in Ireland—is now directed, with a view to provide the remedy, and to reconstruct on a surer basis the framework of a national government, by amply securing the equal rights and liberties of each individual under its jurisdiction, without distinction of class, of party, or of creed.

JOHN CANON O'HANLON.

MUSICAL TEMPERAMENT.

THERE has been a general tendency in physical science, for many years past, to regard as energy or forms of motion what were once considered to be different kinds of matter. If we except electricity and magnetism, which are still in a state of transition, the "imponderables" have almost disappeared from our text-books; and when "caloric" and "luminiferous particles" are referred to, it is only

because of the historical interest they possess from the great names with which they are ordinarily associated. The striking analogy which exists between some of the phenomena of sound and certain phenomena of light and heat has contributed largely to this result; for, from the time of Aristotle, at least, it appears never to have been seriously questioned that sound is due to vibratory motion. Even he abandoned his favourite "matter and form," which served to account for nearly everything else, and regarded sound as taking place when bodies strike the air, "not from the air having a form impressed on it, but by its being moved in a corresponding manner;"¹ and, three centuries later, Vitruvius explained the nature of sound and the mode of its transmission with an aptness of illustration which could hardly be excelled.

"Voice [said the great architect] is breath flowing and made sensible to the hearing by striking the air. It moves in infinite circumferences of circles, as when, by throwing a stone into still water, you produce innumerable circles of waves, increasing from the centre and spreading outwards, till the boundary of the space or some obstacle prevents their outlines from going further. In the same manner the voice makes its motion in circles. But in water the circle moves breathwise upon a level plane; the voice proceeds in breadth and also successively ascends in height."²

To make this illustration nearly perfect, we have only to conceive the crests of all the waves as pressed down to the original level, without the water particles receiving any lateral displacement, and the hollows as similarly pressed up; there is thus produced a series of concentric strata, alternately condensed and rarefied; and if we suppose the disturbance to originate in the body of the fluid, these strata become the surfaces of concentric spheres; or, rather, they become hollow spherical shells, having the point of disturbance as their common centre. When a bell or other sounding body vibrates in air, it produces a series of undulations or waves, each consisting of a condensed and a rarefied part, as in the case we have supposed of water. The air particles themselves make little excursions to and fro; but

¹ *Fragmentum de audibilibus.*

² *De architec.*

the waves are transmitted onwards, in some cases to very great distances. On reaching the ear these waves are conveyed through the aural passage to the tympanic membrane by which this passage is closed; and from it they are sent through a series of bones to the inner labyrinth of the ear, where the filaments of the auditory nerve are spread out to receive and transmit them to the brain.

The average human ear is capable of appreciating as sound rates of vibration which range from about fifteen or twenty in a second to nearly forty thousand. For the purposes of music, however, the vibration rates practically employed lie within narrower limits. The lowest note of our largest organs is usually produced by a little under twenty vibrations in a second; and the lowest on most pianos is given by nearly thirty. But these are sounds which if heard by themselves can hardly be called musical. The ear readily detects in them a want of uniformity which prevents such sounds being used except in combination with others to which they impart firmness and solidity.

The highest notes ordinarily employed in the orchestra are produced by the piccolo; and the greatest vibration rate seldom exceeds four thousand in a second. One sometimes hears, no doubt, attempts at music much beyond this limit; and even at so high a pitch, the hands of a Paganini, when circumstances favour, may elicit from a good Cremona tolerable results. But, as a rule, such efforts, when not a positive torture, excite in the listener wonder at the performer's skill rather than admiration of the beauty of his melody.

Two sounds when heard simultaneously produce, as is known, in some cases an agreeable, in others a disagreeable sensation. A note and its octave, for instance, are pleasing. So are a note and its fifth. But no ear will tolerate long two sounds which differ in pitch by a tone; and still less if they differ only by a semitone. How does it happen, then, that the ear is pleased with some combinations, and not with others? The physicists and musicians of the last century answered this question nearly as Pythagoras did—"because the human mind takes a constitutional delight in simple

numerical relations." In his experiments with vibrating strings, Pythagoras had found that when a string stretched between two fixed supports was divided by means of a movable bridge, the parts of it which gave a note and its octave were related as 2 : 1. Adjusting the bridge so as to produce a note and its fifth, the lengths of the parts were found to be as 3 : 2. And, in general, it is true that the simpler the ratio of the parts, the more perfect the consonance. But when the ratio can be expressed only by fractions or large whole numbers, experiment shows that the result is dissonance. With the vibration rates corresponding to any given interval, Pythagoras and his followers were wholly unacquainted. The laws of a vibrating string were but imperfectly known before the time of Euler; and it is only within recent years that the origin of consonance and dissonance has found its full explanation.

There is a well-known experiment in optics in which two rays of coloured light are so combined as to produce darkness; and acoustics furnishes a corresponding experiment in which two sounds are made to produce silence. Both phenomena are comprised under the general name of *interference*. Two tuning-forks, F and F_1 , which give notes of nearly the same pitch, will serve for illustration. And let us assume, for greater simplicity, that, in a second, F produces 100 complete vibrations, and that F_1 produces 101. If both forks commence together with a condensed wave, they will finish together with a rarefied wave. At the beginning and end of the first second, therefore, a sound is heard of greater intensity than that produced by either singly. But what is the condition of things at the end of the first half second? The fork F has just finished its fiftieth vibration with a rarefied wave, whereas F_1 has just finished the first or condensed half of its fifty-first vibration. As the rarefied wave of F and the condensed wave of F_1 reach the ear together, they neutralize each other in the aural cavity; and the resulting sensation is a momentary silence. The same conditions recurring each subsequent second, instead of a uniform flow of sound, the impression of an intermittent or throbbing motion is produced; and when the sounds are

loud enough, and the interferences frequent, the sensation of a drum-roll in miniature—technically called *beats*—is experienced.

Let us now suppose that there are two organ pipes— P and P_1 —in every respect alike, except that P_1 is provided with a sliding tube by means of which its length can be increased at pleasure. When the pipes are sounded together, and the lengths equal, the unison is perfect. But when P_1 is made ever so little longer than P , immediately slow beats are heard. As the length of P_1 increases, the frequency of the beats increases also; and, finally, a point is reached at which no ear can bear the dissonance. On further increasing the length of P_1 , the harshness gradually diminishes; and when the interval between the notes has reached a certain limit, although the presence of beats may still be recognised, but little of their dissonant effect remains. Helmholtz, to whom most of our experiments in this subject are due, has found that for sounds of nearly the same pitch as the middle notes of the piano, the dissonance is greatest when the beats occur from twenty to forty in a second.

If the beats are slow enough to be easily counted, the uniform flow of sound, although somewhat impeded, is not disturbed to such an extent as to acquire a distinctly dissonant character; and in slow impressive musical passages, beats may even serve to heighten the emotional effect. The *Voix Celeste* stop of many organs and harmoniums is constructed on this principle. Two ranks of pipes or reeds, differing only in having the pipes in one rank tuned a shade higher than the corresponding pipes of the other, are so arranged that when a key is pressed down, two notes giving slow beats are produced simultaneously. The fluctuating sound thus caused, if accompanied by a barely audible bass and used sparingly, is pleasing and even devotional.

There is another way in which roughness in the combined effect of different sounds frequently arises. It is well-known that when a body vibrates, not one, but a number of sounds are produced. The lowest of these is called the *fundamental* note; the others are called *harmonics* or *partial* tones. As a rule, the *partials* are feeble, compared with the

fundamental note ; but they are not always so. The loudest sound of an ordinary bell, for instance, is, in reality, a partial tone. Standing in a tower where a bell is tolling, one easily hears the fundamental note, and a great variety of other much higher sounds besides. Of these, some are consonant, others dissonant with the proper note of the bell ; and it is the aim of the bell-founder to strengthen one set and weaken the other as much as he can. But, as uniform elasticity and density are practically unattainable, except by accident, it rarely happens that the vibration rates of the different segments are exactly equal ; and hence arise those powerful beats which, in the case of very large bells, sometimes seem as if they would shake the very walls asunder.

Strings, organ pipes, and most other sounding bodies also produce partial tones ; being usually concealed by the much louder fundamental note, however, great attention and a practised ear are required in examining them. The pitch of the note which a stretched string or wire emits is the same at whatever point in its length it is plucked with the fingers or rubbed with a violin bow ; but the least educated ear easily detects a difference in the quality of the sound. If plucked near one end, the character of the note is richer and more penetrating than if plucked at the middle point—a difference due to the presence of concordant partials in the former case which are absent in the latter. Notes of the same pitch produced by open and closed organ pipes also differ widely in character, and for the same reason. Stretched strings and columns of air possess the remarkable property that, while vibrating as a whole, they are capable of subdividing to an almost unlimited extent into small independent vibrating segments. It is these which give rise to the partial tones.

Taking the simplest case of a vibrating string, experiment shows that its segments are separated from each other by points, called *nodes* ; which, although partaking in the general motion of the string, yet, relatively to the segments, are stationary. The number of these nodes may be one or several. When there is only one, it is found at the middle point ; and the fundamental note is accompanied by another,

which is an octave higher. But when a string is plucked at the middle point, this sound is absent; for it cannot exist without a node there. And utilizing this principle, the pianoforte-maker is enabled to eliminate some of the discordant partial tones from the sound of his instrument. He needs only so to place the hammer that it strikes the wire where these partials require a node. The harpist, adopting a converse process, elicits notes of surprising sweetness by gently pressing the soft fleshy part of the palm of his hand against the centres of the strings which he plucks with his two first fingers and thumb. In the production of partial tones, the violin player, too, displays the perfection of his art. The same instrument in different hands, as is known, gives utterance to a different language. The part of the string rubbed, the pressure of the bow, the duration of contact, all contribute their share; but no code of rules is adequate, nor practice long enough, unless the inspiration of genius also guides the arm and finger.

Now let us suppose that a note and its octave are sounded together. Not only are the two fundamental notes consonant, but, in the case of strings, open organ pipes, and many wind instruments following the same law, the first five partial tones are consonant also. Calling the lower fundamental note c , its partials in ascending order are—

$$c_1, g_1, c_2, e_2, g_2, \dots ;$$

and the second fundamental note and its partials will be represented by a similar series, only an octave higher. In both cases a slight dissonance arises from the sixth partial, or that whose vibration rate is seven times the vibration rate of the fundamental; and the same is true of the eighth, and others still higher. But, usually partial tones become feeble in proportion as they rise in pitch; and in most instruments the discordant partials, when not eliminated by special contrivances, as in the piano, are masked not merely by the fundamental note, but also by the lower and much louder concordant partial tones.

Again, let a note and its fifth sound together. When the interval is perfect, the vibration rates are related as 2 : 3 ;

and, next to the octave, this is the most pleasing consonance. Taking c as the lower fundamental note, there is the same series of partials as before. The second fundamental note and its partials are in like manner—

$$g, g_1, d_2, g_2, b_2, d_3, \dots ;$$

and of these, g, g_1 , and g_2 , are consonant with $c, c_1, g_1, c_2, e_2, g_2, \dots$ in the first series. But d_2 beats with c_2 and e_2 ; b_2 beats with c_3 ; and so of others. If, however, the pitch of c be not lower than that of the middle c of the piano, or about 264 vibrations in a second, the dissonant effect of these beats is inappreciable. The number of beats produced by c_2 and d_2 , for instance, exceeds 130 in a second; and here the ear's capacity to distinguish beats is near its limit. But when c is one or more octaves lower, the beats arising from these partials being proportionately diminished, their disturbing effect, although not sufficient to destroy the consonance, nevertheless is distinctly felt.

It follows, therefore, that even the octave and fifth—the two most perfect consonances in the musical scale—contain within them some elements of dissonance. In the fourth, major third, and other intervals commonly regarded as consonant, the number of these elements increases; and some there are which puzzle even the sharpest ear to determine whether consonance or dissonance predominates.

The difficulty is increased in another way; for two notes of different pitch, however simple in themselves, when sounded together, if loud enough, produce by their union a third whose rate of vibration is always the *difference* of those of the generating notes. Two loud-speaking organ pipes, c and e , for instance, when sounded together, if the interval is perfect, have the second octave of c as an accompanying bass; and so of others. The sounds thus produced are known as *resultant* tones. They are also sometimes called Tartini's tones, from having been first used by that famous music-master in teaching his pupils to tune their violins.

The strings of the violin, as is known, are tuned in perfect fifths; and the vibration rates, therefore, of two adjacent open strings are as 2 : 3. The difference of these

numbers being unity, the resultant note is just an octave below the lower of the two generating notes; and as the interval of an octave is, next to unison, the easiest to recognise; hence Tartini's rule "to regard the tuning as perfect only when the resultant tone in each case is heard as the octave of the lower note, produced by bowing each pair of open strings in succession."

But it is in chords of three or more simultaneous sounds that the influence of resultant tones is mainly felt. Every ear detects at once a difference of character in chords, such as c-e-g and a-c-e. The major triad is clear, precise, decided; the minor is cloudy, vague, ambiguous. And the difference is more marked in proportion as the intervals are more perfect. These intervals are—a major third, a minor third, and a fifth. But as both chords consist of the same elementary intervals, and differ only in the arrangement of the thirds, the question arises—whence comes the difference in the impressions they produce? The answer is found on examining the relations in which the resultant tones stand in reference to the chord. In the major triad, the vibration rates of the three notes are related as the numbers 4 : 5 : 6. Hence the vibration rate of the resultant tone of c and e is expressed by unity; or, the resultant is the second lower octave of c, and belongs, therefore, to the chord. The notes e and g have a resultant, which is also the second lower octave of c; and for a like reason. The vibration rate of the resultant of c and g is expressed by 2, or the note is the first lower octave of c, and belongs also to the chord. Thus all the resultant tones, by adding depth and firmness to the root or fundamental note, strengthen and emphasize its effect.

But with the minor chord the case is different. The vibration rates of a, c, and e, for instance, are as the numbers 10 : 12 : 15. The resultant tones of a and e, and of c and e, belong to the chord. But the resultant of a and c is F₂—below the second lower octave of c—a note which is foreign to the chord. And it is to the struggle of this resultant tone to assert its individuality that the obscurity and indefiniteness of the minor triad is largely due. The ear is in doubt as to whether a minor chord a-c-e, or a major chord F₂-a-c, is

principally intended; and the dissonance arising from F₁ and e increases its perplexity.

Practical musicians were well acquainted with this defect of the minor chord long before the cause of it was fully understood. A well-constructed musical composition, like a well-arranged sermon, requires a peroration. Its several divisions, too, should be equally distinct. The cadence and final chord, where finality is intended, should suggest to the mind of the listener a feeling of completion, contentment, and repose. The minor chord, from its inherent restlessness, is ill-suited for such purpose; and up to the beginning of the last century, even where minor chords largely predominated, musical composers seldom employed it in a close. As a delicate shading between the confused, oppressive gloom of absolute dissonance and the clear inspiring glow of the major chord, it suited its purpose admirably; but when heard in its fulness, the sensitive ears of three hundred years ago always expected something to follow it. Musical taste has greatly changed since then; and whether we call it deterioration or improvement, the requirements of the modern ear are widely different from those of one equally tutored in the age of Palestrina. Many rules of grammar, once deemed sacred, had to be abandoned to attain the vehement *expression* and violent *contrasts* which characterize the free chromatic style of the present day; and, undoubtedly, to an ear fatigued by the almost incessant din of interminable discords—mostly unprepared—even the minor chord, notwithstanding its defects, sometimes affords a welcome rest.

The works of the great masters are an interesting study in the use of the minor chord in a close. Some of the composers seem to have anticipated instinctively the results which science has since obtained. Taking, for illustration, the vocal score of "The Messiah"—the best known of Handel's oratorios—we find, that of the twenty-four choral numbers which it contains, seven are in minor keys—two others being, in part, also minor. But of these nine numbers, only two end with the full minor chord—the words, in both cases, no less than the music, indicating that something further is to follow. Four of the numbers modulate in the last few

bars into major keys. In one, the disturbing effect of the minor third is eliminated by omitting the note altogether; and nearly the same result is obtained in the two remaining numbers by concentrating the soprano, alto, and bass voices on the key note and its octave, the third being sung only by the tenors.

The treatment of the major keys is very different. Each of the fifteen numbers devoted to them closes with the full major chord.

But it is rarely that we hear nowadays either a major or a minor chord in its purity. The special characteristics of each of them, although not quite obliterated, are greatly impaired by the coarse method of tuning adopted in modern keyed instruments. One has only to listen, however, to a stringed quartet played by four competent performers, or a good piece of harmony sung by voices trained without instrumental accompaniment, to be convinced what a vast difference of character there is in reality between them.

The reader, it is assumed, already knows that the graduated succession of sounds which we call the Natural Diatonic Scale, and which all civilized nations at the present day have adopted as the basis of their musical system, is not identical with the scale practically employed in the construction of keyed or fixed-toned instruments. Between adjacent notes in the Natural Scale there are three kinds of interval: c-d, f-g, and a-b, are called *major* tones; d-e, and g-a, are *minor* tones; and the intervals, e-f and b-c, are called—but somewhat inappropriately—*major semitones*. Keeping in mind that an interval in music is not a *difference*,¹ but the ratio of the number of vibrations producing the higher note to the number producing the lower, the major tone is expressed by the ratio 9:8; the minor tone by 10:9; and the major semitone by 16:15. As the octave, which is now universally adopted as the unit, is made up of three major tones, two minor tones, and two major semitones, it is easily found, by combining these

¹ It is only when the vibration rates of two given notes are replaced by their logarithms that the interval between the notes can be expressed as a *difference*.

numbers, to be the simple ratio 2 : 1. Owing to the order in which the tones and semitones succeed each other, an inequality arises in some of the larger intervals even where they have the same name. The fifth c-g, for instance, is expressed by the ratio 3 : 2; whereas the fifth d-a has the somewhat smaller value 40 : 27. Similarly, the minor thirds, d-f and a-c, are not exactly equal; the latter, as in the case of the fifths, exceeding the former in the ratio 81 : 80.

At first sight it seems strange that a scale apparently so complicated in its structure should have been substituted for the much simpler scale of Pythagoras, in which only two kinds of interval between adjacent notes were employed—a scale, too, which had in its favour a prescription of more than two thousand years, which had supplied music for the odes of Pindar, and had been found equally fitted for the songs of the troubadours as for the sacred chants of St. Ambrose and St. Gregory. And, if the requirements of melody only had to be considered, the Pythagorean scale, no doubt, would still be in general use. But for the purposes of harmony it was altogether unsuitable. And although the introduction of the Natural Scale is commonly ascribed to Zarlino, who wrote towards the end of the sixteenth century, there is abundant evidence to show that practical musicians had been using it for many years before.¹

In his experiments with the monochord, of which he is also reputed the inventor, Pythagoras had discovered very simple relations between the lengths of a string which produce a note, and its octave, its fifth, and its fourth. But the earliest authentic record we have of the subdivisions of these intervals is a description by Philolaos of the tuning of the seven-stringed lyre.

The primitive lyre of the Greeks, as is known, had only four strings. To these Terpander subsequently added three more—so tuned that the middle string formed with them a tetrachord, differing from that of the four original strings

¹ The Natural Scale was first proposed, along with two others, by Ptolemy, in the second century of our era; but it remained neglected by writers on musical theory till revived in his *Institutioni Harmonice* by Zarlino.

only in being a fourth higher. The interval of an octave, in those early days, formed no part of the Greek musical system. It was first introduced into Greece by Pythagoras, who had learned its use during a residence of many years in Egypt. And it is to the seven-stringed lyre, having the first and last strings tuned an octave apart, that the following description of Philolaos refers :—

“The extent of the octave system is a fourth and a fifth; but the fifth is greater than the fourth by a tone in the ratio of 9 : 8; for from the lowest string to the middle string is a fourth, but from the middle string to the upper string is a fifth. . . . The fourth is in the ratio 4 : 3; the fifth in the ratio 3 : 2; and the octave of 2 : 1. Thus the octave system contains five tones and two diecies; the fifth three tones and a diecis; the fourth, two tones and a diecis.”¹

The ratios here referred to are those which had been discovered by Pythagoras two hundred years before. That they represent, when inverted, the relative vibration rates of the strings, remained unknown for many centuries after.

Although, in the minds of most Pythagoreans, the mystic number of its strings was sufficient reason for retaining the seven-stringed lyre much longer than its real merits would warrant, the imperfection of its scale, allowing as it did a skip of a third from the fifth to the sixth string, gradually led to the employment of an additional string; and, later on, the number was still further increased to fifteen, so as to form two complete octaves. In the diatonic method of tuning, as ordinarily used, the notes of either octave may be expressed in our notation by

a-b-c-d-e-f-g-a ;

with this difference, however, that all the tones were major tones, or had the ratio 9 : 8: and the two diecies or semitones, e-f and b-c, were expressed by the ratio 256 : 243, instead of 16 : 15, as in the Natural Scale. This diatonic scale of the Greeks was adopted by the Romans and early Christians. The position of the semitone in reference to

¹ See original text in Chappell's *History of Music*.

the final or keynote was varied to produce difference of *mode*; but the same graduated *succession* of tones and semitones, in which the essence of a *scale* consists, was preserved unchanged.¹

Such a scale was altogether unsuited to the requirements of harmony; for although the fourth and fifth, reckoned from *c*, were the same as in the Natural Scale, the third and sixth were dissonant. The interval *c-e*, for instance, could be expressed in whole numbers only by the ratio 81 : 64, which is obviously a dissonance; for it is an axiom as old as the time of Pythagoras, and one admitting of experimental proof, that "a consonance requires a simple ratio." Neither major nor minor triads, therefore, could be employed as consonances, and without such essential chords, harmony—at least as now understood—would be impossible. It was to remedy these defects that the Natural Scale was adopted.

The consonant interval 5 : 4 is nearly equal to the dissonant major third 81 : 64 of the Pythagorean scale, differing from it only in the ratio 80 : 81; and the interval 5 : 3 is less than the dissonant sixth, 27 : 16, in the same ratio. Taking then *c* as the starting-point, if these two consonant intervals be substituted for the third and sixth of the Pythagorean scale, the semitones are reduced from 256 : 243 to the simpler ratio 16 : 15, and the resulting sequence of notes become the Natural Diatonic Scale. Its suitability for harmony is easily seen. The major triad, *c-e-g*, is consonant, being expressed by the ratios 4 : 5 : 6; and, for the same reason, *g-b-d*, and *f-a-c*, constructed on the fifth and fourth respectively, are consonant also. From these and the consonant minor triads, *a-c-e* and *e-g-b*, nearly all the consonant combinations employed in harmony may be derived.

The claim of this scale to be called *natural* is founded on the close relationship existing between each of its notes and the fundamental note or tonic. We have seen that when a

¹ In the *Micrologus de disciplina artis musicae*, of Guido d'Arezzo, in the eleventh century, minute instructions are given for the graduation of the monochord, which show that the Pythagorean scale was then in use.

sound is produced, it is accompanied by one or more partial tones, the number and relative intensities of which determine the quality of the sound. Calling, then, the fundamental note c , its first partial is c_1 , and its second is g_1 . The latter when lowered an octave becomes the fifth of the scale, or *dominant*, a name given to it owing to the governing influence it derives from its close connection with the tonic. The fourth partial of c is e_2 , which, when lowered two octaves, becomes the third of the scale. Hence both g and e are naturally suggested by the compound sound of the tonic. In a similar way d and b are lower octaves of partials of g , and are thus connected through it with c . The latter is itself the second partial of F_1 , which when 'raised two octaves, becomes the fourth of the scale, or *subdominant*; and the note a which completes the scale is the second lower octave of its fourth partial. Thus it is seen that all the notes of the scale are naturally connected, directly or indirectly, with the fundamental note on which the scale is constructed.

If the requirements of vocal music only had to be considered, or if all orchestral instruments admitted, as the violin does, of having their pitch raised or lowered at pleasure, the Natural Scale might suffice, in the diatonic style of composition, for most ordinary purposes. But when the same theme has to be produced on keyed instruments at a great variety of pitch, such a scale becomes impracticable. To be able to commence on each degree of the scale, and at the same time preserve all the intervals perfect in even such a simple melody as "The Harp that once through Tara's Hall," about thirty keys would be required in each octave; and were it necessary to perform the melody at still smaller differences of pitch, a proportionately larger number would be necessary. Instruments have, indeed, been constructed with as many as fifty-three different keys to the octave; and even with only twice the number ordinarily employed, tolerably pure intervals may be obtained. But although instrument-makers have been working in this direction at the problem of just intonation from the time of Zarlino to the present, many difficulties both of mechanism and manipulation have still to be overcome before such instruments

can be employed for other than experimental purposes. With few exceptions, practical musicians nowadays are agreed that in the piano, organ, and harmonium, not more than twelve notes can be admitted within the compass of an octave, or thirteen, counting the octave note; and the modification of the Natural Scale which will allow each of these being taken as the tonic or key-note of any given melody, is what is here meant by *temperament*.

The different systems of temperament known up to the present may be classed under two general heads—*equal* and *unequal*. In the latter, of which there were several varieties, a preference was given to some keys at the expense of others, by adjusting their intervals much nearer to those of the Natural Scale. The imperfect keys were sometimes called “wolf” keys, from a fancied resemblance, especially in the organ, between some of their dissonant chords and the howling of that animal. In these countries the form of temperament in use up to the middle of the present century was known as *mean-tone* temperament, from the circumstance that the tone, or interval of a second, was a mean between the major and minor tones of the Natural Scale. In it, as in all forms of unequal temperament, modulation was necessarily restricted to certain keys, usually those having not more than three sharps or three flats at the signature; and when, as sometimes happened, the limits of modulation were extended, it was effected by the old expedient of adding one or more notes to the octave.

At present, in the pianoforte, organ, and harmonium, *equal temperament* is almost universally adopted. This consists in dividing the octave into twelve equal intervals or semitones. And as the vibration rate of a note is one half that of its first higher octave, hence the construction of the equal-tempered chromatic scale resolves itself into the simple algebraical problem of inserting eleven geometric means between one and two.

The intervals in the equal-tempered scale, with the exception of the octaves, are all more or less imperfect. Even the fifths and major thirds, the two most important intervals after the octave, are not strictly in tune—the fifths,

except d-a, being slightly flat, the major thirds much too sharp. The beats which arise from the imperfect fifths are too slow to be appreciable, except in long-sustained chords; but roughness having its origin in the sharp thirds is sensibly felt in the organ and harmonium. Even in the piano, an ear accustomed to just intonation easily perceives that there is a defect somewhere. Anyone who has heard a familiar melody, like "The last Rose of Summer," played by a good artist on the violin, is at once struck by the contrast when he hears it afterwards played on the piano. Most of the charm is gone. It is not merely the quality of the sound, in passing from the bowed to the percussion instrument, that is changed: it is the absence of perfect intonation—the first condition of beauty—that makes the difference.

It is in harmony, however, that the full effect of temperament is felt. Contrast is one of the artifices which the musical composer, like the painter, employs to impart vividness and reality to his conceptions. Harsh discords are skilfully interwoven with pleasing concords, and the ear's enjoyment is intensified by the comparison. But the effect is impaired if the smoothness of the concords be in the least degree roughened by any element of dissonance. We have seen that in the major triad c-e-g, when the intervals are perfect, the resultant tones, and principal partial tones, belong to the chord. With tempered intervals, however, the case is different. If, for instance, $c = 264$, then in the equal-tempered scale, $e = 332.5$, $g = 395.5$, nearly. The resultant of c and e has a vibration rate 68.5; that of e and g has a vibration rate 63. Neither of these notes belongs to the chord; and their combination produces five and a half beats in a second. An octave higher, the frequency of the beats is double that number.

In the pianoforte, owing to the rapidity of the movement, and the short duration of its sound, these resultant tones and beats cause little inconvenience; but the roughness arising from them is considerable in the organ and harmonium. And although in certain keys the wolf does not howl so loud as he was wont to do when his territory was more confined, it does not require an over-sensitive ear to discover

that he is still at large. We are told by the apologists of equal temperament that in its intervals and chords the ear "hears what nature would produce rather than what is positively sounded."¹ We regret that in our own case this wonderful power of adaptation is wanting. We never hear equal tempered chords as anything else than imperfect; and we are somewhat sceptical that anyone else does.

But who will apply a remedy? An army of organists will rise in revolt if anyone dares to meddle with their keyboard; and accustomed, as most of them are, to unrestricted freedom of modulation on the pianoforte, they insist on the same privilege for the two other instruments. They must be told, however, that the ears of the audience are also an important factor to be considered; and that both the organ and harmonium would be much more popular instruments than they are if a better system of temperament were applied to them. Although the battle of temperaments has been going on for fully three centuries, it is less than forty years since equal temperament was first used in the organ in these countries; and during that time many protests have been raised against its continuance. Its injurious influence on vocal music is one of its most objectionable features; and the vast superiority, in purity of intonation, of the "tonic sol-fa" societies, who sing without accompaniment, over ordinary choirs, is once more awakening public attention to the necessity of a change.

F. LENNON.

¹ *Lectures on Harmony*, by G. A. Macfarren.

THE CATHOLIC TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT: THE SUREST WAY TO ITS SUCCESS.

(Concluded.)

RESUMING our remarks upon this question, we find the next inquiry to be: What is the surest means to reform those popular ideas and usages, which, "in spite of the rare natural and supernatural qualities of our people," lead many of them to become the slaves and victims of intemperance? If this evil may be likened to a baneful tree, its chief roots consist of these prevalent notions and customs. Yet public opinion is not set against them. It is in part deluded, and in part fettered. People imagine, and do believe, that intoxicating drink is good for everything. They use these drinks eagerly, procure them lavishly, and proffer them pressingly. They multiply occasions for drinking, like votaries of Bacchus; and, with too many, surfeiting is a glory. In such circumstances intemperance is inevitable, and its suppression impossible. These customs, then, must be uprooted by a thoroughly radical reform. We require so to change present notions and habits that the undue esteem of drink will be discredited, and its abuse discountenanced by public opinion itself.

THE MEANS OF REFORMING PUBLIC OPINION.

How may this be done? Human means alone are insufficient. Science is generally unheeded; legislation is all but hopeless; interest, passion, and pleasure favour and develop the consumption of strong drink, and they are almighty in this world. Not even the immense waste and loss of money, time, position, health, and life itself, seems to weigh, either with individuals or society, against the habits or customs of intemperance. No, nor is the knowledge and consciousness of sin effectual in deterring our drunkards from their "darksome and slippery way," or in stirring up the public conscience against occasions so scandalous, so fatal, and yet so general. Withal we say: "*Nil desperandum!*" Cannot Catholic Ireland, by her faith which "overcometh

the world," overcome *one vice*, and that a vice *from which even the Turk is free*? If our readers will kindly refer to what has been written already on this subject¹ our limited space may be reserved for other important matter. "It would surely seem almost to indicate a lack of confidence in the protecting power of the hand of God, if we were to falter for a moment in our hopefulness of success."² But apathy and dissension have to be discarded, and replaced by energetic co-operation. In present circumstances we venture to distinguish between those who, by the means which to themselves seem best, work earnestly for the suppression of intemperance, and others who, on various pleas, do nothing; and, in some cases, discourage or thwart the efforts of honest workers. To the former we would apply the principle: "He that is not against you, is for you" (Mark ix. 39); to the latter, we fear, must be addressed the counter principle: "He that is not with Me, is against Me" (Matt. xii. 30). We cannot deny the continued existence or prevalence of indifference and disagreement regarding the evils of intemperance, its sources, and its remedies. What is the result? Very much of the present state of appalling ruin. We reap the things that were sown. There is no doubt about this. Abundant confirmation is supplied by experience, and many can adduce instances of unaccountable opposition outside; of strange mismanagement, and of even palpable neglect within. To cite such instances should be unpleasant and imprudent on our part; but we may avail ourselves of what the prelates of Leinster, in the *Pastoral* already referred to, have declared upon this point (page 9):—

"It is needless, as it would be unprofitable, here to enumerate in detail the various causes that combined to render a work, apparently so full of promise, an easy prey to the assaults of the enemies, visible and invisible, by which it was beset. One element of decay, however, was apparent on the surface. The work . . . lacked one essential element of lasting success—unity of purpose and of effort. The steps taken in one or another diocese or district by earnest advocates of temperance were not unfrequently made little of, and sometimes even openly derided, elsewhere, by

¹ I. E. RECORD, third series, vol. x., page 1105.

² *Pastoral* of Leinster prelates, Passion Sunday, 1890, page 12.

others no less earnest. The house was divided against itself. It could not long withstand the efforts of its many and powerful assailants combined for its overthrow."

Again, at page 17 :—

"There was a time when total abstinence—adopted even as a means of securing the observance of the virtue of temperance—was objected to and opposed by many. Their opposition to it, more or less openly avowed, placed a serious obstacle in the way of temperance reform."

UNITY OF PURPOSE AND EFFORT.

Supposing a co-operation duly general and energetic, we, as Christians, may expect a corresponding measure of success. But in what are we to co-operate? In those particular means of reform which are admittedly efficacious and suitable. And what are these? (a) *Assiduous preaching and instruction*; (b) *persistent prayers*; (c) *the practice of abstinence*; (d) *with the frequentation of the sacraments*, and (e) *religious organization*. Of these means, not one can suffice by itself. Of all we have treated before:¹ and none but the second last, and perhaps the last itself, requires our present attention. These comprehend all the really *optional* means of success in our work, and within their compass we have to pursue our inquiry as to the surest way to reform the present intemperate usages of society.

ORGANIZATION.

There can scarcely exist a doubt concerning the utility, and even the necessity of organization. Our question is not one of individual interest only; it is also a great social problem, and society is moved most potently by organization. Even if we had not the teaching that "a brother helped by his brother is like a strong city" (Prov. xix. 19); that "Where there are two or three gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii. 20), we might remember the accepted saying, *Fas est ab hoste doceri*. Here society, being a moral personality, has to "cut off," to "pluck out," and to cast away the scandalizing customs and ideas concerning strong drink. For this cause

¹ I. E. RECORD, third series, vol. x., page 1104.

"all who have at heart the glory of God and the salvation of souls" should be "filled with holy zeal." And every available means must be utilized to impart unity, intensity and continuity to the efforts evoked, so as to render them duly efficacious. This cannot be without organization. For want of organization Father Mathew became the martyr of his cause, whilst we have forfeited almost all the fruits of his apostolate. In fact, what more have we held, so far as society is concerned, than faith in his principles, with grateful admiration for his life and labours?

Of course the cost of this undertaking must be counted; difficulties must be considered. If at all practical, as priests, we may well indeed aspire, in our measure, to the apostolate of temperance, but not to its martyrdom. Yet we submit "where there is a will there is a way;" "in necessity all things are common." At all events, as St. Augustine says: *potius potiora diligamus*. For information upon the plans of organization which might be adopted, we should refer to the paper in the I. E. RECORD cited above; or, better still, to the *Pastoral*¹ of the Leinster prelates also quoted, in which are outlined by authority plans of organization suited to all our actual circumstances.

THE SUREST BASIS OF ORGANIZATION.

But the urgency of our task, and past discomfiture, must impress all serious minds with the necessity of putting forth our best efforts. We may liken this duty to that of saving a large district of country from the encroachment of the winter sea, or of a swollen and sweeping river. These are irresistible, save by the solid rock, or by some structure equally firm and strong. If the rock-bound coast is wanting, the breakwater or river bank must be based upon the most fixed foundation; faced, at least, with the most durable material; shaped and compacted with the best of skill; and covering the whole line of danger. Nor is all this enough. After construction, and as long as the waters threaten, the perfect work must be carefully watched and incessantly repaired.

From this we may learn that the organization which

¹ See *Pastoral of Passion Sunday*, 1890, pages 20-35.

has to be relied on for the reform of the prevailing intemperate ideas and usages which is to discredit the former and discountenance the latter—may not be got up by hazard, and then left to itself. If prudent we must search out the surest foundation, build with the best material, and afterwards look with solicitude to whatever would imperil our work. We inquire, then, What is the surest basis to build upon? The question resolves itself into two points—who are to be the chief members of our organization? and what is to be its bond? We say “chief members,” because no Catholic is to be excluded from his or her share of the work and fruits of our temperance movement.

THE CHIEF MEMBERS.

Well, the chief members cannot be the intemperate—even supposing them reformed. Such an association would be discredited before public opinion, and its pledges, even of total abstinence, should be regarded as a stigma. This has really happened, as all know, and as is testified even in the Episcopal pronouncement referred to so often.¹ Consequently any person, on being asked to drink upon any or all of the multiplied and ever-recurring occasions which are stated by public sanction, although preferring not to drink, would yet shrink from refusing lest the suspicion of previous intemperance might attach. Therefore, the too frequent occasions of intemperance can never be effectually discountenanced till they are opposed by persons, and, as far as possible, by *all* persons, who are “above suspicion.” This principle of enlisting the co-operation of the good to the greatest possible extent, is of vital moment to our success. It may then be well to establish it more and more by adducing the declarations and the practice of those whose authority has greatest weight.

St. Augustine in a letter addressed to Aurelius, Bishop of Carthage, on the suppression of certain intemperate abuses, wrote :—

“Your letter, so full of charity, gives me boldness to discuss this matter with you as if I were talking with myself. I think,

¹ See pages 24, 25.

* See *Discipline of Drink*, page 28.

then, that these abuses must be removed, not imperiously, nor harshly; by instruction rather than by precept; by permission rather than by threats. It is thus one must act in a multitude; we may be severe towards the sins of a few. If we use any threats, let it be done with sorrow, alleging future penalties from Holy Scripture, that God may be rather feared in our words than we ourselves in our authority. Thus, first the spiritual will be moved, or those who are nearly spiritual; and afterwards by their authority and gentle yet urgent admonitions, the multitude will be induced to give way."

The prelates of Leinster, in the late joint *Pastoral*, write :—

"It would be a fatal mistake if the total abstinence pledge were to be regarded only in its application to cases of intemperance . . . There is reason, indeed, to fear that . . . many who otherwise would gladly undertake the observance of the virtue of temperance in this most excellent form, are foolishly deterred from doing so, lest by taking the total abstinence pledge they should in some way expose themselves to discredit."¹

Cardinal Manning addressing the "Guards" of the League of the Cross, on New Year's Day, 1882, said :—

"He would say at once, that he was confident that the growth of the League of the Cross was, under God, in chief owing to them. If they had not been steadfast; if they had broken their pledge; if their conduct had not been so exemplary as to win from the public judgment, the public opinion, and he would say the public opposition of this country, an acknowledgment that the League of the Cross was a solid and steadfast association of total abstinence against which no reproach could be cast; and if they had not this moral force, this moral power, this moral dignity, he might say the League of the Cross would not spread as it had."

Speaking at Somerstown, in September, 1885, his Eminence, speaking to this same point, said :—

"The League of the Cross is, first of all, intended to save souls that are perishing. But do not let anyone believe that the League of the Cross is a confraternity of reclaimed drunkards. I am the President of the League of the Cross, and I am not a reclaimed drunkard. . . . We have thousands of little innocent children, who are growing up from their infancy without the knowledge or the taste of intoxicating drink. I do hope and

¹ See *Pastoral* for Passion Sunday, 1890, pages 24, 25.

believe that there are a large number in the League who have been reclaimed from the horrible bondage of drink, and they are the friends of God. There are also in the League those who were not under the power of drink, and who took the pledge not so much for themselves, as to give an example to others.

"We read in the Gospel that the kingdom of heaven is like a great net let down into the sea, and that it takes up all kinds of fish, good and bad; and when the net is drawn to the shore, the bad are thrown away. Well, I always say, that the League of the Cross is like that great net. . . . Now, we know this—that there have been thousands and tens of thousands of men and women so drowned in drink, so drowned in the mud and mire of evils that follow from drink, that unless there was a great net to draw them out of this depth of misery, tens of thousands would have been lost. . . . But the League of the Cross is something more than a great net; it is a confraternity of the most sober people; it is also a brotherhood of the friends of God."

The Rev. Thomas Conaty, D.D., Worcester, Mass., U.S.A., President of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union, America, addressing the members of the Father Mathew Temperance League, Dublin, in July, 1889, said:—

"I take it that here, as in America, there are false impressions prevalent in regard to the aims and objects of the total abstinence movement. Some appear to think it has been established primarily, if not solely, for the reformation of drunkards. Nothing could be more erroneous. I say it is for no such thing. That is the smallest, and probably the least important, part of the total abstinence work. . . . I say if you would do the work efficiently and thoroughly, in the name of God, save the youth; preserve them in total abstinence, and you will not have so many drunkards seeking reformation. Let men become total abstainers, so as to save themselves from the dangers that lead up to drunkenness. Give us sober mothers, who teach by word and example the sacred virtue of temperance, and the chances are good that we shall have sober children, easily trained to habits of total abstinence; we shall have drink driven from the home, and religion and peace and comfort its inmates. I am president of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, which is sixty thousand strong. We have organizations throughout every State and territory of the Union, and I affirm, that in that body of sixty thousand total abstainers, there are at least seventy per cent. who have never tasted liquor."

Other authorities are at hand, but need not be cited. We cannot, however, miss this further opportunity of confirming

our proposition by the affirmation of the Chair of Peter. It was the association presided over by Dr. Conaty, in 1889, that merited the praise and commendation of Leo XIII., and the point most emphasized and extolled by his Holiness is the principle of taking the total abstinence pledge for the sake of good example. The words are :—

“Hence we esteem worthy of all commendation the noble resolve of your pious associations by which they pledge themselves to abstain totally from every kind of intoxicating drink. Nor can it at all be doubted that this determination is a proper and a truly efficacious remedy for this very great evil ; and that so much the more strongly will *all* be induced to put this bridle upon appetite, by how much the greater are the dignity and influence of those who give the example.”

The readers will see that we have emphasized one word, and will not unkindly question our claim to do so. Our cause well deserves, as it indeed requires, the advantage of every legitimate enforcement.

THE SUREST BOND OR PLEDGE.

The surest members having been determined, with this understanding, that no one, unless proved unworthy, is to be excluded, next comes the question : What form or practice of abstinence is surest and best to be proposed for common observance ? Well, we have first to recall these practices, or pledges or resolutions, as they may be named. The pledges limiting indulgence to *one* drink or *two* each day are familiar. The pledges “against drinking in public-houses,” and “against drinking spirits, brandy, gin, or rum,” are also well-known. Then, recently, our Irish prelates have recommended “a pledge never to give or take a treat,” “a pledge against ‘wetting the bargain’ at fairs and markets,” and a pledge against “pressing drink” on friends. One eminent and well-beloved archbishop, when communicating to a press agent his predilection for such pledges, said :—“If we could get rid of these customs and notions, the back-bone of drunkenness in this country would be broken.” The latest, and, we think, practically the best, list of Catholic pledges

may be found in the *Pastoral* of the Right Rev. Bishop of Nottingham, issued last Advent :—

“ 1. To abstain entirely from the use of intoxicants out of meals.

“ 2. To abstain from taking intoxicating drink in a public-house.

“ 3. To abstain from treating, or being treated, in a public-house.

“ 4. To abstain from all intoxicating liquors from after the mid-day meal on Saturdays till the commencement of the mid-day meal on Sundays, in honour of our Blessed Lady.

“ 5. To observe total abstinence from all distilled spirits.

“ 6. To observe total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors.”

Now, in selecting any of these practices of abstinence for general—not individual—recommendation, as the surest and best practical bond for the necessary, or at least, all but necessary organization, the readers of the I. E. RECORD will recognise a work of the greatest responsibility. The responsibility is, of course, their own; we merely offer suggestions, and show reason for our opinions. The end of the movement must be considered throughout. It is to promote the glory of God and the welfare of our people, by stemming and abating the torrent of intemperance which has too long devastated our land, and which becomes but more threatening to all our interests here and hereafter.

TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

What pledge will enable a considerable and sufficient body of our population to stand as an immovable breakwater against this sweeping torrent? What pledges will save weaker brethren, behind the protecting barrier of the stronger? What pledge will lead an adequate number to reach the sources of danger, and correct the evil in its first developments? Are not these points the essential ones? Well, no pledge will withstand the brunt of the onset of our actual customs regarding intoxicating drinks save the pledge of total abstinence. Any other pledge will speedily be overturned by the action of these customs. So it has been, and so it is. The pledges of limited abstinence will support that of total abstinence, and will, in turn, be protected by it, just as the looser and softer filling of the breakwater supports the

resisting power of the impenetrable front which saves it. Yes, and the sources of our intemperance—the fountain springs of our intemperate customs—shall be dried up whenever, and only whenever, an imposing and influential number of representative persons set themselves by word and example to discredit the unfortunate and baneful esteem of stimulants, and to discountenance their abuse. For, total abstinence, as a living reality, is required, and nothing less is sufficient, to make our people see that strong drink is not the best thing for health, for strength, for happiness, for medicine, &c. And the association of hospitality, friendship, &c., with drinking and surfeiting shall never be sundered among us till many are everywhere found who, while fulfilling “all justice” as neighbours and friends, steadfastly refuse “to drink.”

This reasoning is not simulated, but strictly correct, and fully confirmed both negatively and positively, by experience. The rule of *minimi medii* is indeed dictated by all wisdom; but practical wisdom must proportion the means to the end, and observe past results.

Abstinence, whether total or partial, temporary or for life, is no new thing. It is one of reason's very early lessons; while religion but enforces its claims, helps in its endurance, and rewards its fortitude. This abstinence, as applied to intoxicating drink, is often noticed in sacred history; and, coming to our immediate purpose, we all know that the ecclesiastical annals and traditions of a nation bear testimony to its employment as an antidote for intemperance. We, of the present day, are indebted to many who have preceded us for the fruits of their efforts in the cause of temperance and for our advantage of greater experience. Some of them, happily, still live and work in the good cause; and if any failed to accomplish their full purpose, or to make their work abiding, others had a greater measure of success. To deal critically with such efforts, to set them up as rival and opposing systems, should be unchristian and insane. All their plans were but means to the same end, and as means to that end all must be judged. The end to be attained is the one rule of selection, and according to their utility they may be preferred, altered, combined, &c.

CARDINAL MANNING.

Not fault-finding, therefore, but earnestly seeking the surest means, we submit that the proposition stated a little above is confirmed by experience. To show this we might refer to the sketch of the various efforts made by Oliver Plunket, Father Mathew, by Drs. Furlong and Leahy, by Dr. Warren, and Cardinals Moran and M'Cabe, and by others less noticeable, though not less devoted. It is to be found in the I. E. RECORD for July, 1889. But we shall venture upon new ground, and go into the exact particulars of the efforts of one whose name, of itself, gives prestige and assurance to every cause with which it is associated. This name is that of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. In his Eminence, we may be permitted to say, all recognise great perfection of talent and culture, practical wisdom, popular sympathy, and truly pastoral zeal. His great work—the Westminster Diocesan School System—his leading part in all the great social questions of the great metropolis of the world, &c., evince his powers ; and besides, we Irish love him for his love of Ireland—*diligit enim gentem nostram*. Now for particular facts to show that experience lead Cardinal Manning to regard the combination of total abstinence and the practice of religious duties as the surest—nay, *the only* sure—means of founding and maintaining a really efficient association for the suppression of intemperance. We shall number our paragraphs hereon for clearness' sake.

1. In 1857 Father Richardson founded the “Catholic Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness.” His motto was: *Our enemy is not drink, but drunkenness*. He gave pledges, varying with persons, habits and occasions, but not a pledge of total abstinence ; and he organized his associates for united prayer, good example, and devotion to Mary Immaculate, To him the cardinal—then archbishop—having been consecrated in June, 1865, wrote on 3rd February, 1866:—

“MY DEAR FATHER RICHARDSON,—I most heartily approve of the Catholic Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness, and desire to see it extended to every Mission in the Diocese of Westminster ; and I pray with all my heart, that the great evil

which ruins homes and souls, may be effectually checked by your earnest labour. Wishing you every blessing,

"I remain, your affectionate servant in Christ,

"✠ HENRY EDWARD,

"Archbishop of Westminster.

"YORK-PLACE, 3rd Feb., 1866."

2. Coming to 1872 we find drunkenness unsuppressed, and a simple Irish workman—the mouthpiece of Providence—implores the Archbishop "to get some priest to give Father Mathew's pledge." His Grace volunteered to be the priest, resolving to himself: "I shall never ask any priest to do what I may do myself," and (if we may add) with better effect. The League of the Cross had been initiated in Liverpool, by Father Nugent; the Archbishop would have it in London, and for a more hopeful beginning, Rome was asked for its blessing and for indulgences. The reply was: "Send fuller information upon the state of things which require and justify such an extreme measure." In procuring this information the Archbishop was led to realize that his previous ideas of the evils entailed by intemperance had been utterly inadequate; he felt as one for the first time "in a chamber of horrors," and sitting down, he wrote a relation to the Propaganda, extending over numerous pages of foolscap. The reply now was: "If these things be true, go on, in God's name, and ask any favour in our gift." Then, in 1873, the League of the Cross was founded in the Diocese of Westminster, having the Archbishop as President, and being grafted by his hand upon the living root of Father Mathew's work. Its obligations were two. The first to live as good practical Catholics. The second, to take the pledge of total abstinence. So Archbishop Manning, having had over six years' experience of the best efforts, short of total abstinence, to suppress drunkenness, found that total abstinence was a necessity.

3. Having established the League of the Cross, the Archbishop did not at first intend to withdraw his patronage from the associations based upon the pledges of moderate abstinence. He declared:—"I would have two kinds of pledge—one for the mortified, who never taste drink; and the other for the temperate, who never abuse it. If I can make

these two classes work together, I will work in the midst of them. If I cannot get them to work together, I will work with both of them separately." But experience soon convinced him that this dualism or latitudinarianism, however plausible, should result in frustrating his efforts and disappointing his hopes. Moderation in theory was but a relative term, and failed to bar actual excess. The largest allowance became the general standard, and the supposed path of safe sobriety led many to drunkenness who previously had been secure.

4. The Archbishop consequently became inflexibly devoted to total abstinence as the only principle upon which he could maintain a solid and steadfast association of sober men; as the only safe rule of temperance for children and many others; and as the only hopeful means of reforming public opinion regarding drunkenness and all that leads to drunkenness. This he declared at the First Convention of the League of the Cross, held in the Crystal Palace in July, 1875, just four months after he was created cardinal. He was chairman, and spoke as deciding the future principle of the league. Here are the very words:—

"First of all, I may announce to you that the experience of all who have had the guidance of this movement—and I may say that the profound and mature conviction of us all—is, that it is impossible to unite together those who abstain altogether and those who do not. I do not mean that we are not in brotherly unity with them all. We embrace every sober man as a fellow-worker in the same field, whether he be pledged or whether he be not pledged. If he be a sober man he is with us; 'He that is not against us in this is with us;' but we find it impossible to give any pledge, or to take any pledge from anyone who will not take the pledge altogether; being convinced that unless we stand shoulder to shoulder in the firm resolution of entirely renouncing all intoxicating drink, and all places wherein intoxicating drink is sold, we never shall maintain the firm, solid, compact formation which is absolutely necessary for the existence of the league."

5. Since 1875 fifteen years have seen Cardinal Manning increase continuously in zeal for total abstinence. For its actual fruits he is full of gratitude, and regarding its possible results he has unshaken confidence that in it above all forms of temperance lies the remedy for our present evil.

He has obtained for it the blessing of two Popes—the last blessing of Pius IX., and the first of Leo. XIII.—with great spiritual favours. His voice has been heard over England, and his words read over the world, preaching the League of the Cross, and communicating the grace of manifold salvation to tens of thousands by means of the total abstinence pledge. Of this salvation his Eminence gives personal testimony well deserving of repetition and particular attention. He says:—*“If we had begun the League of the Cross twenty-five years ago, we should have a hundred thousand more Catholics in London.”* Pages might be filled with similar extracts; but, in order to close this confirmation of our view without further delay, we take a passage from the letter of his Eminence to the Bishop of Cork in October last, on the centenary celebration of Father Mathew’s birthday. He wrote:—

“MY LORD,—Let me congratulate you on the great and joyful solemnities of Father Mathew’s centenary in his own city and home. They will begin with the blessing of God, and be carried out in faith and charity to all men.

“Every man and every association working to keep our people from the plague of intemperance has the sympathy and goodwill of the League of the Cross. It bids them all God-speed, but it inflexibly maintains its own inviolate rule of total abstinence from all intoxicating drink. This was Father Mathew’s pledge, and from this the League of the Cross will never depart. This, too, was the inheritance bequeathed to us, and we will gather into it not only the fallen, that they may rise again, but the innocent, that they may never fall. Father Mathew on his death-bed rejoiced to hear of the United Kingdom Alliance to obtain from the Legislature the powers to check and control the drink trade. He saw that the work of one man may die with him, and that nothing but a firm organization of men could keep alive and perpetuate such a work as he had wrought. The League of the Cross was that organization. . . . His prayers were offered for you. His work has sprung up anew. . . . Go on then with a manly courage, for a good cause may be hindered, but it cannot fail. God is with those that serve Him, and if He be with us, who can be against us? Total abstinence is a counsel of a higher life, against which the world has no power, if only we are faithful to ourselves . . .

“My Lord, believe me to be,

“Your affectionate Servant and Brother,

✠ HENRY EDWARD,

“Card. Archbishop of Westminster.

“President of the League of the Cross in England.”

OUR ARGUMENT.

No confirmation of our opinion could be more desirable, and nothing more, we think, is to be desired. We then find total abstinence commended as the surest means for carrying to success the third and only remaining essential issue of the Catholic temperance movement; we find that total abstinence practised by an organized association, comprising especially the good and perfect members of society, and established upon a basis widespread as may be, is the surest, if not the only sure, means of procuring the necessary reformation of the popular notions and usages which lead to and perpetuate intemperance, despite all opposition, social and religious. Well, putting this and our two former conclusions together; taking it for granted that the success of this movement implies success in reclaiming the intemperate, preserving the temperate, and reforming intemperate customs; and taking it as proven that a widespread and durable association of genuine total abstinence is the surest, or perhaps the only sure, means of accomplishing each of these works, we must accept the conclusion that the surest way to the success of the Catholic temperance movement is the formation of such an association in every parish in the land.

OBJECTIONS TO TOTAL ABSTINENCE.

We have not to meet the objections raised against that abstinence which runs counter to true virtue, and which has been spoken of as "total abstinence run mad." Our practice and principle is inspired by faith, hope, and charity; hinges upon prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance; is ratified and commended by the head of the Church, and even exemplified by her princes. There have been, however, and probably still exist, opinions contrary to Catholic total abstinence as the surest remedy for our intemperance; and, contention or aggression apart, we would explain our position.

IMPOSSIBILITY.

Is it possible, some ask, to establish and maintain an organized association of total abstainers exclusively, in

every parish throughout Ireland? Is not total abstinence essentially "ascetic"? and how can a good number of the people be expected to undertake and to persevere in its practices? Is not all this utopian, extreme, irrational? Why not adhere to temperate and practicable means? What is best in itself may not be eligible in general; and the ways of Providence are mostly ordinary. There should not be, in all common sense and propriety, such an over-riding of legitimate tastes and social exigencies.

In reply: Catholic total abstainers, beginning with Father Mathew, have been impressed as much as others by the weight of these considerations, and always felt them to preponderate against total abstinence, regarded only as a more perfect form of the virtue of temperance. But taking to heart the evils of intemperance—their woefulness, their prevalence, their hitherto invincible power—and having found all other forms of abstinence ineffectual for the removal and prevention of such evils, they were convinced that the reasons in favour of total abstinence out-weighed decisively those against it. So it has been in all reforms. Extreme evils will not be cured but by extreme remedies. And the amputation of a cherished and most useful member, as a necessary means of saving the life of the rest, is exacted even from the most sensitive by science and religion in their respective domains. Authorities need not be quoted.

As to the unwillingness of the people, it is falsified in theory and in fact. What do we, as a nation, gain by upholding our drink-customs? Poverty, disease, degradation, death, sin, and, for too many individuals, the marks of reprobation. What are the *experienced* fruits of total abstinence? Plentifulness, prosperity, innocence, peace, and sanctification. What is given up in becoming a total abstainer? Generally, nothing more than a momentary gratification, altogether unnecessary, and very often most treacherous. Injustice would be done our people by anyone who could believe them unwilling to purchase such secure deliverance with manifold advantages at a cost so small and so salutary—by a privation despicable to reason at the outset and soon esteemed and cherished. Our people

are not sensual. They are readily drawn to acts of self-denial when noble and Christian motives are proposed for such action. Witness their discipline of fasting in the past, and *a propos* their grateful affection and reverence for the memory of Father Mathew. Let anyone like him, in vocation and in spirit, raise the banner of total abstinence among his people and in his church, call for followers in a religious crusade against intemperance, and he will surely find hundreds, and among them "the flower of his flock," rallying cheerfully around him. In the battle some may fall off. The weakness of enfeebled wills must, apart from any special grace, prove fatal to the resolution of the weaker brethren. The enemies without will not cease in employing all their skill and power against the good work and against its leader. But all through the fight hundreds will be steadfast, and hundreds will be added ; immense and immediate good will be effected ; social reformation will perceptibly advance ; and the total abstinence standard will not be suffered by the Irish people to know even the danger of defeat while they see it wave over the consecrated heads of their prelates, and carried by the consecrated hands of their priests.

INADVISABILITY.

But these things cannot be, according to not a few. The weight of ecclesiastical opinion is not on the side of Father Mathew and his followers, but rather opposed to their plan, as a whole, or at least unable to see its advisability. They apprehend disunion, erroneous judgments of conscience, and reaction. They dislike the implied restriction of individual liberty, and the departure from the established customs of private and social life. They object to the additional labour that should be undertaken by the clergy. They protest against the requisition of lay speakers in temperance meetings. And they can feel justified in condemning everyone who advocates and practises total abstinence.

Now these grounds of objection, and all that would support a similar conclusion, cannot be opposed to a measure of necessity. Besides, it is not an unheard-of

thing that a good cause, "gainsaid everywhere," had to make its way against strong but ill-founded opposition. That it is so in our case, we shall briefly show.

(a) As to ecclesiastical opinion, we can distinguish between theory and practice, between the past and present, and between the general body and any individual member. The theory of total abstinence *was* deemed questionable, but is no longer so. This change is no wonder to those who understand how the Holy Spirit works in the Church, and we need not delay in explanation or in citation of examples. We must remark, however, that the greatness of the grace given to Father Mathew was precisely that of resolving, so long before the general clerical body, upon a cause since commended by the Church as "a noble resolve," and "a truly efficacious remedy" for the great evil of intemperance.¹ Regarding the practice of total abstinence by any particular individual, we must allow no judgment save that of God and conscience. Total abstainers must not judge those who do not totally abstain, and *vice versa*. Rather are we to presume that each one does what is practically the better thing for himself. But if we consider the general body of the clergy, and ask whether it may be expected to furnish the needful aid in this necessary work, the answer must be: yes, and abundantly. Circumstances will hinder individuals, but among the general body numbers will be found able and willing to carry out the heroic resolve for the sake of so many of their perishing people. Our seminaries are preparing hundreds of such priests. Tens and twenties are to be found on the mission in every diocese. Fifties are, as we ourselves have found, ready for "this noble resolve" in particular places—priests of every age, and grade, and dignity—and several of our prelates are veterans in the ranks. Let no one ask: Why then were the Conventions of the League of the Cross at Thurles and Cork such unhappy failures? For, amongst other reasons, their very sense of sincerity, discipline, and prudence hindered many life-long total abstainers from attending these conventions. On this head we owe

¹ See *Biography*, by J. F. Maguire, chaps. vi., vii.

an apology or explanation to the stranger priests who came at such inconvenience to Ireland; but even they will have seen that the abstention has been justified by subsequent events. There must be no false start; moreover, the trumpet must give no uncertain sound, and we must be enlisted and hopefully organized before called to parade. Please God, these things will come.

(b) Discretion and docility to the admonitions of the Holy See will keep us, as far as lies in any human organization, free from the evils and inconveniences of disunion, errors in conscience, of mere excitement and enthusiasm, of intolerance, of singularity, &c. These things, indeed, should not be; but the condemnation of a good and even necessary work, because accidentally connected with such mistaken conduct, is itself condemned by the severe words of Christ in Matt. xxiii. 24: "Blind guides, who strain out a gnat and swallow a camel." Of course, the severity of this sentence hinders its application amongst us, save as a warning. Let us accordingly have total abstinence, but not disunion and the rest.

(c) The additional labour to be undertaken by us in consequence of total abstinence organization will be in no way extraordinary for all country districts. The usual sermons, visitation, stations, and devotions may be utilized with sufficient effect in all country districts. In towns, special weekly or monthly meetings shall be necessary, and there must be no small pains employed in the many duties devolving upon the spiritual director or president of a total abstinence confraternity; withal, this is not a reason against such an association, but an argument rather for its necessity. As for the victims of proselytism, so for those of intemperance, let provision be made. It will repay the provision. For, if we calculate the extent to which our priests' work is hindered, and afterwards neutralized, by intemperance, we should at once see that a successful total abstinence organization in any parish will enable the clergy to prevent evil, and promote every form of good with threefold effect.

(d) Lay speakers deserve an apologist. Let them be confined to subjects of science, and to statements of experi-

ence, and they can do great service under an ecclesiastical president. Laymen have a real apostolate in England and abroad: in the cities of Ireland also they have done good service. In centres of population, Catholic halls and clubs are indispensable. Of these institutes, laymen of talent and character are the very heart and soul. Only give us speakers who will avoid intolerance and vain-glory, and we beg to be allowed to say—*Utinam omnes prophetizent.*

CONCLUSION.

If there be other objections which concern us we do not know them, and those adduced we trust may be reckoned as fairly explained away. It remains then but to submit to the readers of the I. E. RECORD our views on the Catholic temperance movement, and to apologize for our length of treatment. They will have many things to interpret kindly, and perhaps some things to censure; but we trust they will agree with us upon the *true issue* of this movement, upon its *three essential parts*, and upon the *surest way to its success*.

MICHAEL KELLY, M.SS.

THE LIVING ROSARY IN DETAIL.—II.

THE LEGAL MACHINERY.

IT is my purpose to set down in this paper the entire body of authentic legislation which applies at present to the Living Rosary sodality. To this I shall add a complete table of the indulgences granted up to the present date, together with an exact specification of the conditions required for gaining them. These together make up what may be regarded as the machinery of the sodality; machinery which the skilled hand and watchful eye of a zealous Director can alone control and keep in motion. They form the dead letter of the law, which his living voice and

authority must interpret and apply for the benefit of the associates who are his subjects.

"Besides these laws [says the late Dominican General, Father Larroca, in his official letter of 1887], the Directors will be free to make local regulations, according as it shall seem expedient to them before God, each one for the associates entrusted to him; and, indeed, in order that the devotion of the Living Rosary flourish, it is necessary that all the associates abide entirely by their Superiors in all things which are determined for the good government of each association, provided that these do not openly contradict the decrees of the Holy See and of the Supreme Moderators. We wish, however, that in all books, pamphlets, and small works of whatsoever kind, which may be published in future concerning this devotion of the Living Rosary, whether by religious of our Order or by persons who are outside our Order, the decrees of supreme authority which, from their promulgation in this present *brochure*, have now, from this out, a *legislative* force for all associates, should be always clearly distinguished from those regulations which, when enacted by the authority of Directors for particular districts, have only a *directive* force; so that every associate may have certain information with regard to his obligations."

Here we see a clear and sharp distinction drawn between the dead letter of the law and its living interpretation, between the machinery essential to the working of the sodality and the fittings or supplementary gear that may be added with advantage by the skill of the local craftsman. The former is necessary, the latter not to be neglected. My purpose, as already stated, is to deal with each in a separate article.

The laws of the sodality are twenty in number, and I feel that to transcribe them, as well as the official elenchus of the indulgences, here in the I. E. RECORD, will be to do a service to many priests who may be unsupplied with the official statement in Latin, published and vended at the Generalizia Domenicana, Via San Sebastiano, Roma. I promise to eliminate, or at least carefully to discriminate, all remarks of my own, so that the reader may regard what follows as authentic. This, I think, will be more satisfactory to him than to have to trust to either incomplete or doubtfully accurate accounts from the pens of unofficial writers.

What follows, then, is a literal and ungarbled translation from the only official source :—

THE DECREES OF THE HOLY SEE AND OF THE SUPREME
MODERATORS FOR THE SODALITY OF THE LIVING
ROSARY.

1. Each and every Director of the Living Rosary, even general or diocesan, in existence on the 15th day of November, 1877, is confirmed in his office for life, with the power of choosing new Zelators to be appointed even over new sets of fifteen.

2. In the same way, all Zelators and Zelatrices in existence on the 15th day of November, 1877, are confirmed in their office for life.

3. In fine, all associates received by the aforesaid Zelators up to this time, or who may in future be received by them, are to be considered as legitimately admitted, so that they freely enjoy all the indulgences and privileges conceded, or to be conceded, to the Living Rosary.

4. Directors so confirmed (even diocesan Directors) cannot in future elect, as formerly, new Directors.

5. New Directors can only be appointed by the Very Rev. Master of the Order, or by the Priors Provincial in virtue of his delegation, which has now been entrusted to each one of them in his own province.

6. All Directors of Confraternities of the Most Sacred Rosary which have been canonically erected in the several districts through the Master-General of the Friars Preachers, with the consent of the Ordinary, or which will be erected in future, are to be considered as at the same time *pleno jure* and *ipso facto* the legitimate Directors of the Living Rosary, as is clear from the brief of Pope Pius IX., *Quod jure haereditario*.

7. Since the sodality which has the name of the Living Rosary does not attain to the nature of a confraternity (for it has no *liber matricularis* for enrolling names, nor are the associates bound to any public exercises, but divided into sets of fifteen, drawn by lot every month a mystery to meditate upon each day of the month and a decade to recite), it is by no means to be considered bound by the ordinary laws of confraternities, and consequently a plurality of associations of this sort can lawfully maintain themselves in the same place under different legitimate rulers. On this account, since laws have no retro-active force, Directors in existence before the 15th of November, 1877, and once confirmed for life on their personal title, can exercise their zeal in every place and in the same manner as formerly, even in places where confraternities of the Most Sacred Rosary or convents of the Friars Preachers are established. It is otherwise, however, with those who have received faculties as

Directors or Presidents after the 15th of November, 1877: they are dealt with in the following number.

8. Provincials of the Order of Preachers, each one within the limits of his own province, can appoint *local*, but not *general* Directors, *e. g.*, for the whole of some diocese. If by any chance some other arrangement would seem to be called for, let recourse always be had to the Right Reverend Master of the Order. Whence, as a Director at the present time does not receive faculties except for a certain defined district, if he passes from place to place, as, *e. g.*, a parish priest who is transferred from one parish to another, all faculties granted to him cease *ipso facto*.

9. By special delegation of the Master of the Order, Provincials can appoint Directors in places in which there is no Province of our Order at present; for example, in Switzerland or Algiers.

10. In places where a confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary is to be found, Provincials must not appoint other Directors of the Living Rosary. If at any time, through a special cause, other action should be necessary, let recourse always be had to the Right Rev. Master of the Order.

11. If a confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary be erected in a place where there is some Director or President of the Living Rosary appointed after the 15th November, 1877, then from the very fact of the erection of the confraternity all the faculties granted to the aforesaid Director or President, whether by Master-General of the Order or by Provincials, cease, and the Director of the confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary has *pleno jure* all power over everything pertaining in this place to the Sodality of the Living Rosary.

12. In places where there is no confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary Provincials can appoint *local* Directors either *for life* or *for so many years*, according as it seems expedient to them before God.

13. The following may be used as the form of the diploma which the Provincials will grant:—

[For this see the end of the article in last month's I. E. RECORD on the Living Rosary.]

14. Although local Directors can no longer appoint other Directors, they are quite able to appoint one or more men or women, who, with the name of *President*, or *Zelator President*, or another similar name, under the authority of the Director, and in his district, preside over several Zelators, according as it shall seem expedient before God.

15. And Provincials can do the same in places where there is no confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary, if there can be found no suitable priest able and willing to undertake the position of Director.

16. As a regular practice, every Zelator or Zelatrix is to hold

a meeting each month with his or her associates, in order that the mysteries be distributed to everyone by lot. For the Sovereign Pontiffs have so disposed in their approbations of this sodality. If, however, the aforesaid meeting with the associates cannot take place, then the Zelator or Zelatrix, along with two companions, is to proceed to the drawing of lots for the mysteries, and is to send the mysteries marked out by lot to the absent associates. So the Most Holy Father Pope Gregory XVI. permitted, by authority delegated to the most eminent Cardinal Lambruschini, Protector of the Living Rosary.

17. With regard to the changing of the mysteries of the Living Rosary, besides the *accustomed* methods, by means of lots, which is adopted in the monthly change of the mysteries, power is granted, in order to obtain the Living Rosary indulgences, to admit another method, according to which the mysteries once assigned by lot, are, from that out, changed privately at the beginning of each month by the several Rosarians, according to the natural series of the mysteries. So the Most Holy Father Pope Gregory XVI. declared in *oraculo vivae vocis*, June 7, 1839.

[We must conclude, then, it seems, that the adoption of either one or other of the two methods of distribution above mentioned is a necessary condition for gaining the indulgences attached to the recital of the daily decade. If the mysteries, *e.g.*, were to be distributed according to the fancy of the Zelator or President, the indulgence would not be gained. If two associates, whose fortune in the lottery had failed to please them, were to exchange their mysteries, their indulgences would not be gained. If an associate, through neglect, were to forget his mystery, and then take to saying some other than what had been legitimately assigned him, he, I should say, would not gain his indulgences. Such seem to me the conclusions to be drawn from 17.]

18. In the change of mysteries effected by the usual method of lots, power is granted to postpone such a change until fifteen days after the completion of a month after the last change, on the occurrence of a reasonable cause; for example, some feast day. So our Most Holy Father Pope Gregory XVI. has declared in the aforesaid *vivae vocis oraculum*.

19. From the declaration itself of the Right Rev. Father, Vicar-General of the Order of Preachers, then Supreme Moderator of the Living Rosary, "each and every one of the aforesaid associations must retain the one, identical, genuine name of the Living Rosary, without the addition of any other title; in the method of reciting the accustomed mysteries of the Most Sacred

Rosary, let no novelty be introduced by which *the authentic Rosary dedicated to God and the most Blessed Virgin Mary might be made a thing of the past.*" A matter which was declared anew, and more explicitly still, by the Right Rev. Father, Master-General Joseph Mary Larroca, in the following words:—"We expressly declare that there is but one Living Rosary, altogether entrusted to our Order, which we do not permit to be mixed up with any other sodality of whatsoever name, whether of the Rosary of the Apostleship of Prayer, or of the Rosary of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, or of any other of the same sort, lest the danger of losing the indulgences should become imminent. And that our will in this matter may be quite clear to everyone, we hereby deprive all persons propagating the Living Rosary mixed up in this way with another sodality, of all faculties as Zelator or Zelatrix, Counsellor or "Consiliaria," President, even Director, and declare them deprived of them, and we take from them all power of intruding themselves into the propagation and administration of the Living Rosary.

Members, however, of any association whatsoever, can enter the Living Rosary, and associates of the Living Rosary, likewise, can take part in other associations; but upon this express condition, that they satisfy the obligations of the two associations separately, so that in that way no one may be allowed to confound the sodalities.

20. Since the devotion of the Most Sacred Rosary, such as it was instituted by the most holy Patriarch St. Dominick, tends chiefly to this, that the mind and heart of each one of the faithful be nourished by the *constant* meditation of *all* the mysteries of the life of our Lord Jesus Christ and of His Most Holy Mother, Directors of the Living Rosary, and all in general who co-operate in the propagation of this pious sodality, must vigorously promote this object, which our Father St. Dominick esteemed so highly as a remedy for the evils of his own time, and which is still of such efficacy at the present day for the increase of faith and charity in the souls of the faithful; and in consequence they must ever bear in mind that *this devotion of the Living Rosary is only a school of training for the full Rosary in the form first instituted by St. Dominick*, and that these associations of fifteen individuals form nothing more than the ante-chamber to the Confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary properly so called, which is endowed with a more abundant fruit of edification, and with a much richer treasure of indulgences and privileges granted by the Sovereign Pontiffs.

THE INDULGENCES GRANTED BY THE APOSTOLIC SEE TO THE ASSOCIATES OF THE LIVING ROSARY.

To gain the indulgences granted on more than one occasion to the Living Rosary sodality, or in future to be granted to it, each

associate has necessarily to be admitted by some legitimate Zelator.¹

It is also necessary that the aforesaid associates use beads blessed in the accustomed way by some priest of the Order of Preachers, or by another priest who has obtained the power of blessing beads from the Right Rev. Master-General of the Order.²

The association of fifteen which, through death, or from what cause soever, loses one or even several of its fifteen associates, does not on that account cease to gain the indulgences, provided that the Zelator supplies new associates in the place of those who are missing, aggregating them within the month which follows the day on which the Zelator gets to know of the death or departure of any member of the fifteen.³

[From this I think it would appear that if a Zelator were to neglect his duty and fail to fill up the gaps in his company of fifteen within a month, both he himself and those unfortunately placed under his control would lose the indulgences. Also I think it probable, from the above paragraph, and also from the language of the paragraph which follows, that if, even after every effort, the number of fifteen associates remained incomplete, any smaller number would not form a legitimate Living Rosary circle, and consequently would have no title to the indulgences attached to the recital of the daily decade. For whatever decade they recited could not, I think, be fairly considered as the *constituta ex pii exercitii praescripto pars Rosarii* designated by Gregory XVI. in his brief *Benedicentes*, which grants these indulgences. The whole meaning of the sodality is to secure the recitation of a complete Rosary of fifteen mysteries every day by means of an association of fifteen persons.]

If in any set of fifteen numerically perfect, one or more of the associates, whether through negligence, or from what cause soever, do not recite their decade, the other associates by no means remain deprived of their gain of indulgences; but those associates alone who are unequal to their duty undergo punishment for their infidelity by the deprivation of their privileges and indulgences.⁴

[This privilege, obtained by Cardinal Lambruschini for faithful associates, only applies, we see, to a "set of fifteen

¹ S. Congr. Indul., 2 Feb., 1878.

² S. Cong. Ind., 2 Feb. 1878, and Supr. Mod. Declar., 5 Jun. 1879, and 22 Apr. 1887.

³ Ex. Aud. SSmi. 1 Nov., 1835.

⁴ Ex eadem SSmi. 1 Nov., 1835, A. Card. Lambruschini, Prot.

numerically perfect," thus confirming the opinion I have expressed above about incomplete circles.]

Each of the associates can gain the following indulgences:—

[Following the example set by Dr. Walsh in 1871, I shall exhibit these by means of a table, for the sake of clearness.]

INDULGENCES FOR ALL ASSOCIATES OF LIVING ROSARY.

INDULGENCE.	GRANTED TO THOSE WHO	CAN BE GAINED
1. Plenary.	(a) Are legitimately received into the sodality, and (b) approach the Sacraments of Penance and Eucharist.	Once—on the first feast day after their reception.
2. Plenary.	(a) Say their decade daily for a month, unless hindered by a reasonable cause; (b) go to Confession and Communion; and (c) pray in some church, unless, for a just cause, the Confessor substitute some other work.	Once a year—on our Lord's Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Resurrection, Ascension, Corpus Christi, Whit Sunday, Trinity Sunday; all the feasts, small or great, of the B.V.M., SS. Peter and Paul, All Saints. Once a month—on the third Sunday.
3. Plenary.	(a) Say their decade for a year on Dominican beads; (b) go to Confession and Communion; (c) pray for the Pope's intention.	Once a year—on any day at choice.
4. Partial. 100 days.	Say their decade on days which are not feast days.	On the day of recitation.
5. Partial. Seven years and seven quarantines	Say their decade on Sundays, Holidays of obligation, or which have ceased to be of obligation, and during the Octaves of Christmas, Easter, Corpus Christi, Pentecost, and of the Assumption, Nativity and Immaculate Conception of the B.V.M.	On the day of recitation.
6. Partial. 100 days for every Pater and Ave.	Say their decade on Dominican beads.	On the day of recitation.

ADDITIONAL INDULGENCES FOR OFFICIALS OF THE SODALITY.

INDULGENCE.	GRANTED TO	CAN BE GAINED
1. Partial. 100 days.	Legitimate Zelators and Zelatrices for fulfilling any point of their duty.	Toties quoties.
2. Partial. 300 days.	Legitimate Presidents of at least eleven Zelators, for fulfilling any duty.	Toties quoties.

Moreover, by grant of the Right Rev. F. M. Fr. Cipoletti, Vicar-General of the Order of Preachers, on the 24th of May, 1836, all the associates of the Living Rosary, in the same way as the members of the Confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary, become sharers in all the spiritual goods of the whole Order of Preachers.

[The above is the last paragraph of the official statement.]

T. M. BYRNE, O.P.

THE LIVING ROSARY IN MISSIONARY COUNTRIES.

UNDER the above heading I stated in the October number of the I. E. RECORD that bishops in countries under the care of Propaganda could empower their priests to establish the sodality of the Living Rosary, without any reference to the Dominican Order. This statement was made in reply to one of several correspondents who "were puzzled" by certain "new doctrines" regarding the constitution of the Living Rosary which had been ventilated in the preceding number of the I. E. RECORD. These "new doctrines," it will be remembered, consisted in the claim put forward on behalf of the General of the Dominican Order, that in him, and in him alone, is vested supreme and entire authority in all that concerns the Living Rosary. Having shown that this claim, as far as missionary countries are concerned, is entirely void of foundation, I ventured to suggest that the writer who made it intended merely "to lay down the general rules relating to the Living Rosary, without taking into account the special circumstances of

this or that particular country." He has not chosen, however, to avail himself of this easy method of escape from an untenable position; and last month he solemnly re-affirms in the pages of the I. E. RECORD that "the legitimate source of authority over the Living Rosary in Ireland resides in the Irish Dominican Provincial, and in him alone."¹

With the utmost respect for this able and zealous champion of the rights of the Dominican Order, I beg to re-assert the exact contradictory of this proposition, and to state again, that the Irish bishops can empower their priests to establish the Living Rosary without any reference to the Provincial or any other member of the Dominican Order in Ireland or outside it.

Here let me premise:—1. That I have never contended that these powers belong to the Irish bishops *de jure ordinario*, or even *quasi ordinario*, but that they are in the technical sense of the word *extraordinary* powers. Now the merest tyro in theological science is aware that powers given to a bishop as a matter of course, are not extraordinary in the technical sense, and that these powers are only given in answer to the petition of individual bishops. Hence, it is quite possible that one Irish bishop, or several, may not be in possession of these powers because they have failed to ask them. My contention, therefore, is, not that each Irish bishop has, as a matter of fact, the faculties in question, but that each of them, by applying to the Congregation of Propaganda, can have them.

2. I never said, or even thought, that the *Instruction* issued by Propaganda in 1889, *communicated* any faculties either "indiscriminately" or otherwise "to all bishops," or to any section of them. But I did interpret it as a proof of the fact that the Propaganda is in the habit of communicating to bishops under its care the extensive faculties mentioned therein. This interpretation I shall afterwards prove to be neither singular nor unsupported.

3. Suppose for a moment that the following statement were true—"the *Instruction* then proves absolutely nothing as

to the fact of the Irish bishops having received these powers from Propaganda;”¹ what would follow? It should follow, we are told, that the Irish bishops do not in reality possess these powers. But is such an inference not quite as illogical as that from *posse* to *esse*, which has been charged to my account? If a certain document does not contain a certain statement, then no other document contains it! or, if a certain individual has wrongly interpreted a certain document, and has used this false interpretation in support of a certain doctrine, the doctrine also must be false, because supported by unsound argument! Granting it proved that this *Instruction* not only does not support my contention, but that it is a base forgery, it would still remain to be proved that the Living Rosary in missionary countries is entirely dependent for its valid constitution on the superiors of the Dominican Order. But all that has been yet attempted—and with what success we shall soon see—is to show that this *Instruction* does not prove that the Irish bishops have received the extraordinary powers claimed for them. Not yet, therefore, are we “in possession of the *fact*, viz., that the Dominican Provincial in Ireland, and he alone, is the legitimate superior of the Living Rosary sodality.”

4. I may remark, too, that I did not confine myself to proving that only the Irish bishops possess—in the sense already explained—these powers. What I did prove was that bishops in countries under the care of Propaganda possess them, and the particular proposition regarding Ireland is only an inference from this. The inference, it will be admitted, is a very legitimate one, unless it can be shown that Ireland does not receive the same generous treatment in this respect as other missionary countries. And that we are not treated differently, I inferred from the fact that during the thirteen or fourteen years that have elapsed since the issuing of the brief, *Quod jure haereditario*, no intimation, public or private, has been given to the priests of Ireland by their immediate superiors of any change having been made in the constitution of the sodality of the Living Rosary.

Since, then, my *thesis* was general and included all

¹ I. E. RECORD, Feb. 1891, page 137.

missionary countries, and since my arguments have been questioned, I am bound to conclude that the contention on the other side, is that in no missionary country—unless, perhaps, it be “the wilds of Borneo or Patagonia”—have the bishops, or can they have, independent powers to establish a sodality of the Living Rosary, but must go or send, each time one is to be established, to the nearest Dominican Provincial. Further on I shall show how unwarranted this conclusion is.

5. I am accused of the grave dialectical sin of violating the rule of syllogisms, which strictly forbids the conclusion to contain more than the premises; in other words, I have at one bound, it is said, gone from *posse* to *esse*. Now, as a matter of fact, the section of the *Instruction*, from which I am accused of having drawn the inference that our bishops have received certain powers from Propaganda, and of having thereby committed the sin in question, is not the one from which I drew this inference at all. I quoted that section—the first—for no other reason than that it contained a concise and complete enumeration of the powers usually conferred on bishops by Propaganda. The inference—namely, that bishops in missionary countries receive these powers—I drew from the second and third sections, and it is surprising how anyone can have thought otherwise. I am not, therefore, the dialectical delinquent I have been made to seem.

Having shown that I am innocent of the charge of violating one of the canons of argumentation, I shall show that my accuser himself has made a rather serious slip in this respect. Referring to a statement made in the I. E. RECORD for October last, to the effect that the brief of 1877 has been hitherto unheard of by most priests, he says: “It is not right, then, to say that the brief of 1877 is hitherto unheard of by most priests.” “For,” he adds further down, “the brief of 1877 has been heard of by a great many priests.” Therefore, “a great many” and “most” are contradictories; and it is not true to say that most of the people of Ireland are Catholics, because a great many are Protestants!

Having now disposed of these preliminary matters, I shall at once proceed to set forth my reasons for holding, that in missionary countries the Dominican Provincial is not the sole legitimate source of authority over the Living Rosary sodality, and that the bishops of those countries in their respective dioceses, can, without any reference to the Dominican Provincial, empower their priests to establish and carry on this sodality, unless in those particular parishes¹ in which a house of the Dominican Order exists. These reasons or arguments are derived from two sources—(a) from the *Instruction* so often referred to, and (b) from the specific faculties granted to various missionary countries.

With regard to the *Instruction* I feel convinced that the bare text, without note or comment, is enough to establish my position to the satisfaction of anyone who will read it with unprejudiced mind. But, in order to prevent further cavil, I shall briefly point out the meaning of each section, and, as I take it for granted that my readers understand Latin, I shall give them the original text—

“EX SECRETARIA S. CONGREGATIONIS DE PROPAGANDA FIDE.

“*Romae die Iunii ann. 1889.*

“ILLME. AC REYME. DOMINE.

“Sacrae huic Fidei Propagandae Congregationi dudum iam antea actis temporibus auctoritas per Summos Pontifices facta fuerat tribuendi Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Vicariis, et Praefectis Apostolicis aliisque Missionum Moderatoribus ab eadem S. Congregatione dependentibus, facultatem erigendi in locis sibi subiectis quascumque pias Sodalitates a S. Sede adprobatas, iisque adscribendi utriusque sexus christifideles, ac benedicendi coronas et scapularia earundem sodalitatum propria, cum applicatione omnium Indulgentiarum, quas Summi Pontifices praedictis Sodalitatibus, coronis et scapularibus impertiti sunt.

“Verum postquam per Decretum Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum editum die 16 Iulii anno 1887, constitutum est quod Confraternitates SSmae. Trinitatis, B. M. V. a Monte Carmelo, et septem Dolorum, ne eaedem erigerentur nisi requisitis antea et obtentis a respectivorum Ordinum Superioribus pro tempore existentibus literis facultativis pro earundem erectione, a nonnullis dubitatum est num praedictum decretum loca etiam Missionum respiceret, in quibus plura rerum adiuncta prohibent quominus quae per illud praecipuntur commode possint executioni mandari.”

¹ *Decr. Authentica*, n. 392.

The first paragraph of this section of the *Instruction* enumerates the powers which the Congregation of Propaganda has authority to confer on bishops under its care. And that this authority, with which the Congregation is endowed, is not permitted to lie dormant, but is exercised in favour of missionary countries generally, the second paragraph makes abundantly evident. For in this paragraph it is stated that a doubt was excited in some minds by the publication, in 1887, of a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences. Now, who were they whose doubts were excited? Why did they doubt? Was it in the minds of the members of the Congregation of Propaganda that these doubts arose as to whether a decree of a sister congregation did or did not curtail their powers? Certainly not. It is not usual, I would imagine, for Roman congregations to make public their doubts or difficulties. Besides what purpose would it serve? They who were moved to doubt by the decree of 1887 were the bishops and vicars-apostolic in missionary countries.

And why did they doubt? Because the Congregation of Indulgences withdrew from bishops power to establish certain confraternities. But if they were not conscious that their faculties with respect to confraternities were uncommon and extraordinary, what ground had they for doubting that they were included in a general decree? They were conscious, however, that the Congregation of Propaganda had communicated to them its extensive faculties; and, therefore, they doubted whether the decree of 1887 extended to them.

This interpretation of this section agrees, or rather is identical, with that given by the learned editor of the *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*, M. Planchard, Vicar-General of Angoulême :—

“On the appearance of the decree of 1887 [he writes] . . . bishops and vicars-apostolic, furnished with powers to erect these confraternities in virtue of formulas from Propaganda, were troubled, and requested the Holy See to declare whether the decree extended to missionary countries.”

“À l'apparition du Décret du 16 Juillet. 1887 . . . les Evêques et les Vicaires Apostoliques, munis du pouvoir d'eriger

ces Confréries en vertu des Formules de la Propagande, se sont émus, et ont demandé au Saint Siège si le Décret s'étendait jusqu' aux pays de missions." (Tome xxi., page 488.)

Some time ago I wrote to M. Planchard, asking on what authority he made this and other statements regarding the present *Instruction*. He promptly replied: "*Ab ipsa S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide, mediante agente curiae episcopalis Engolismensis in Urbe expostulavi et obtinui,*" &c.

One word more about this section. The following words are worthy of attention. . . . *dubitatum est num prædictum decretum loca etiam Missionum respiceret.* The doubt therefore was, not whether the decree affected this or that particular missionary country, but whether it affected missionary countries in general. No doubt an attempt has been made to show that the succeeding clause, "*in quibus,*" &c., restricts the general expression, *loca missionum*, to places such as "the wilds of Borneo or Patagonia." But it is as clear as noon-day that the relative clause is explanatory and not restrictive; were it restrictive, the antecedent would not be *loca* simply, but *ea loca*.

The meaning of this section, then, is that the bishops, &c., in missionary countries, possessing the extensive faculties bestowed on them by Propaganda, and enumerated in the first paragraph, and doubting whether they were affected by the decree of 1887, petitioned Propaganda to have their doubts solved.

Quapropter ad omnem ambiguitatem e medio tollendam SSms. D. N. Leo Pp. XIII in audientia diei 15 superioris mensis Decembris a R. P. D. Secretario prædictae S. Congregationis Indulgentiarum et SS. Reliquiarum habita, declarare benigne dignatus est Sacrum hoc Consilium Propagandae Fidei eisdem facultatibus quoad erectionem Confraternitatum a S. Sede approbatarum uti prosequi posse, quas ante promulgationem prædicti Decreti diei 16 Iulii anno 1887 habebat. In Audientia vero diei 31 superioris mensis Martii habita ab infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario eadem Sanctitas Sua insuper iussit ut per hanc S. Congregationem, non obstante quavis praevia S. Sedis prohibitione, libera facultas tribui possit erigendi etiam Confraternitates SSmi. Rosarii, ita tamen ut fideles iis adscripta non lucrentur nisi indulgentias communiter concessas omnibus in genere Confraternitatibus canonice erectis."

In this section we are told what action Propaganda took to remove the doubts of the petitioners, and with what result. The result is a declaration from the Holy Father that the powers of the Congregation, and consequently of the bishops whose powers are derived from the Congregation, remain unaffected by the decree of 1887. It is true that only the powers of the Congregation itself are expressly mentioned. But the reason is evident.

There is question here of faculties already granted by Propaganda for five, seven, or ten years. These faculties depend for their validity on the authority of Propaganda to grant them. If that authority ceased with regard to any particular portion of these faculties, the bishops could not thenceforward use that portion validly. Here, then, the Congregation makes known to the bishops that its authority is not in any way affected by the decree which excited their doubts, and, as a consequence, that they (the bishops) can still validly exercise their faculties for the erection, &c., of all confraternities and sodalities approved of by the Holy See. And, as the doubt, as we have just seen, regarded all missionary countries, so do the solution of the doubt and the assurance of the Congregation.

Here, again, I am able to support my interpretation by extrinsic and impartial authority. In addition to the learned writer, already quoted, I can bring forward a witness whose right to be heard on this subject no one can question, as he is, without doubt, the best living authority on all matters connected with confraternities, sodalities, indulgences, &c. I speak of Father Beringer, S.J., Consultor of the Congregation of Indulgences. In a learned work on indulgences, bearing the approval of the above Congregation, this author says—(I quote from the French translation published in 1890, and, like the original, approved of in the most formal manner by the Congregation of Indulgences) :—

“ With regard to missionary bishops who depend immediately on the Propaganda, the Holy Father, in an audience of December 15, 1888, declared that they can still use, as in the past, the very extensive powers communicated to them by the Congregation of Propaganda : that is to say, *in the seat of their missions they*

*have faculties to erect and to enrich with their respective indulgences all confraternities recognised and approved of by the Holy See."*¹

Father Beringer, be it remarked, uses the most general terms—*évêques missionnaires*—in speaking of those in favour of whom this declaration was made by the Holy Father. He does not say that it has been made only to bishops "in the wilds of Borneo or Patagonia, where either there are no religious orders existing, or where communication with the centre of authority would be extremely difficult, if not impossible;" but roundly asserts that it has been made to "missionary bishops," on the general condition, of course, that they make due application. And what is the purport of the declaration? Nothing less than that they can erect and enrich with their respective indulgences all confraternities approved of by the Holy See. After this is it not a little vexatious to hear it solemnly proclaimed that bishops in missionary countries neither have, nor can procure, the power to establish the very unimportant sodality of the Living Rosary?

"Moderatores igitur Missionum huic Sacrae Congregationi Fidei Propagandae subiecti facultates ab eadem sibi faciendas quoad omnium Confraternitatum erectionem, fidelium in eadem adgregationem, scapularium benedictionem et indulgentiarum applicationem, valide et licite exercere se posse sciant quin a quopiam cuiusvis Regularis Ordinis Moderatore veniam aut assensum expetere aut obtinere antea teneantur. Quoad Confraternitates SSmi. Rosarii tamen, si velint eas ita constitutas ut fruantur etiam peculiaribus illis indulgentiis, quae competunt Confraternitatibus erectis auctoritate Magistri Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum, tunc ad eum recursum habeant oportet."

About this section it is superfluous to say a single word. The preceding section, as we have seen, confirmed missionary bishops in the exercise of their faculties; the present

¹ "Relativement aux évêques missionnaires qui dépendent immédiatement de la Propagande, le Saint Père dans son audience du 15 Décembre 1888' a déclaré qu'ils peuvent encore user, comme par le passé, des pouvoirs très étendus que la S. Congregation de la Propagande leur communique, c'est-à-dire dans le ressort de leurs missions ils ont la faculté d'ériger et d'enrichir de leurs Indulgences respectives toutes les confréries reconnues et approuvées par le Saint-Siège."—(Tome 2, page 52, note.)

assures them, that when the time comes for having their faculties renewed, they shall receive the same ample unrestricted faculties as heretofore. Hence, *faciendas*—"the gerundive participle," we are told "employed for lack of a future passive." Here again the terms employed are as general as they can be, "*moderatores igitur missionum*"—not a word here of "the wilds of Borneo, or Patagonia"—the superiors of missions, that is, the bishops and vicars-apostolic in all missionary countries, are to understand, &c. From the faculties here mentioned only one single confraternity—the *Confraternity* of the Rosary—is excepted, and that only partially. Since, therefore, the *sodality* of the Living Rosary is not excepted by the Congregation, is it not a little presumptuous on the part of a private individual, to except it, and to endeavour to lead the public in this and other missionary countries to believe that these same *moderatores missionum* have no power whatsoever over it?

Here is what M. Planchard, a writer already quoted, says on the preceding and present sections of the *Instruction*:—

"It appears to us that the reply of the Sacred Congregation contains two parts—1. With regard to the faculties already received and granted for a regular time (five or ten years), the Congregation declares that the powers remain, notwithstanding the decree, and that those who have received them can continue to exercise them in complete security until the expiration of the time. It is to be remarked that this declaration was made, not because it was absolutely necessary, but *ad tollendam omnem ambiguitatem*. 2. After the expiration of existing faculties the Congregation assures us that the same faculties will be continued."¹

Now, will anyone say that "the *Instruction* proves absolutely nothing as to the fact of the Irish bishops having received these powers from Propaganda?" Unless it be denied that the Irish bishops are *moderatores missionum*, the *Instruction* would seem to prove most conclusively that they have these powers.

But arguments if possible more conclusive and more

¹ *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, loc. cit. The remaining portion of the *Instruction*, having no direct bearing on the present question, I omit it.

convincing still remain. The contention on the other side, as I have again and again emphasized, must be, if there be any logic in the arguments used, that the bishops in any missionary country, which can boast of a more advanced civilization than "the wilds of Borneo or Patagonia," need not hope to receive from Propaganda the faculties which I have claimed for missionary bishops generally; and above all, the faculties for establishing the sodality of the Living Rosary. Now, will it be believed that in the ordinary formula given to bishops in such comparatively civilized countries as England and Scotland the eleventh section runs as follows?—

"Erigendi intra fines suae Dioecesis, exceptis locis ubi adsunt regulares ex privilegio sui ordinis ejusmodi facultates gaudentes, quascunque pias Sodalitates a S. Sede approbatas, iisque sive per se, sive per presbyteros a se delegandos adscribendi utriusque sexus fideles ac benedicendi coronas et scapularia earundem Sodalitatum propriam cum applicatione omnium Indulgentiarum quas summi Pontifices praedictis Sodalitatibus coronis et Scapularibus impertiti sunt."

More extensive faculties than these could not be given. Yet in England and Scotland there are religious orders—there are Dominicans, and even a Provincial—and "communication with the centre of authority is neither quite impossible, nor extremely difficult." And the English bishops actually exercise these faculties, and actually establish the Living Rosary without asking permission of the English Provincial of the Dominican Order, and no prophet has yet arisen to warn them of their error.

New Zealand, too, with its archbishops and bishops, and its several religious orders is not quite sunk in the depths of barbarism. Yet, behold the faculties granted to its *moderatores missionum* :—

"Erigendi Confraternitates Sanctissimi Rosarii, et Scapularis B.M.V. SSmi. Cordis Jesu, Propagationis Fidei nec non alias Confraternitates pietatis ab Apostolica Sede jam approbatas cum applicatione omnium et singularum Indulgentiarum et privilegiorum quae summi Pontifices praedictis Confraternitatibus impertiti sunt."

I have also before me copies of the powers regarding confraternities &c., granted to the bishops of other missionary

countries, and, though not all expressed in the same terms, all are equally extensive. From this fact, and from the tenor of the *Instruction*, I conclude that the Congregation of Propaganda is accustomed to give the same faculties in this particular matter to all bishops under its care. And that all bishops under the care of Propaganda can exercise the powers communicated to them by that Congregation without reference to any religious order whatsoever, the oft-quoted *Instruction* unmistakably declares, no matter what interpretation of it we adopt.

I have now proved the general proposition that bishops in missionary countries can establish confraternities and sodalities approved of by the Holy See without reference to religious orders. Consequently, they can establish the sodality of the Living Rosary without permission from the Provincial or other members of the Dominican Order. Ireland is a missionary country. Therefore, the Irish bishops can establish the sodality of the Living Rosary without reference to the Irish Dominican Provincial; therefore, too, the legitimate source of authority over the Living Rosary in Ireland does not reside in the Irish Dominican Provincial alone. But it may be argued that the Irish bishops do not receive the same treatment from Propaganda in this respect as the other missionary bishops. That, I admit, is not impossible; but it has yet to be proved; and in the face of the facts already brought forward, it will be very difficult to prove it. Why they should receive less extensive powers than the bishops of England, for instance, is not easy to see.

It has been said that the faculties granted by Propaganda to at least one Irish bishop, "are the very same that priests get (though with the right to delegate) for blessing beads, enrolling in confraternities, &c." Now admitting, for the sake of argument, that the faculties granted to this particular bishop are the same as are usually given to Irish bishops, still there is not the slightest doubt, that even with these faculties, they are able to empower their priests to establish the sodality of the Living Rosary, to bless beads for the members, and to enable them to gain all the indul-

gences granted by the Supreme Pontiffs to this sodality, and all without reference to the Irish Dominican Provincial. Here is a copy of the faculties granted to priests by Propaganda:—

“SSmus. Dnus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII. referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secrio R. . . facultatem benigne concessit, de consensu tamen Ordinarii, et exceptis locis, ubi adsunt Regulares ex privilegio sui Ordinis eiusmodi facultate gaudentes, ad quinquennium adscribendi utriusque sexus fideles Confraternitatibus a S. Sede approbatis ac benedicendi Coronas et Scapularia earundem Sodalitatum propria, eaque fidelibus imponendi, cum applicatione omnium et singularum Indulgentiarum et Privilegiorum, quae Summi Pontifices memoratis Confraternitatibus impertiti sunt, dummodo non adscribantur nisi Fideles qui praesentes sint in loco adscriptionis.”

When, along with the powers mentioned in this formula, bishops receive power to sub-delegate, they can, be it remarked, empower their priests to enrol members in any confraternity or sodality approved of by the Holy See, and to bless beads, &c., and communicate indulgences. But any priest who can validly enrol members, and do all the other things here mentioned, is *eo ipso* a Director of the particular confraternity for which he has received delegation from his bishop. It follows, then, that even with these faculties, Irish bishops can appoint their priests' Directors of the Living Rosary sodality. And a Director appointed by legitimate authority can establish the sodality, can appoint *Zelatores* and *Zelatrices*, can bless beads, and enable the members to gain all the indulgences. Therefore, again, Irish bishops can empower their priests to establish and carry on the sodality of the Living Rosary. And, as their powers, according to the *Instruction*, are independent of all religious orders, it follows that neither the Irish bishops, nor the priests delegated by them, have to apply to the Irish Dominican Provincial for license to establish the sodality of the Living Rosary.

Having now disposed of the main question raised by the publication of these articles on the Living Rosary, I shall take no further notice of any side issues already raised, or

that may hereafter be raised. I have established my position by arguments absolutely unanswerable, and have put it beyond the pale of doubt or cavil, that bishops in missionary countries have power to establish, and to appoint their priests to establish the sodality of the Living Rosary in every parish in their respective dioceses in which a Dominican convent does not exist. Therefore, do I repeat, that "these articles on the Living Rosary, so far as they concern this country, or any country subject to the Propaganda, might as well never have been written; and their teaching need not excite the least uneasiness or anxiety regarding the constitution or working of his Living Rosary sodality in the mind of any priest in any missionary country."¹

D. O'LOAN.

Theological Questions.

QUESTIONS ABOUT FASTING.—THE USE OF LARD AND DRIPPING.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly answer the following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD? 1st. Is it lawful on all fast days to use butter; and, if so, how much may be used—I mean at the morning collation? 2nd. Is it lawful for those bound to fast to use oatmeal food with milk for the collation; and, if so, may a little bread and milk be taken also at the same collation? Milk is allowed only by custom in tea, but since permission has been given to use butter, perhaps the milk may also be allowed with the oatmeal food. An answer will oblige, yours faithfully,

"A CONSTANT READER."

1. Butter may be used at the collation on all fast days, with the exception, of course, of black fast days. And as regards the quantity which may be taken, nothing has been specially defined. But we may state in a general way, that butter may be used as an accompaniment with the morning

¹ I. E. RECORD, third series, vol. xi., page 945.

collation on fast days, as it is used with breakfast on non-fasting days throughout the year.

2. "Is it lawful for those bound to fast to use oatmeal food with milk for the collation?" The quantity and quality of food which may be taken at the collation are always determined by custom. Hence we think there is no difficulty about allowing oatmeal food at the collation; because, even if it has not custom to sanction it *in propria forma*, it is so much akin to the food generally used at the collation on fast days, that it may be said to be at least virtually sanctioned by custom. Then, as regards the quantity that may be taken, we may take as our standard the quantity which theologians permit of bread cooked with water and oil. Therefore—(a) a person is not restricted to eight ounces of the boiled meal, which includes, of course, meal and water; (b) he cannot take eight ounces of meal independently of the water with which it is boiled; but (c) he may take four or five ounces of raw meal in its subsequent boiled state, without at all computing the water. We think' also that, as butter is allowed as a condiment with bread, so a little milk may be used by those who prefer boiled meal for their morning collation. But as milk is always treated as food, the quantity of milk taken with boiled meal must be included in the eight ounces permitted at the collation.

3. Of course, bread may also be taken, provided that the bread, meal, and milk do not exceed the quantity of food permitted to fasting persons.

4. Another correspondent asks, "whether the faithful may have any hesitation to avail themselves of the privilege granted in some dioceses, of using *lard* or *dripping* as a condiment on all days during the coming Lent, except Ash-Wednesday, Spy-Wednesday, and Good Friday?"

In reply we would say—(a) that the Irish bishops have power to allow the use of lard and dripping to their subjects;¹ (b) that the bishops may restrict the dispensation to the use of lard; (c) that wherever the bishops give permission for both, the faithful may use both; (d) that

¹ I. E. RECORD, third series, vol. ii. (1881), pp. 168, 169.

where a bishop allows the use of *lard* only, it must be understood of swine lard only, and not of the fat of other animals, unless local custom has given a wide meaning to the word; hence in such a diocese dripping may not be used; (e) finally, wherever Spy-Wednesday is not a black fast day, the privilege extends to that day also.

D. COGHLAN.

[We have received a letter from *Alter Sacerdos*, calling in question our decision in a case of clandestinity given in the January Number. We shall publish in our next issue our correspondent's letter with a reply. We are also obliged to hold over other interesting questions, owing to pressure on our space, till next number.—ED. I. E. R.]

Correspondence.

“THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN MACHALE, BY THE RIGHT REV. BERNARD O'REILLY.”—A PROTEST.

“VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—The January publication of the I. E. RECORD contains an able and eloquent critique on the *Life and Times and Correspondence of John MacHale*, the late illustrious Archbishop of Tuam, by Right Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, D.D.

“It is to be regretted that Dr. O'Reilly allowed himself to be made the medium of publishing over his name, and perpetuating in an abiding form—thus taking on himself the full responsibility—some gross slanders on living prelates, whose line of conduct in the matters referred to is certainly above reproach.

“Among the several slanders published by him, there is one of a very damaging character relating to his Grace's successor in the See of Tuam.

“In vol. ii., p. 626, it is stated, that on the occasion of the late Archbishop's jubilee, 5th June, 1885, the present archbishop—then bishop of Galway—‘held a spiritual retreat of his clergy on the days of the jubilee, thus preventing them from joining in the solemn celebration with the clergy of the province,’ of whom but comparatively few were present at all. This having been maliciously published in some hostile journals at the time, the good bishop of Kildare, who kindly conducted the retreat of the clergy, at once generously offered to contradict it; but was prevented

by the bishop of Galway, who looked on it at the time as a mere ephemeral matter, hardly worth attending to.

"Now, however, as the slander is repeated in an enduring form, sanctioned by the name of Dr. O'Reilly, it is due to historical accuracy and the vindication of character, that the truth should be fully stated, as is done in the subjoined letter :—

"ST. JOSEPH'S RETREAT, BLACKROCK, CO. DUBLIN,
January 20, 1891.

"MY DEAR LORD,—I remember the slander to which your Grace has drawn my attention, in your letter which followed me from Tullow.

"As you justly aver, the time arranged for the retreat of your clergy was six months before the celebration of the jubilee of your lamented and illustrious predecessor, when neither of us had any idea of the time when the jubilee was to be celebrated. Hence, the base slander that your Grace fixed the time of the retreat for the purpose of preventing your clergy from assisting at the celebration of the jubilee.

"Had your Grace allowed me, as I offered at the time, to contradict this gross calumny, you might have been spared the pain of finding it repeated in Dr. O'Reilly's *Life and Times of Dr. MacHale*.

"As an able critic has well remarked, it is to be regretted that some private and confidential correspondence has been published in a work which I take for granted was intended by its author for the edification of the public. Wishing your Grace every blessing from above, I remain, yours devotedly,

"✠ JAMES LYNCH."

"Dr. O'Reilly would better consult for the memory and reputation of the great and illustrious archbishop, by omitting all allusion to the appointment of a coadjutor. He could afford to allow several reminiscences regarding it to lie dormant. The least we should expect from a priest, not to speak of an impartial historian, would be, to show a due regard for the golden maxim, *audi alteram partem*, before committing to paper what, on due inquiry, he would find to be gross slanders.

"Other similar calumnies shall at present be left unnoticed, owing to the sources from which they emanated. But, should the occasion arise, there are at hand ample materials, and the most convincing written evidences to confute them.

"✠ JOHN MACEVILLY,

"Archbishop of Tuam.

"ST. JARLATH'S,
January 25, 1891."

Notices of Books.

PRINCIPLES OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND BIOLOGY. By Rev. T. Hughes, S.J. Second Edition. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

A FARMER when dying bade his sons delve industriously for a treasure concealed in his fields. Though they found not the sought-for treasure, their industry was rewarded by a golden harvest from well-tilled acres.

To some such effect did Charles Darwin unconsciously, perhaps, leave his followers and successors in the fields of natural science a secret to be sought for—viz., the far-famed “missing link” in the chain of evolution connecting man with the lower creation. In pursuit of this imaginary treasure precious discoveries have been made in geology and the cognate sciences, but above all in morphology and physiology. The achieved results, especially in the domain of medicine, seem but the early promise of a harvest of discoveries of the most far-reaching beneficence and utility to the human race. Whilst welcoming the noble march of science, and all real human progress, we should not, however, forget the great Master and Author of all, who has said, “My glory I will not give to another.”

Yet such is the perversity of man that the very greatness of the Creator's gifts are contorted into proofs against His existence or His revelation. In the book before us we have a wholesome antidote against such unfounded and fanciful theories, which appeal so confidently to the researches of modern science for proof and for a basis. The author in the course of four lectures discusses, with severe and trenchant logic, the fallacies of Darwinian theories regarding the origin and descent of man, and the changeful doctrines of modern evolutionists. Ensconced in the easy chair of negative criticism, with no thesis to maintain, the lecturer deals out impartial justice alike to the conscious sophist and to the rash speculator.

The fourth lecture on “Cells or Evolution,” read in the light of recent investigations of Schwann, Pasteur, and Koch, is very interesting, and deals ably with the newest and latest developments of physiological science from the author's standpoint.

M. K.

REVELATIONS OF THE SACRED HEART TO BLESSED MARGARET MARY. By Mgr. Bougand. Benziger Bros.

At the present day devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus has become very popular among the faithful, and the literature on the subject has increased enormously within the last half century. Yet we are sure there are few who will regard the present translation of Mgr. Bougand's valuable work as superfluous. Cardinal Manning, Father Faber, Father Dalgairns, and several others have written exhaustively on the subject from some particular point of view; but it is so many-sided that our author has written an octavo volume of four hundred pages without repeating much that is to be found in books already written on the subject.

In eighteen chapters the author deals with a number of very interesting questions hitherto touched but lightly in popular books on the devotion. "The State of the Church in France," "Birth, Childhood, and Youth of Blessed Margaret Mary," "Her Novitiate"—such are the titles of the early chapters, and the subject in each case is treated in a very masterly manner. The story of the youth of the Blessed Margaret Mary supplies most useful and edifying reading—the account of her disposition, weaknesses, temptations, struggles, and final victory. The immediate preparation of her soul for the great work of her life; her extraordinary mortifications; her wonderful spirit of prayer; her exterior trials arising from the prudence or prejudice of her superiors, supply abundant matter for some very interesting chapters.

The chapter headed "The Aurora of the Devotion to the Sacred Heart," treats, as its name implies, of the small beginning and gradual development of the devotion, until the time appointed by God for its public preaching and approbation had come. To many readers this will be the most interesting chapter in the book, for in it the author has collected evidence from the writings of the Fathers, and from relics of early Christian art, to show that devotion to the Sacred Heart was not unknown in the early ages of the Church. The references become more distinct in each succeeding century, until, in the thirteenth, we find St. Gertrude, St. Lutgard, and St. Catherine of Sienna speaking of the advantages of the devotion so clearly that we are surprised it was not then formally approved and preached.

In the remaining chapters the author gives a full account of

the different revelations made to Blessed Margaret Mary; of the assistance given to her by the Jesuit, Father de la Colombière; of her holy death; of the spread of the devotion, and of the blessings derived by the French Church, and the whole Catholic world, from the practice of the devotion.

The work of translation has been admirably done by a Visi-tandine of Baltimore, who has established strong claims on the gratitude of English-speaking Catholics by supplying them with a book containing much that is new on a most important chapter.

SHORT SERMONS ON THE GOSPELS. By Rev. N. Redmond
New York: Pustet & Co. 1890.

IN a compact little volume of two hundred and twenty pages Father Redmond presents us with a course of sermons for the Sundays throughout the year. Written, in the first instance, for the columns of a newspaper, these sermons—short, pithy, and forcible—were well suited to the needs of those who, from one cause or another, had not opportunities of listening to a regular course of instructions. Doctrinal points are discussed with clearness and vigour, and the Scriptural proofs are aptly introduced, and cogently applied.

Exception might be taken to a few forms of expression; for instance, we read in the sermon for Trinity Sunday:—“Following this infallible source we are carried back to the creation of the parents of our race, and we hear, as it were, the Triune God say to His three Divine Persons: ‘Let us make man to our own image and likeness.’” Here the conception is false, for it represents the divine nature as a personality distinct from the three Divine Persons.

The moral teaching is solid and practical, and pleasingly conveyed in appropriate and at times really eloquent language.

The volume will prove useful and instructive reading for all, and may be regarded as a fair standard of what is expected of a missionary priest when he turns to address his people on the Gospel of the Sunday.

M. K.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

APRIL, 1891.

THE SPIRIT AND INFLUENCE OF GOETHE.

IT would be difficult to present, in the limited space which the pages of a monthly review can afford, anything like an adequate picture of the life and character of John Wolfgang Goethe. It would be still less feasible to discuss or examine in detail the nature of the influence which he exercised over his countrymen, and which his example and his works still continue to wield; not alone in Germany, but in many other countries beyond its frontiers. The character of the man is so many-sided, he can be viewed from so many standpoints, examined under so many different aspects, that, however one may endeavour to represent him in miniature, some of his most striking features are sure to be left in the background, or to disappear in the process of bringing others into relief. For it has to be remembered that Goethe was not alone a poet remarkably endowed with the richest gifts of nature; he was also a prose writer of the first rank; he was a naturalist who studied with passion all the phenomena of life and of the exterior world which he professed to regard as the only manifestation of divinity that a reasonable man could acknowledge; he studied the anatomy of the human body with such close attention as to make important discoveries which had hitherto escaped the observation of specialists. In his discussions with Cuvier and Blumenbach he shaped and enunciated the doctrine of evolution, and supported it with arguments of unquestioned originality. As a botanist,

he was the first to broach to the world the theory which, applied by him in detail to plants only, has since been extended by Haeckel and Darwin to all animated nature. In opposition to Sir Isaac Newton he wrote a treatise on colours. He was a lawyer by profession and a statesman on a small scale. He had mastered whilst still young the French language and literature, had gone through the whole curriculum of Latin, which he understood and wrote well, and had made a special study of Greek poetry and Grecian civilization. There was scarcely anything of importance in art or science, in archæology or history, that did not interest him and attract his notice, whether favourable or unfavourable. Though not professionally a philosopher, a well-defined system of philosophy has been extracted from his works. It underlies his thought everywhere, gives the bent and turn to his mind, and is the key to much that is otherwise obscure and almost incomprehensible in his writings. In addition to this, Goethe was a "man of the world" in the most complete and absolute sense of the words. He lived for life's sake, boldly—*resolutely*, as his biographers tell us, and according to his motto:—

"Im Ganzen, Guten, Wahren resolut zu leben!"

but all the while with very little regard for the standard of integrity or for the notions of right and good which had prevailed amongst honourable men in the world before him.

It will thus appear evident that we must confine ourselves here within narrow limits; yet we shall endeavour to condense in a short space as much as may afford an insight into the complex and original character of this author. We shall record to the best of our judgment the merits of his principal works, and the value which Catholics can attach to the labours of his life, and to the results of these labours in his native land and wherever his influence extends.

Of Goethe's private life we do not care much to speak. It is a subject that has but little attractions for a Catholic. It was a career of sensualism restrained only by the very egotism which spurred it on. It was marked by a series of betrayals in the most delicate relations of life, and by a long

list of false and truculent dealings with friends and benefactors, which, in the minds of honest men, have not unreasonably made the name of Goethe synonymous with selfishness, fickleness, and treachery. But we must not dwell too much on this aspect of his life. There are others which afford a more interesting, if not on the whole, to a Catholic, a more pleasant occupation. We must hear his friends and admirers. We must let his works speak for him. We must even be allowed to join from the outset, and within due limits, in the universal admiration for his genius, for the richness and variety of his nature, for his fertility of resource, for his literary skill, for the depth of his insight into the human heart; and above all, for the life, the tunefulness, the soul which he inspired into his works, and which went so far to make them what they have become—the treasures of a nation and the pride of a great people.

And certainly the Germans have placed Goethe on the very highest pedestal in their empire. Whether the necessities of their new position—the requirements of their national pride—may not have had more to do in working up what is called the “Goethe-Cultus” than the subjective merits of the poet, and a genuine popular appreciation of them, is a question which has secured strong opinions on one side and the other. Having conquered the French, and become a great military power, it was to be expected that they should present us with a national poet to match. All things should be in order and proportion, and the interest in the literary hero, which had commenced to flag before the foundation of the new empire, was now revived and redoubled. Dr. Falk, the famous minister of the “May Laws,” made the study of Goethe an essential part of the national education. A man of learning and ability was found in the person of Professor Hermann Grimm, of Berlin University, to direct the attention of the people to the undiscovered beauties that lay hid in their midst. National modesty did not overburden the professor; for in speaking of *Faust* he tells us that:—“The career of this, the greatest work of the greatest poet of all times and of all peoples has but just begun, and we have been making only the first attempts at drawing forth

its contents." There is another observation of this same professor to which we, at least, are inclined to attach more weight; it is to the effect that:—"Since the days of Luther, no poet, no thinker, has exercised an influence so deep or in so many directions over four successive generations of his countrymen as Goethe."¹

The part that circumstances had in preparing the way for this extraordinary influence, and in pressing it forward once its reality was felt, must not, of course, be left out of sight; but the fact remains; and it is vouched for to us by the unsuspected testimony of one who is, on the whole, perhaps, the most adverse critic that has ever taken Goethe in hands. This learned Jesuit and most recent German biographer of the poet, Father Alexander Baumgartner, admits in sadness the universality of his influence:—

"His works [he says] circulate everywhere; in cheap class books and editions for the people, in fine library volumes, in richly-bound and illustrated drawing-room folios, in special 'editions de luxe,' made up for the gratification of princes and book-fanciers. His songs are sung, his dramas played, his heroes and heroines, himself and his troop of wordly companions, exhibited in the windows and paraded in the streets. Passing under the guise of a great poet and classical writer, presented with the halo of national glory, Goethe has an entrance everywhere, finds his way into every circle of life, and, on account of the charms of his style and the beauty of his language, produces an effect upon every heart."²

Nor, as we have stated, is this influence confined to Germany alone. Since Napoleon Bonaparte carried *Werther* with him to Egypt, and proclaimed that he had read it seven times, Goethe has been, if not a favourite author, at all events the object of close and attentive study with the French people. The recent works of MM. Schérer, Marmier, and Caro, prove that the interest in the German poet is by no means on the decline in France. Of these, M. Caro's work, *La Philosophie de Goethe*, is, by far the most important. We can only indicate here the

¹ Vorlesungen. Berlin, 1877.

² Goethe, *Sein Leben und Seine, Werke*, vol. iii., page 435.

spirit in which it is written, which may be judged from these concluding words :—

“If our readers have sometimes found us too indulgent towards Goethe in spite of the metaphysics which condemn his principles, and in spite of the logic which leaves no room for sentiment, we shall bear the reproach lightly. We scarcely need apologize for having shown ourselves sympathetic and respectful before that universality of genius which endeavoured to cope with the universality of things, and which, even though it failed, has left, nevertheless, on the ruins of its effort and on every fragment of its thought, the seal of undoubted greatness.”¹

But we are still more concerned as to how Goethe fared in these countries, and especially amongst the great array of literary men who flourished in the United Kingdom in the early part of this century. Sir Walter Scott came under his influence at the very outset of his career, for his first literary effort was a translation of Goethe's drama, *Götz von Berlichingen*. We shall afterwards see what a deep impression this German drama produced on Sir Walter's mind, and to what use he turned it in subsequent years. Lord Byron also was not slow to do homage to the poet of Weimar. To him he dedicates three of his tragedies—*Sardinapolis*, *Werner*, and *Marino Faliero*. He offers him *Sardinapolis* as the homage of “a literary vassal to his liege lord—the first of existing writers who has created the literature of his own country and done honour to that of Europe;” whilst in the letter which accompanies *Marino Faliero*, he speaks of him as of a man “who for half a century has led the literature of a great nation, and will go down to posterity as the first literary character of his age.” But far greater than the compliment of words is the compliment of imitation, and this Lord Byron fully pays to Goethe “like a vassal to his liege lord” in the *Childe Harold*, in *Manfred*, and perhaps still more strikingly in the *Bride of Abydos*, which opens with an undisguised imitation of Mignon's song in *Wilhelm Meister*,

“Kennst du das Land wo die citronen blühn.”

Moore, who so frequently mentions his name in the *Life of*

¹ *La Philosophie de Goethe*, par. E. Caro, page 327.

Lord Byron, "can only speak of him as *the illustrious Goethe*." Southey, Lockhart, Wordsworth, and Procter send him birthday presents as an acknowledgment of his genius, of their indebtedness to him as their "spiritual teacher," and "in order that," as their joint address has it, "whilst the venerable man still lives amongst us some memorial of the gratitude we owe him, and think the world owes him, should not be wanting."¹ Thackeray writes to his friend, George Henry Lewes, how in his young days he was admitted into the literary circles of Weimar, and how when he returns there after an absence of three and twenty years he finds the "grand old Goethe, the patriarch of letters, serene and majestic as ever."² Bulwer Lytton likens him to "a great reflector, which gathers light from every side, condenses and strengthens it, and then sends it out to shine far and wide over the land."³

But with all this the man who really introduced Goethe to English readers, and made him in these countries "a local habitation and a name," was Thomas Carlyle. The old poet of Weimar was still hale and strong in his eightieth year when the "Sage of Chelsea," then in the freshness and vigour of manhood, first sounded his trumpet of Goethe-worship in England :—

"In this distracted time of ours [he wrote], when men have lost their old loadstars and wandered after night-fires and foolish will-o'-wisps, and all things in that shaking of the nations have been tumbled into chaos, the high made low and the low high, and ever and anon some duke of this or king of that is gurgled aloft to float there for moments and fancies himself the governor and head director of it all, and is but the topmost froth-bell, to burst again and mingle with the wild fermenting mass; in this so despicable time, we say, there were nevertheless two great men sent amongst us. The one in the island of St. Helena now sleeps 'dark and lone 'mid the ocean's everlasting lullaby,' the other still rejoices in the blessed sunlight on the banks of the Ilme."⁴

¹ *The Life and Works of Goethe*, by George Henry Lewes, page 560.

² Lewes's *Life of Goethe*, page 563.

Caxtonia, pp. 233, 234.

⁴ Carlyle's *Miscellanies*, vol. iii., page 329.

Carlyle's whole estimate of Goethe is pitched in this high key. He regards him as

"The strong man of his time—a clear and universal man—one who in his universality as thinker, singer, worker, lived a life of antique nobleness under new conditions; and in so living was alone in Europe; the foremost whom others are to learn from and follow. The goal of manhood which he attained, we too in our degree have to aim at. Of him, with a feeling such as can be due to no other man, it may be said, *vixit vivit.*"¹

If admiration for Goethe expressed itself thus profusely and unreservedly in times so different from ours, it was, surely, not in the days of positivism and agnosticism openly professed and strenuously propagated that his star was to wane. On the contrary: this is the world in which the poet is truly at home, and his are the writings in which its votaries heartily rejoice. He was made for them, and they for him. As Dante is the philosophic poet of Christianity and Catholicism, so Goethe is regarded as the shining light of what is called "modern civilization," with its pagan theories, its sceptical mind, its corrupt morality. It is, therefore, no surprise to us to find Mr. Mathew Arnold speak of him as "the clearest, largest, most helpful of modern thinkers;" an author who "in the width, depth, and richness of his criticism of life surpasses all modern men."² And, taking for granted what we know, we find it, perhaps, even still more in the nature of things that Mr. John Morley should have "bent the knee to Baal," and made his psalm of life out of one of Goethe's lyrics. There is something so beautifully vague, admitting of such a wide domain of moral latitude, in the grand outlines of conduct which the poet traces that no one can wonder when he finds their author accepted as the prophet of this novel creed:—

"By laws that are iron,
Grand and eternal,
We all must accomplish
Our cycle of living."

¹ *Miscellanies*, vol. iv., page 260.

² *Mixed Essays*, by Mathew Arnold, page 311.

What a comforting doctrine to think that we are the creatures of these eternal and unchanging laws; that no matter how our thoughts may vary, no matter how our surroundings may be recast, there is yet something eternal in us, not ourselves, "that makes for righteousness," that leads us on unerringly to our destiny; that we need only abandon ourselves to the daily task:—

" Like a star
That maketh not haste,
That taketh not rest,
Each one fulfilling
His God-given hest!"¹

and that all in the end must be *justly* regulated, since nature evolves for ever her compensating economy. It was one of those enthusiastic admirers of Goethe who said that for depth of thought and significance of moral teaching his equal can be found only in the Hebrew Bible. Considering how opposed was Goethe to all supernatural revelation, the contrast is a curious one and betrays a strange attitude of mind. Thoughts that have a real echo in the heart of man, and poetic touches that make the inmost fibres of his nature vibrate, there are in Goethe in abundance; but when it comes to a matter of fundamental belief or of moral teaching, we must be excused if we can discover nothing in the many works of Goethe to remind us of the Hebrew Bible, not to speak of the Greek Testament. But we must not anticipate.

The two earliest productions of Goethe were *Götz von Berlichingen* and *Werther*—a drama or a dramatized chronicle and a novel. These first-fruits of the poet's endeavour are now ranked amongst his minor works, yet they are regarded by many writers as the double source from which flowed two mighty streams—the literature of feudalism and romance,

¹ "God-given hest," which we find in all the English renderings, is not accurate. The original runs:—

" Wie das Gestirn
Ohne Hast,
Aber ohne Rast
Drehe sich jeder
Um die eigne Last."

as represented by Sir Walter Scott and Manzoni, and the literature of passion and sentiment, represented by Lord Byron, Lamartine, and Alfred de Musset.

Gottfried von Berlichingen, surnamed of the Iron Hand, was a famous predatory Burgrave of the sixteenth century, one of the last remnants of the turbulent and lawless race of feudal barons whose personal prowess often shed the lustre of romance over acts of plunder and brigandage. This grim old knight waged unceasing war on his neighbours. He was a loyal and trusty servant of the Emperor Maximilian, but in the intervals of his imperial service he made many a raid and pillaging excursion on his own account.¹ The bishops of Bamberg and Mainz were obliged to arm their followers against his unscrupulous attacks; and sieges of castles, skirmishes in the open field "trenches, tents, and palisades," became the order of the day. Compelled at length by the Emperor to desist from his private warfare, Gottfried spent his last years in retirement, and wrote the chronicle of the events of his time from which Goethe drew the materials for his drama. This was the first result of a prolonged study of Shakespeare; for, as Shakespeare explored for dramatic purposes the chronicles of Holinshed and Saxo-Grammaticus, Goethe founded his first venture on the self-related exploits of the Knight of the Iron Hand. But whilst Shakespeare's dramas undoubtedly suggested to Goethe the dramatization of *Götz*, the work of the German poet is, nevertheless, altogether original and un-Shakesperian in construction, in the delineation of character and in the colour of thought. Goethe's object was not, as Lewes remarks, to write a drama, but rather to dramatize a picture of the times. It is from this point of view that his whole project was conceived and all his colours blended; and it is in this sense also that *Götz* became, as it were, the model and forerunner of so many historical novels and pictures in poetry or prose of deeds and times long past. We have already mentioned in this connection the name of Sir Walter Scott; and recollections of *Marmion*,

¹ See Lewes's *Life of Goethe*, pp. 108-110.

Ivanhoe, *Guy Mannering*, *Rob Roy*, *The Bride of Lammermoor*, spontaneously occur to us. The effect which his first literary effort, the translation of *Götz*, produced on Sir Walter's mind is aptly described by his biographer Lockhart:—

“With what delight must Scott have found the scope and manner of our Elizabethan drama revived on a foreign stage at the call of a real master! With what double delight must he have seen Goethe seizing for the noblest purposes of art, men and modes of life, scenes, incidents, and transactions, all claiming near kindred with those that had from boyhood formed the chosen theme of his own sympathy and reflection! In the baronial robbers of the Rhine, stern, bloody, and rapacious, but frank, generous, and after their manner courteous; in their forays upon each other's domains, the besieged castles, the plundered herds, the captive knights, the browbeaten bishop and the baffled liege lord, who vainly strove to quell all these turbulences, Scott had before him a vivid image of the life of his own and the rival Border clans, familiarized to him by a hundred nameless minstrels. If it be doubtful whether but for *Percy's Reliques* he would ever have thought of editing their ballads, I think it not less so whether, but for Iron-handed *Götz*, it would ever have flashed upon his mind that in the wild traditions which these recorded he had been unconsciously assembling materials for more works of high art than the longest life could serve him to elaborate.”¹

Beyond the literary power and originality of the writer, there is, however, but little in *Götz* to reveal the inward nature of the poet. It is only in a passing way that he betrays even here his life-long and inveterate hatred of Catholicity.

The next work of importance was *Werther*, and the sensation which its first appearance created was felt all over Europe. It was the direct outcome of the state of mind and feeling that prevailed in Germany in these days, and in all other European countries, too, where the authority of the Catholic Church had been shaken off. The protest of Martin Luther was being pushed to its ultimate conclusions. The publication of Lessing's *Nathan*, and the *Fragments of Wolfenbittel*, and the widespread favour with which they were received proved that religion had been wrecked by the

¹ Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, vol. i., page 296.

storm to its very roots. Whilst the last embers of faith were dying out in the Protestant world around him, Goethe was not a mere onlooker. He had his share in what was being done. The German unbeliever thought religion a superfluity. He admitted, indeed, that for the lower classes, and even for governments, it had still some value. It was a great sanction for civil morality, and of considerable use for keeping society in order—at least the ignorant and uneducated, who have not the feeling of honour and duty in full degree; but for the educated, thinking classes the old Christian faith was a reality no longer. They did not scoff at it and mock it with the fiendish malice of Voltaire. They were more refined in their methods. They displayed great learning, took great pains with their arguments; were sometimes, indeed, inclined to levity and sarcasm; but were, on the whole, grave and polite in their irreligion. But the work of the destroyer must end somewhere. The charm of novelty soon vanished from his undertaking, and left the heart of the society he had sought to fascinate empty and dissatisfied, robbed of its mainstay, seeking its good in dulled senses and outward vanity. The result can be imagined. The harmony of life was lost. There was once more something incomplete and unintelligible in existence which no philosophic theory could account for. The struggles of life, the changes of fortune, suffering, and death—all of which fit in so naturally in the Christian system—became what they were to the Greeks of old—puzzles and enigmas. No wonder the cry of Empedocles should have been re-echoed in this new paganism.¹

The sickly sentimentalism which grew up out of these new conditions, and by whose agency, strangely enough, Schopenhauer and Hartmann have swayed so large a section of the most military people in Europe, was then in chaos and confusion. It has since become a philosophic system; not, indeed, formulated and expressed in rules and principles, but jangled together in helpless reflections and tearful aphorisms.

¹Ω πόποι, ὦ δειλὸν θνητῶν γένος, ὦ δυσάνολθον,
Οἷον ἐξ ἐρίδων ἐκ τε στοναχῶν ἐγένεσθε.
(περι φύσεως.)

In the days of Goethe it was still pent up and confined. It was felt everywhere, but dared not parade itself. It was nourished in morose and silent dissatisfaction. Goethe was the first to open the portals of that melancholy storehouse, and to give public vent and free exit to its contents. He was from personal experience well qualified for the task. During his residence at the law courts of Wetzlar he had made the acquaintance of two secretaries of legation, named Kestner and Jerusalem. He was admitted into the domestic intimacy of the former; received constant hospitality and kindness from him and from his family. He repaid them by upsetting their domestic life, and by introducing them, under names which everyone recognised, into his story on the *Sorrows of Young Werther*. The unhappy Jerusalem had become the prey of the prevalent notions, and after repeated disappointments of fortune and unlucky speculations had put an end to his life with his own hand. All the events of the poet's sojourn here are fused into his story in such a fashion as to give the greatest annoyance and offence to the people who had treated him with such generosity and friendship. The Werther of the story, who is no other than Jerusalem, is mixed up with the Kestners in a manner wholly unwarranted by the facts. They knew little of nothing of him; and yet he is made to move and live in their social and private circles, and to commit suicide chiefly on their account. "Delicacy of feeling is the Eldorado of the poet," wrote Edgar Allen Poe,¹ "and Goethe knew no delicacy of feeling." It was said that his work afforded intense relief; that it was read with avidity by all kinds and classes of readers, who now, at all events, could breathe more freely. The wretchedness that was eating away the heartstrings of a people was so touchingly, so sympathetically portrayed, that innumerable readers are said to have imitated the example of the hero, and to have rid themselves of an existence which had become meaningless and unprofitable. Whilst this is the direct and, apparently, final conclusion which the author seems to arrive

¹See *Atlantic Monthly*, 1877.

at and to commend, and which was so accepted by the multitude when the work first appeared; we are yet informed that such a consummation was far away from the purpose of the poet; that he was still but describing his objective surroundings; and that if we wish to find the counterpart of *Werther*, and to discover Goethe's real cure for the ills he had laid bare, we must seek it in his second and maturer prose work, *Wilhelm Meister*. Without expecting to find in this new arsenal of wisdom any trace of the only remedy which can heal an irreligious world, it should, at all events, be a relief to turn away from a work whose every page

“Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,”

to one which, however deficient from a moral and philosophic standpoint, is, at any rate, positive and constructive in its aims. We must not, however, take leave of *Werther* without recording the judgment which leaves no alternative to Catholics—that the burden of its lesson is essentially anti-Christian; that its moral effect is bad; that it is a work in which religion is ridiculed and vice is held up to imitation and praise, and that its pernicious influence was all the more baneful on account of its charm of style and beauty of language.

Wilhelm Meister is composed of two parts, the *Lehrjahre*, or *Apprenticeship*, and the *Wanderjahre*, or *Traveling Term*. The latter portion was an afterthought, and is not of as much importance as the former. A feature of the story which lends it a special interest is the fact that in its main outlines it is an objective sketch of Goethe's own life. But the direct purpose of the poet is to take a young man by the hand; to lead him through the highways and by-ways of existence; to represent him struggling against difficulties, and surmounting the obstacles to his happiness, till at last he is established by the variety of his experience and the strength of his education, superior to every possible contingency of fate or fortune. This purpose is not openly professed in so many words, but it results from the whole story with all the more effect as it is kept artistically out of view.

Now the world in which this interesting hero circulates is extremely common, vulgar, and corrupt. Niehbuhr called the work "a menagerie of tame animals." It seems to lay before us the every-day experience of life in a certain section of that Protestant society which, having once thrown off the authority of the Church, was not likely long to retain the authority of the commandments. It were well, indeed, if it could only be described as commonplace and vulgar; but, in addition, it is vicious, corrupt, and sinful. And not only is the author apparently not conscious that there is anything objectionable in his pictures, but just the contrary. He admires his hero, and praises him as "a solid Philistine." He is a young man to be imitated. He displays what Goethe regarded as the highest type of perfection—"a rich, manifold life." From beginning to end he lives and moves in an atmosphere of free-thought and libertinism, and when finally satiated with the world he settles down, like Goethe himself, in stoical and satisfied tranquillity. In the unfolding of his conceptions Goethe takes many an opportunity of giving vent to his hatred of monks and priests, of celibacy, of the worship of saints and relics, and of the Catholic practice of pilgrimages. His contempt for the asceticism of Catholic life, so freely expressed elsewhere, is deeply visible here also; for the indulgence of a perverted libertine is crowned with approbation and success. And yet Goethe takes good care to leave no trace of the melancholy of *Werther* on the horizon of this privileged hero. All is sunshine now, determination, strength, indifference to petty troubles. This is, therefore, the road to success. Here lies the direction of modern civilization. Of religion, the chief element which the author thinks important in education, is what he calls *reverence*—reverence for what is above us, or the Ethnic religion, such as was practised in one form or another by all heathen nations; reverence for what is around us, or the philosophical religion, and "what may be designated as the Christian religion;" or reverence for what is beneath us. Of the Christian religion, thus hemmed in and circumscribed, we get an example of what is probably common enough in the Protestant world, viz., a half mystic, half benevolent

lady, who tends the poor and sick, and who according to the fits and starts of her disposition spends her time in the service of the lowly and neglected. Yet in this picture of "a beautiful soul"¹ there is no trace of the high, supernatural motive which calls our Catholic sisterhoods to their works of mercy, and maintains them through the unfaltering devotion of a lifetime.

As in most of the poet's other works, there are, of course, here also pearls amid the husks—pearls of thought, of language and of verse; but, all things considered, the inspiration is from below, and the weight of the teaching corresponds. That it is true to nature we can well believe, if that nature be confined to the REFORMED Church and the revolutionary world; but that it is more calculated to tarnish and corrupt than to edify and strengthen, is the verdict of all who examine it from a purely Christian standpoint.

In religion and philosophy, Goethe was essentially a sceptic. He was on that account open to impressions from all sides, and the variety of his poetic excellence is largely due to these. But whilst an eclectic so far, and especially in art, there is, undoubtedly, in his works an undercurrent of thought which, if it does not amount to an absolute belief in the doctrine of Pantheism, would, at all events, seem to be entirely cast in that direction. His early predilection for the writings of Spinoza; his lifelong worship of nature; the general tendency of his philosophical reflections and conceptions of character; his innate pride and confidence in himself, all go to show his attachment to the Pantheistic creed.

"Nature [he writes²] ever surrounds and encloses us. We live upon her bosom, and are yet strangers to her. She speaks to us, and yet keeps her secret. We act upon her, and have yet

¹ "Bekentnisse einer Schönen Seele."

² Natur! Wir sind von ihr umgeben und umgeschlungen . . . Wir leben mitten in ihr und sind ihr fremde. Sie spricht unaufhörlich mit uns und verräth uns ihr Geheimniss nicht. Wir wirken beständig auf sie und haben doch keine Gewalt über sie : . . Die Menschen sind alle in ihr und sie in Allen . . . Er freut sich an der Illusion. Wer die in sich und andern zerstört, deise strafft sie als der strengste tyrann. Wer ihr zutraulich folgt, den drückt sie wie einkindan ihr Herz . . Sie hat keine Sprache noch Rede, aber sie schafft Zungen und Herzen durch die sie

no power over her. All men are in her and she in all. Whosoever opposes her is punished as by a tyrant; who follows her in confidence she takes like a child to her bosom. She has no language, no speech; but she creates tongues and hearts, through which she speaks and feels. She is everything. She rewards herself and punishes herself; rejoices and is sad. She is rough and smooth, lovely and horrible, powerless and all-powerful. All is ever there in her. Future and past she knoweth not. The present is her eternity. She has brought me forth, and she shall take me back again. I confide myself to her. Let her dispose of me. She cannot hate her work. What is true and false, all hath she spoken. All is her fault, and all her merit."

The leading characters of Goethe's conception—Prometheus, Faust, Mephistopheles—are all worked into this theory. The inward, latent, philosophical idea of the poet is mirrored in them. This is particularly noticeable in *Faust*; for if ever there were a subject based on strong Christian belief, it was surely that one. And yet, in Goethe's extraordinary poem, or drama, or comedy, or combination of all together, the conception of Mephistopheles is far more in harmony with the Neoplatonic theory of the emanation of evil from the one universal substance than with our Christian notions of the fallen angel; and, if we penetrate beneath the surface, the portrait of Faust himself is as different from the real character, such as he is faithfully depicted by Marlowe, and such as he was understood in his own country and time, as it well could be. The grotesque and comic scenes in *Auerbach's Cellar* and the *Witches' Kitchen* are meant to catch the fancy of the crowd, and in so far to maintain the popular notion of the evil one and the legendary reality of *Faust*; but in the *Walpurgis Night*, and especially in the "Second Part" of the great poem, the popular view of these personages gives way entirely to

fühlt und spricht . . . Sie ist alles. Sie belohnt sich selbst und bestraft, sich selbst, erfreut und quält sich selbst. Sie ist raub und gelinde, lieblich und schrecklich, kraftlos und allgewaltig. Alles ist immer da in ihr. Vergangenheit und Zukunft kennt sie nicht. Gegenwart ist ihr Ewigkeit . . . Sie hat mich hereingestellt, sie wird mir auch heransführen. Ich vertraue mich ihr. Sie mag mit mir schalten. Sie wird ihr Werk nicht hassau. Was wahr ist und was falsch ist, alles hat sie gesprochen. Alles ist ihr Schuld, alles ist ihr Verdienst.—(Goethe's *Werke* "Naturwissenschaft im Allgemeinen," vol. v., page 1.)

Goethe's own philosophical conception of them. It is not that the poet is obliged to widen his horizon in order to introduce into the masterpiece of his genius all his notions on politics, philosophy, art, science and religion; but nature—eternal nature, vivifying all things, penetrating all things—must admit of nothing above and beyond her. It is in the same spirit that the poet celebrates in the "Second Part" the magic nuptials of the Grecian Helen, evoked from the silent night of the past, with Faust, the child of the modern world. With her the classic art of paganism is wedded to the poetry and music of our time, and the spirit of that ancient civilization, passing over the barbarism of the dark ages, is to become once more the inspirer of social, political, and artistic progress. It must be said in justice to the poet that at the last scene—the salvation of *Faust*—the artist does violence to the philosopher; or, in the words of Louis Veuillot, "the conquering instinct of beauty becomes victorious:" and the proud, the cold-hearted, the worldly Goethe, pays his part of the universal homage to the queen of all inspiration, to her whose pure and tender presence had its charm even for this hardened sceptic, and to whose compassionate nature we owe the most beautiful verses and the most heavenly thoughts to be met with in the whole poem. The prayers addressed to that

" Transcendent maiden,
With mercy laden,"

have something in them of the solemnity of the *Dream of Gerontius*, and would form a fitting epilogue to a nobler and more spiritual work.

We have only been able to indicate the general tenor of Goethe's thought in so far as it bears on fundamental belief and the ground-works of morality. There are sayings of his—epigrams, frivolous and sarcastic utterances on the Divine Person of our Lord, on the symbol of our redemption, and on many practices of our worship—which we should not care to quote. They are too blasphemous for repetition. Fr. Baumgartner tells us, with documentary evidence, how Goethe entered the Freemason craft, and what part the lodges took

in spreading his fame and setting him up as a prodigy in the literary world, because he was the spokesman of their ideals, the herald of their revolutionary projects. That much of his fame was thus fictitious, and that his name was paraded and his works belauded for other than their real, or even fancied merits, there cannot be the slightest doubt. At the end of his three volumes of exhaustive analysis Fr. Baumgartner declares :—

“Whoever undertakes a careful and earnest study of his works must acknowledge that he is far indeed from being the greatest of poets. It would be as untrue to say that Goethe surpasses, as an epic poet, Homer, Virgil, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Milton, Tasso, Camöens, as it would be absurd to place him on a level, as a writer of dramas with Sophocles, Shakespeare, Lope de Vega, Calderon, or Schiller. As a novelist, he will scarcely hold a place with Cervantes, Walter Scott, or Manzoni. As an author of comedy, he will not bear comparison with Aristophanes or Molière. The same distance that separates modern culture from the civilization of the middle ages in its ideal aim divides Goethe's *Faust* from the world-poem of Dante . . . A world-poem, in the true and full sense, *Faust* is not, and can never be. There is wanting in it for that, what is altogether necessary—the presence of a just, a holy, and an all-wise God—of the mediator between God and men—the Word made Flesh—of the Apostles, the martyrs, the virgins. Its round of human affairs is not carried on under the providence and majesty of heaven. There is nothing in it of the triumph of the Almighty over the powers of darkness ; no punishment for evil ; no reward for good. It shows the road to error and to sin, but not the way out of them ; it mixes faith and unbelief, truth and falsehood, morality and immorality, in a medley of chance and confusion, which gives the ultimate victory to evil. Goethe brings back the spirit of the eighteenth century, the spirit of Voltaire and of the Encyclopædists, after its tour of the world, tired of doubt and dissatisfied with itself, into the cathedrals of the middle ages ; yet not to pray, not to believe, but to let loose, even in the holy place, the arid spectre of rationalism, and to find for its ideals of the natural order pictures and figures that speak to the heart, tones and melodies, poetry and art, which the world, say what it will, must look for and find in Catholicism alone.”¹

And what the same distinguished author says of *Faust*, he

¹“Goethe, *Sein Leben und Seine Werke*, von Alexander Baumgartner, S.J., vol. iii., page 423 and foll.

extends with almost unqualified severity to the poet's works in general:—

“ He preaches unbelief and immorality not so openly, so audaciously as Voltaire, Wieland, and the new French naturalists ; but mildly, winningly, almost under cover, in harmless guise, with a mixture of the good and true, or rather of the half-good and half-true. He thus undermines the faith and morality of youth, gradually, almost imperceptibly. If the poison of his heathen principles is not to permeate yet wider circles, it is high time that all who possess an influence over the young, and especially those who are intrusted with their education, should become alive to the danger, and unite their forces in order to avert it.”

This warning is nothing stronger than that of the late Cardinal Hergenroether, who speaks of Goethe in almost similar language in the second volume of his history of the Church.

It may be, and is to Catholics, a matter of regret, that great gifts and undoubted genius should have been turned to such bad account ; but, at the same time, it cannot but be a subject of congratulation and triumph that all this is the growth and outcome of the great religious rebellion of the sixteenth century, and that whilst Voltaire and Goethe have gone the way of Luther and of Calvin, of Apion and of Celsus, of the Gnostics and the Manichaeans, the Church, which has outlived their attacks, still prospers and proceeds, strong in the experience of the past as in the consciousness of the future, that her enemies cannot prevail.

J. F. HOGAN.

THOUGHTS ON THE NATURE OF GOD.

"Causa primera de todo
 Sois, Señor, y en todo estais
 . . . No escribe la tierra
 Con caractéres de flores
 Grandezas vuestras?" &c.

CALDERON.

"Certe hoc est Deus, quod cum dicitur, non potest dici; cum æstimatur, nos potest æstimari; cum definitur, ipse definitione crescit."—S. GREG. NAZ.

ALTHOUGH reason, alone and unaided, is sufficient to inform man of God's existence: although even the untutored savage and wild barbarian may find in this visible and material world proofs and arguments enough of His divine presence, yet, neither reason nor revelation can make clear and intelligible to us the intimate nature and attributes of that Supreme Being whom the Scriptures remind us "no man hath seen at any time."

Nor is this to be wondered at. Even of created beings, how extremely limited is our knowledge! Even in respect to the visible tangible world about us, how very little it is that we really know! What can the wisest philosopher, the profoundest scientist, the subtlest metaphysician tell us—I will not say of God—but of man; aye, or even of the simplest and most insignificant creeping thing that man crushes without a pang beneath his feet?

What, indeed, do we understand by life itself? What really *is* that mysterious, invisible, immaterial, energizing principle within the body of a man, which keeps the heart beating and the blood ever coursing, year after year, through artery and vein, for the better part of a century or more? What is that strange power animating our fragile house of clay, which, though spiritual and immaterial itself, yet sees through corporal eyes, hears through corporal ears, acts through corporal organs, and loves and languishes, and labours and lives, in an earthly body? Though it abides within our own fleshy frame, yet we know not what it is.

Nothing could be more closely bound up with us, or more intimately united with us, for it is the chief part of ourselves; yet, near as it is, we can neither understand, nor explain, nor form any accurate notion of it even to ourselves.

Nay, more: life *in any form whatsoever* involves mystery. The life and power of movement even in an animal or an insect must pass away from our notice unexplained. We stand and gaze at the industrious spider deftly spreading its gauzy net on some waiving bough in the airy ocean of the sky; we marvel at the beauty of the web, and at the regularity of its geometrical form, and the delicacy of its gossamer threads; we are charmed and captivated at the ease and dexterity with which its author binds strand with strand, and weaves together the curious complicated structure. Yes, all this we can do. But when we begin to ask "how," and "why," and "by what impulse," and "under whose direction" these delicate and beautiful operations take place—well, we find ourselves proposing questions which a child might, indeed, ask, but which neither you, gentle reader, nor I, nor any living man, will ever be able really to solve—at least in this world. Life, in all its multitudinous forms, is girt about with mystery. The acorn, germinating in the ground, and stirring, as it were, from slumber, to awaken into life, is full of wonders. Watch any simple seed as it builds up some graceful form of waving plant or blushing flower out of the rude materials that lie around it, and think how hopelessly inexplicable is the process. Whence come the delicate green stalk, the tender leaves, the unfolding buds, and opening chalice-cup, so exquisitely wrought, so skilfully pieced together, so admirably poised and balanced, and scattering sweetness with every movement, as from some swinging censer? Whence comes this gorgeous apparition of glowing colour and dazzling splendour; this vision of beauty, that fails to startle us, only because so frequently beheld? From what secret repository has it drawn the colours to paint the corona, and the gold to guild the cup?—colours and tints which not even a Raphael d'Urbino nor a Titian can hope to reproduce. A few weeks ago nothing was to be seen here but a dark and barren stretch of earth,

and on it we let fall a seed. Nursed by the warm sunshine and balmy winds, and fed by the dew and rains, it was successfully ushered into active life; and now, contemplate the beauteous object which that seed, like some skilled architect, has planned and constructed out of the dull unconscious earth—a crimson rose, or, perhaps, a tiger lily. Who will explain the secret vital power in the germ? Who will sit down and narrate to us how the various elements were selected and brought together, and transformed and arranged, and adjusted in such perfect symmetry through the agency of that silent and simple seed? A gigantic and hopeless task, indeed! Scientists, botanists, and horticulturists may, indeed, give names to the different processes; but then, to give a name, is not quite the same thing as to explain. No! the truth is, we may see, we may wonder, we may admire the many mysteries of life in the commonest wayside flower or shrub; but to give them or any one of them an exhaustive explanation is as impossible as to create them. That surpasses the power of man.

But if we are baffled by a shrub or a flower; if our proud intellect staggers and positively reels on its seat, when striving to grasp and fathom the lowest and most imperfect forms of created life, how, in the name of common sense, can we expect to unravel the mystery of the divine life of God, without beginning and without end, the source and author of all being? How, indeed, shall we gaze into the fathomless abyss of His incomprehensible perfections “who only hath immortality, and inhabiteth light inaccessible, whom no man hath seen, nor can see, to whom be honour and empire everlasting. Amen”? (1 Tim. vi. 16.)

We possess no faculty whereby we can measure any single one of His divine attributes. Some faint notion may be formed of goodness, of wisdom, of truth, &c.; yes, of *created* goodness, wisdom, and truth; but not of goodness, wisdom, and truth, as they exist in God; for in Him each attribute is absolutely infinite and uncreated—not a quality, but identical with His substance and being, and wholly indistinguishable from it. And our finite minds can no more

contain the Infinite, than time can contain eternity, or a part the whole.

Nevertheless, although the goodness of God is infinitely above our comprehension, yet, that He is good, is clearly seen in creation. The creation also proclaims His wisdom. It is seen in the order and regularity of the measureless heavens; it is made evident in the times and seasons observed by the countless stars, as they hurry on in their courses through the trackless realms of unmeasured space; and, in fact, in all things, great and small; even in the faultless symmetry and elegance of the tiniest organic structure, such as the limb of a microscopic animalcule, or the mouth, masticatory organs, stomach, or alimentary canal of the Rotifera, or what are popularly known as the Wheel animalcules. And what we assert regarding the goodness and wisdom of God holds good also of His power, patience, and mercy, and all else of which creation speaks to us. "For the invisible things of God are clearly seen from the creation of the world, being understood by the things that are made: His eternal power also and divinity." (Rom. i. 19.)

There is another truth, however, related to the inner life of God, which is not by any means so clear and manifest in creation: a truth which, in fact, cannot be positively demonstrated from the contemplation of visible things, although (as we hope to show in a future paper) all visible things in some measure reflects it—and this truth God Himself has therefore been pleased to reveal directly. We need scarcely remark that we here refer to the adorable mystery of the ever-Blessed Trinity—perhaps of all mysteries the most difficult and incomprehensible. We may state a truth, however, without understanding it. Just as we may say that an oak-tree will grow from an acorn, though we can in no way understand *how* it grows, nor unravel any one of the manifold mysteries of its organic development, so we may also state, and state accurately, the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, while, at the same time, we confess our inability to fathom it. And, what is more, we accept it, not as scientific men accept a theory or a supposed discovery, *i.e.*, because we think it reasonable, or because it fits in with our

preconceived notions and opinions, but simply and solely because God has designed to reveal it to us.

Let us begin by stating the doctrine. In a previous article (I. E. RECORD, August, 1890) we dwelt upon the unity and simplicity of God. We called attention to the great central fact at the base of all supernatural religion; viz., that in nature God is absolutely simple and one; and that there is no other God but Him. "I am the Lord, and there is no God beside Me." (Is. xlv. 5.) Now, being but one in nature, we may readily infer that He would be solitary and without any community of thought, unless He were more than one, at least in some respect. Throughout the whole realm of existing, or even of possible, creatures, there is not one that could furnish a really worthy or adequate object for God's contemplation, knowledge, or love. Between Him and them there is no proportion; in fact, all things, including men and angels, are in His dread presence as though they were not. What, then, formed the object of God's thoughts, the object of His contemplation, and the object of His love for all eternity? Absolute solitude is, even to our way of thinking, utterly incompatible with absolute happiness. What, then, broke, so to speak, the eternal silence, and relieved the unspeakable solitude of God? He Himself tells us. He reveals the secret of His life. He informs us that, though His nature is absolutely one and indivisible, that yet this nature is common to three.

Though there is but one God, nevertheless, there are in this one God three totally distinct and different Persons; viz., God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.¹ All three possess not a similar, but the selfsame nature. The Father is truly God, the Son is truly God, and the Holy Ghost is truly God; yet the Father is not the Son, and the Son is not the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Ghost is neither Father nor Son: yet each is God, and there is but one God. The divine nature is not *divided* between the Persons; each possesses it in its integrity and fulness: yet the divine nature is not multiplied, but one and indivisible.

¹ Consult *A Manual of Catholic Theology, based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik."*

The divine nature is the same in each, and differs only in the manner in which it is possessed. The Father has it *from none*; the Son has it *from the Father*; the Holy Ghost receives it *from Father and Son*. Yet the Father retains while He gives; and the Son receives, though He always had, and never began to have, but like the Father and the Holy Ghost is changeless and immutable. Though there is a relation of son-ship, and of father-hood, and of procession, yet these are relations not of time, nor of dependence, nor of inferiority, but relations of procession, or of origin.

The Father is not more ancient than the Son, nor the Son than the Holy Ghost. The Father is eternal, the Son is eternal, and the Holy Ghost is eternal; but there are not three eternals, but one eternal. So, in a similar way, though the Son is born of the Father, He is not inferior to the Father, but equal and consubstantial with the Father: His equal in glory, majesty, power, sanctity, and wisdom; and in nature one with the Holy Ghost.

The Father is omnipotent, infinite, and omniscient; the Son is omnipotent, infinite, and omniscient; and the Holy Ghost is omnipotent, infinite, and omniscient: yet there are not three omnipotents, infinities, and omniscients, but only one infinite, one omnipotent, and one omniscient.

The three divine Persons, possessing the selfsame nature, are inseparable though distinct. Where the Father is, there is the Son, and there is the Holy Ghost—so that one Person by reason of His divine nature must ever be accompanied by the other two.

Let us illustrate this by reference to the human nature of Jesus Christ. Jesus Christ is God. In Jesus Christ, therefore, there dwelt, in inseparable unity, the Father and the Holy Ghost. It was not the divine *nature* which became man. Had the nature of God become man, the Father and the Holy Ghost would be true man, as well as the Eternal Son. But since it was not the *nature*, but the *person* of God, and not the three Persons, but only the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity that was made man, the Father is not man, nor the Holy Ghost, but *only* God the Son. But though neither Father nor Holy Ghost

became man, they both are inseparably and eternally united with the man Jesus Christ, who as God, is one with them, and by His divine nature and essence indistinguishable from them.

Hence, in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is present not only Jesus Christ, but the Father and the Holy Ghost—and when we receive the Blessed Sacrament the very being and substance of the omnipotent God enters into our souls, and with His substance the three distinct but inseparable divine Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

“The inseparable connection of the divine Persons with one another is brought about in the most perfect manner by their relations of origin. The produced Persons (*i.e.*, the Son and the Holy Ghost) cannot even be conceived otherwise than in connection with their Principle (the Father), and, being the immanent manifestation of a *substantial* cognition and volition, they remain within the Divine Substance and are one with It. (Page 338.) “The producing Principle, likewise cannot be conceived as such, and as a distinct Person, except inasmuch as He produces the other Persons.” “The divine Persons constitute a society unique in its kind: a society whose members are in the most perfect manner equal, related, and connected.”

There is, to use technical terms, perfect circumincession, or comprehensive interpenetration, so that

“Each Person penetrates and pervades each other Person, inasmuch as each Person is in each other Person with His whole essence, and possesses the essence of each other Person as His own; and again, inasmuch as each Person comprehends each other Person in the most intimate and adequate manner by knowledge and love; and as each Person finds in each other Person His own essence, it follows that it is one and the same act of knowledge and love by which one divine Person comprehends and embraces the other Persons.”¹

The doctrine here recalled to the mind of our readers is, of course, absolutely inexplicable and incomprehensible. To try really to fathom it is to try with finger and thumb to pluck the stars from the vault of heaven, or to hold the vast Pacific Ocean within the hollow of our hands.

¹ For a fuller summary of the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, in English, see *A Manual of Catholic Theology, based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik,"* by Wilhelm & Scannell.

Still, even this profound mystery may be, in some weak shadowy way, imaged forth and illustrated by creatures. Some notion of it, at least—however unworthy and incomplete—may be obtained (by way of analogy) by the study and contemplation of earthly things, and above all, and before all, by a thoughtful consideration of the soul of man, created, as it is, to the image and likeness of its Maker. To develop and explain these most wondrous and interesting adumbrations of God's triune nature in His works will require an entire article, so we must defer their consideration to another occasion. In the meantime we may conclude by considering *why* God is pleased to reveal to us the incomprehensible truths of His own mysterious Being.

There are, no doubt, many good reasons. In the first place, that, knowing Him better, we may love and serve Him better. In the second place, that, growing more conscious of the infinite gulf that separates God from all that is not God, we may be filled with an ever-increasing and deepening awe and admiration of Him, before whom the very pillars of heaven tremble, and the angels themselves veil their faces. Another reason may be, in order that we may the better enter into the past eternal life of God, and understand how He could be supremely happy and exercise to the full the activities of His being, independently of all creatures.

But, passing over these and many other reasons that might be suggested, let us dwell for a few moments on what is, perhaps, the most practical one of all.

God reveals mysteries to man, in order to exercise him in obedience, to force him to submit his highest faculty to divine authority, and to subdue his proud rebellious heart and humble his conceit. For consider, the intellect is the greatest and the grandest natural gift of God to man. *That* it is which raises him so far above all other visible beings: *that* it is which sets the crown upon his head and the sceptre in his hand; and, in a word, makes him the monarch of the earth, the lord of the creation. In many respects man is forced to acknowledge irrational creatures his superiors. For instance, in strength he must yield to the lion and the ox; in endurance,

to the patient ass ; in unflagging industry, to the " busy bee." The eagle surpasses him in keenness of vision ; the swallow, in agility ; the deer, in nimbleness and speed of foot ; the hare, in acuteness of hearing ; and so on of the rest. Yet, in spite of all this, man is able by reason of his intellectual parts to assert and to retain his supremacy over all. He can subdue the strongest, capture the fleetest, and entrap the most cunning. All visible things become his servants, and await his bidding. The lightning is his messenger ; steam his obsequious slave ; the rivers and watercourses his beasts of burden. The world, in a word, is at his feet, and he is lord of all. And why is this ? Again we answer, because God has endowed him with reason ; because he possesses intelligence. Now, since intelligence is a gift from God, and held in dependence on God, God very rightly insists that man should acknowledge the gift, realize whence it comes, and pay fealty for it ; and since it is the *highest gift*, it is of the *highest importance* that this acknowledgment should be made.

In a word, man must submit his intellect to God, just as every other faculty of his being. He must bow down his proud spirit, and yield his judgment and personal convictions to the teaching of divine authority. In fact, just as obedience is nothing more than the legitimate service and homage of the free-will, so faith is nothing else than the legitimate service and homage of the intellect ; and the more difficult and obscure, and apparently contradictory and impossible, is the doctrine proposed, and the more completely it throws us upon the rock of God's veracity, the more perfect and meritorious is the act of submission, and the more profound the honour and reverence paid to God.

In these days true faith is rare, because men are eaten up by intellectual pride. Science, or what passes for science, is the idol of the hour. " What I understand," says the scientist, " that I accept ; and what I fail to understand, that I as promptly reject." " What my reason approves, that I believe ; and what my reason cannot attain to, I most emphatically refuse to believe." Such men read and lecture, and

study and teach, and are listened to with such patient trust and humility by their followers, that at last they flatter themselves that they know all things; or, at all events, that they are in a position to investigate and pass judgment on every truth. They have measured the ocean, and weighed the earth, and counted the stars. They will offer to tell you anything you may choose to ask them, from the length of the sun's diameter and its cubic contents in yards, down to the number of vibrations of a fly's wing per second, or the mode of progression of an amoeba through a water-drop. Hence, having mastered so much, they insensibly begin to fancy that there is nothing that they cannot master. Indeed, we are all apt to forget the extremely limited range of our minds, and God recalls the fact to us, and humbles our pride by putting before us truths, such as that of the Blessed Trinity, which we cannot possibly hope to unravel or explain, and by commanding us to accept them or suffer the penalty of eternal death. Who is not a true child of the Church will fret and chafe under the ordeal, and, perhaps, even reject the doctrine altogether, refusing to submit his judgment even to God Himself. If, on the contrary, he be a dutiful subject, he will rejoice at such an occasion of testifying his unbounded trust in God, and throwing himself on his knees in the dust will feel happy in exclaiming with a deep sense of his own nothingness:—

“Thou, O Lord, art all light, and I am all darkness; Thou art infinite and uncreated wisdom, I am but pride and folly. I bow down myself before Thee, and submit readily, cheerfully, and without hesitation to Thy teaching. Thou alone art the Lord, Thou alone art God, and there is none like to Thee in heaven or on earth. Thy voice is as sweetest music to my heart, and Thy words are a path to my feet; speak, for Thy servant heareth.”

We cannot honour God more than by trusting Him and confiding in Him, and the more sublime and exalted are the truths He proposes, the more thoroughly do we testify and prove the genuineness of our confidence by believing them.

God may, indeed, try us. He may test our faith as He

tested the faith of Abraham ; He may exercise us continually in this fundamental virtue. One thing, however, He cannot do. One thing is impossible even to the omnipotent God himself—He cannot deceive us ; He cannot mislead us, nor draw us into error, for He is the absolute truth. Heaven and earth may pass away, but His word shall *never* pass away.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

PROFESSOR STOKES ON THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH.—II.

“ Faith, fanatic faith, once wedded fast
To some dear falsehood hugs it to the last.”

Lalla Rookh.

THE “ dear falsehood ” of an ancient Irish Church, independent of—nay, hostile to—Rome, has for Professor Stokes a fascination akin to that which enchanted the dupes of the Veiled Prophet. Perhaps the professor may not dare death for his delusion as readily as the poor Ghebers did for their’s ; but he is quite prepared to argue for it. He clings to it, upholds it in the face of facts that would shake the confidence of the boldest of men. And it is not to the quality of his logic that the professor owes his confidence, for his logic, like his “ general knowledge,” is very loose, indeed. He finds, for instance, certain traces of resemblance between early Irish monasticism and the monasticism of the East, and he at once concludes that Irish Christianity must have come from the East, and not from Rome. He finds in Gaul some stray orientals, one of them “ a Syrian woman,” who sympathized with St. Columbanus in his trials, and he again concludes that Gaul, too, must have got its faith directly from the East. The professor would find at this moment a considerable Jewish colony in Cork, and would, no doubt, be led by his inexorable logic to conclude that there is an intimate connection between Bethlehem and the

"Beautiful City." And all this fine logic is employed in order to show that Irish Christianity was at first, and continued for some centuries to be, independent of Rome; that the Roman primacy formed no part of the creed of the early Irish Church; and that, consequently, the Irish Catholic Church of to-day is not the legitimate descendant of the Church established here by St. Patrick.

In the I. E. RECORD for last December it was shown, by evidence which Dr. Stokes will find it difficult to break down, that the Roman primacy did form part of the system introduced by St. Patrick into Ireland. And there is evidence equally conclusive that St. Patrick's spiritual children adhered to the faith and traditions which he gave them. Professor Stokes thinks differently, and he appeals to the immediate followers of St. Patrick—the early Irish saints—as witnesses against the claims of Rome. The period covered by the lives of St. Columbkille and St. Columbanus was, he tells us, "the golden age" of Ireland's history; and as these saints were the great lights of that age, they are consequently his principal witnesses. But, on his own admission, Columbkille affords him very little aid. "In Columba's life," he says, "there is not one trace of the Pope, or the slightest acknowledgment of his claims. There is silence, however, and this is at most only a negative argument." (*Celtic Church*, page 147.) On this so-called argument, the only thing that need be said is, that Professor Stokes himself has repeatedly said that it is a bad argument—is, in fact, no argument at all. It would be easy to find in St. Columbkille's life evidence of doctrines which would startle the members of the Church to which Dr. Stokes professes to belong. The severe penances, the long virgils, the masses for the living and for the dead—celebrated, too, at the early dawn of morning—these are practices which the *General Synod* would repudiate as unmistakably Roman—doctrines that have always been inseparably bound up with the system of which the Pope is the head.

But the professor's champion witness is clearly St. Columbanus, whose "ecclesiastical position," he says, "has been a great *crux* for modern Ultramontanes." Perhaps it

may turn out to be a much greater "*crux*" for the professor himself. He says :—

"Did time permit, we might devote, and with much profit, a whole lecture to consider the ecclesiastical position of Columbanus. It has been a great *crux* for modern Ultramontanians. . . . In the life of Columbanus there is many a mention of the Pope, and several epistles to Popes, but there is also an express rejection and denial of their claims."

He then gives an extract from the letter of St. Columbanus to Gregory the Great on the Paschal question, from which he says "the unbiassed student can draw his own conclusions." The extract is this :—

"How is it that you with all your wisdom ; you, the brilliant light of whose sanctified talents is shining abroad throughout the world, are induced to support this dark Paschal system ? I wonder, I confess, that the erroneous practice of Gaul has not been long since abolished by you. . . . You are afraid, perhaps, of incurring the charge of a taste for novelty, and are content with the authority of your predecessors, and of Pope Leo in particular. But do not, I beseech of you, in a matter of such importance, give way to the dictates of humility or gravity only, as they are often mistaken. It may be, that in this affair, a living dog is better than a dead Lion' (or Leo). For a living saint may correct errors that have not been corrected by another greater one." (*Celtic Church*, pages 147, 148.)

And the impartial professor, who will permit the "unbiassed student to draw his own conclusions," anticipates the student, and gives his own conclusion thus : "I do not think that the reverence of Columbanus for the Pope, or his belief in Papal Infallibility, can have been very great when he would use such language."

It would be charitable to Professor Stokes to assume that he never saw a complete copy of the letter on which he comments so confidently. Indeed it is more than probable that this university professor, lecturing to the future lights of Irish Protestantism, did not go beyond King's *Primer of Ecclesiastical History* for his information. The professor's extract, as far as it goes, is, word for word, the same as King's. The asterisks occupy the same position in both extracts. This is a suggestive coincidence. But even in this garbled extract, what is there to warrant the comment

of Dr. Stokes? "Papal Infallibility" is in no sense *what-*ever affected by the extract; and if Dr. Stokes thinks the contrary, then he does not know what Papal Infallibility means. Neither is the language of the extract disrespectful to the Pope; and the charge comes strangely from one who accounts for one of St. Patrick's visions by saying: "Evidently the poor man's digestion was out of order, or he had fasted too much." (*Celtic Church*, page 90.) And even the extract itself recognises the *very power* which it is adduced to disprove. "I wonder, I confess, that the erroneous practice of Gaul has not been long *since abolished by you.*" After St. Columbanus had been for some time in France, the French bishops took exception to his custom of celebrating Easter, and called on him to conform to their custom. He declined, and appealed to Pope Gregory the Great. Now the very fact of the appeal is a recognition of Papal supremacy, and the language of the letter expresses that recognition in the clearest terms. The letter begins thus:—

"To the holy Lord, and Roman Father in Christ, the grandest ornament of the Church, the fairest flower of all the Churches of Europe, the watchman set on high, the guardian of the divine treasury," &c.

Dr. Stokes did not quote these words for his hearers. The saint continues:—

"It seems to me, O holy Pope, that it is not out of order to ask you about the Pasch, according to the canticle: '*Ask your father, and he will show thee; thine elders, and they will tell thee.*' It would be out of place, and out of order, that anything should be referred to your great authority, as if to argue with you, and that my letters from the west should be a worry to you, lawfully sitting on the chair of Peter, the bearer of the Keys."

Neither did Dr. Stokes quote this passage for his hearers. And after the words garbled by Dr. Stokes, St. Columbanus says:—

"Therefore in favour of me a poor feeble stranger, rather than one presuming on his learning, send hither the support of your decision, and disdain not readily to send the authority of your clemency, and so restrain this storm that rages around us."

The saint then asks for directions on certain other

matters, and expresses a wish that his health and cares would permit him to go to Rome, to take in wisdom at its source. And he concludes thus :—

“ My heart’s desire is to give thee due honour. It was mine to appeal to thee, to ask thee, to beseech thee : thine not to refuse the favours sought for, but to let out thy talents, and to give at the command of Christ the bread of doctrine to him who seeks it, Peace to thee and thine. Pardon, I beg of thee, O holy Pope, my presumption in writing thus freely, and even once in your holy prayers to our common Father pray for me a most vile sinner.”

Neither did Dr. Stokes quote these passages for his hearers. It would be difficult for St. Columbanus to express more forcibly his belief in Papal supremacy, to express more clearly his reverent affection for the Pope and for his sacred office, than he has done in this letter. And yet all this Professor Stokes has suppressed. His hearers were young men saturated with anti-Catholic prejudices, and not overburdened with knowledge; and this teacher who is “pledged to be fair and truth-telling,” who “panders to no prejudices,” gives them a groundless comment on a garbled extract from a most important historical document, thus most effectually shutting out from their minds the light of truth. Dr. Stokes may call this teaching history; but any right-minded person must regard it as a flagrant instance of gross controversial dishonesty, which brings down the university professor to the theological level of Mick M’Quaid. In the letter under consideration there is nothing that can be tortured into an argument against Papal Infallibility; there is much in it that clearly favours that doctrine; there is nothing disrespectful in its language or tone; and if the language were much stronger than it is, the saint’s own apology for his “presumption” would have atoned for an outburst of zeal, which, if excessive, was manifestly sincere.

Dr. Stokes does not quote from the letters of St. Columbanus to Pope Boniface, though he attributes to them “an express rejection and denial of papal claims;” and he ridicules Montalembert for “striving to explain them away.” Certainly he himself *could not* explain them away in any

sense compatible with his own theory; and possibly for this very reason the letters are not quoted. The letters of St. Columbanus to Pope Gregory did not reach their destination, and hence the controversy with the French bishops remained undecided. He accordingly wrote to Boniface IV. as follows:—"To the holy Lord, the Apostolic Father, the Pope, Columba, a sinner, wisheth health." He tells the Pope that he has been for a long time most desirous to see "the occupants of the Apostolic Chair, who are most dear to all the faithful, and most revered, because of their apostolic dignity;" but he has been unable. He adds:—

"Saluting you, as in duty bound, *to you alone*, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, we present our petition, that you may grant to us, weary pilgrims, the solace of your paternal decision, whereby you might confirm the tradition of our fathers, if *it be not against the faith*, and so by your decree enable us to observe the Paschal rite, as we have inherited it from our fathers."

Nothing can be clearer than the profession of Papal supremacy contained in this letter. The saint in his difficulty appeals to his "Apostolic Father" for a decision that may enable him to retain his own custom, notwithstanding the prohibition of the local bishops. And the appeal is couched in language of unquestionable orthodoxy. The concession is demanded only on condition that it is not against the faith; which implies that if the Pope regarded the concession as against the faith, Columbanus would abandon his ancient custom and submit to the adverse decision. When he asked the Pope for a decision he must have held that the Pope was competent to decide; that he had authority over both parties to the dispute; and his appealing to the Pope *alone* implies that, in the belief of Columbanus, the Pope had authority in the matter which no one else had—that is, supreme authority. How very different is his style in addressing the French bishops assembled in Synod. To them he writes:—

"I pray you by our common Lord, and adjure you by Him who is to judge the living and the dead, that you will, in the spirit of peace and charity, let me live in silence, in those woods,

beside the bones of seventeen of my brethren already dead . . . Let us, I implore of you, be content to live together here in Gaul as we are destined to live together in the kingdom of heaven if we be found worthy."

This is the language of one who would not surrender his liberty on insufficient grounds, and whose profession of submission to the Pope must, therefore, have been prompted by an imperative sense of duty. In another letter, addressed to the same Pope Boniface, St. Columbanus expresses, if possible, more forcibly his belief in the supremacy of the Pope. This letter was written about A.D. 613, after the saint had settled at Bobio, and referred to the controversy on the "*Three Chapters*." He found circulating in Northern Italy certain gross calumnies on the Popes, with reference to this controversy, and he requests the Holy Father so to exercise his apostolic authority as to silence the calumniators. The letter begins thus: "To the most beautiful Head of all the Churches of all Europe, the beloved Pope, the exalted prelate, the pastor of pastors." And after apologizing for venturing to write, he says:—

"As a friend, a disciple, a scholar, and not as a stranger, do I write, and therefore will I speak freely to our masters, to the guides and mystic pilots of the spiritual ship . . . For we all Irish, dwelling at the ends of the earth, are the spiritual children of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the disciples who wrote the divine canon through the influence of the Holy Ghost. None of us has been a Jew, none a heretic, none a schismatic; but we have kept the faith in all its purity, such as it was first given us by you the successors of the Apostles."

He then says that according to the calumniators the Pope receives heretics, which he says: "Far be it from me to believe that it ever has been or ever shall be true." He says: "I myself, with the feeling becoming a disciple, have promised on your behalf that the Roman Church shields no heretic." And he then calls on the Pope to justify this his boast, and to silence the calumniators by "condemning and excommunicating all who dare to asperse the chief seat of orthodox faith." The saint adds: "We are, as I said before, bound to the Chair of Peter. For though Rome is great and renowned, it is because of that chair alone that she is great

and renowned with us." And after referring to St. Peter and St. Paul in connection with Rome, he says: "If it can be said on account of these two Apostles you are almost heavenly, and Rome is the head of the Churches of the world."

In the course of this long letter St. Columbanus, who evidently wrote under a feeling of great excitement, uses very strong language, for which he asks pardon by anticipation, saying: "If in this letter . . . you shall find expressions that are unbecoming, prompted by ill-regulated zeal, attribute them not to pride, but to my indiscretion." But these "unbecoming expressions," for which the saint thus apologizes, do not in any sense take away their meaning from those passages in which he gives such empathic expression to his belief in the supremacy, and in the other prerogatives of the Pope.

Such were the sentiments of this great light of our early Church. One would almost think that he was specially inspired to record his testimony against the calumniators of later times. In the whole range of patristic literature there is no clearer evidence in favour of Papal supremacy than that which he supplies. And with all this before him (for he has it in King's *Primer*), Professor Stokes does not hesitate to say that "the ecclesiastical position of Columbanus has been a great *crux* for modern Ultramontanes." On the professor's own shoulders the crushing weight of that *crux* falls. Like the Jewish prophet of old, who blessed the hosts of the Lord when brought out to curse them, St. Columbanus professes his filial reverence and love for that Father whom Dr. Stokes would have him to dishonour, to repudiate; and he anathematizes the heresies which Dr. Stokes would have him to defend. The professor ridicules the explanation given by Montalembert of some strong expressions of St. Columbanus, though in the very letter that he is misrepresenting that explanation is anticipated by the saint himself. He professes again and again his liberality, repeats often his pledges to be "fair and truth-telling," to "pander to no prejudice;" but in the face of all these pledges we find him studiously suppressing those clear, unmistakable statements of the saint's belief and teaching, and seeking by unworthy controversial

tactics to make him responsible for doctrines which he would have spurned with all the fiery energy of his great soul. What a pity that a professor, with a character for moderation, should so far forget the responsibility of his position ! If the young theologians of Trinity have any confidence in his teachings, they will carry from his lecture-hall false views on some of the most important facts of history. It is much to be feared that few of them will take the trouble of testing the accuracy of his statements, but will rather go their various walks in life filled with the prejudices they have imbibed from his teaching, and will be influenced by these prejudices in their intercourse with their Catholic neighbours. To be "fair and truth-telling" *in theory*, is all very well ; but to give practical proof of it would be much better. Ireland has suffered sadly from historians of the type of Professor Stokes.

Now, even though we had not St. Columbanus' own words for his belief in Papal supremacy, we have indirect evidence that is equally conclusive. The bishops of Gaul certainly held that doctrine when Columbanus appeared amongst them. If Dr. Stokes has any doubt on this matter, let him consult the letters of Pope Gregory the Great. Now, if St. Columbanus appeared amongst these bishops as an opponent of Papal supremacy, how can Dr. Stokes explain the silence of the bishops on this subject, in their controversy with him ? They censure him for his Irish tonsure, and his Irish custom of celebrating Easter, and for these only. Now, can it be maintained that the bishops would, in their attack, confine themselves to trivial matters of discipline, and pass unnoticed his soul-destroying heresy, if that charge could be brought against him ? To use Dr. Stokes' own words : " Why did they make so much fuss about such a trumpety matter as the proper method of calculating a date," and make no reference to his alleged " express rejection and denial of Papal claims " ? There is but one answer consistent with common sense and fact. No such charge could be made against him. On the question of Papal supremacy, Columbanus and his opponents were agreed.

The professor's treatment of the Paschal controversy

forms, perhaps, the most extraordinary chapter in this extraordinary book. It was, he says, "a trumpery matter;" and yet it is treated as if it had been a test question of belief in Papal supremacy. The adoption of one side in the controversy shows that "then, as still, the heart of Ulster remained sternly anti-papal;" whilst, when Munster adopted the opposite side, "no formal Roman connection or supremacy was thereby established." There is no arguing with such a logician. "Even though vanquished, he can argue still." But, unfortunately for the professor, his views are repudiated by the disputants on both sides. There is no necessity whatever for going into the long and complicated history of the controversy. It is sufficient here to say, that the Irish used the eighty-four years' cycle which St. Patrick brought from Rome. In the interval, the inconvenience of this cycle had been recognised at Rome and elsewhere, and a different cycle had been adopted. The Irish adhered to the custom of their fathers, until public attention was drawn to the matter by the presence of St. Augustine with the new Roman custom in England, as well as the presence of Columbanus with his Irish custom in Gaul. Now, there is abundant evidence that the Irish disputants on both sides recognised the supremacy of the Pope. The celebrated letter of St. Cummian on the question is a monument to the great learning of its author, as well as to the faith of the Irish Church in his time. He was a monk of the great monastery of St. Columba at Durrow, and the brethren of his Order were the great champions of the Irish custom. St. Cummian himself had adopted, and strenuously advocated, the Roman custom, and for so doing was severely censured by his brethren at Iona. In self-defence, as well as on the general question, he wrote his letter to Segienus, Abbot of Iona, A.D. 634. In this letter he shows a full mastery of all the bearings of the question. He says, that when he became aware that the Roman cycle was introduced, he did not adopt it, nor did he condemn it. He applied himself diligently to the study of the question. He discusses the various calendars and cycles, the statements of Greek and Latin Fathers, as well as of Irish saints. He traces the controversy through various

councils, and insists on the unity of the Church, both in faith and discipline, as a conclusive argument for uniformity of practice in celebrating Easter. He quotes St. Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus as to the divisions caused by the Arian heresy; and adopting St. Jerome's words, he says:—

“An old authority rises up against me, but I in the meantime cry out, ‘*Whoever is united to the Chair of Peter, with him shall I be.*’ If, then, I cry out with St. Jerome, the great interpreter of Scripture, the great scourge of heretics, I am attacked by you. If I do not so cry out, I am cut off from the universal Church, which has received from God this power of binding and loosing.”

He then alludes to the absurdity of supposing that Rome and all the Churches of the world should be wrong, and the Irish and Britons alone right. He adds:—

“I now turn to the words of St. Gregory, the Pope received alike by you and me, and one, who, though he has written after all the others (quoted) is deservedly to be preferred to them. . . Having studied the question for a year, I (according to Deuteronomy, ‘*I have asked my fathers to announce to me, my elders to tell me*’) asked *my fathers*—the successors of our first fathers, Albeus the bishop, Kieran of Clonmacnoise, Brendan, Nesson, and Luigid, what they thought of our excommunication by the above-named Apostolic Sees. And they having met together in *Magh-Lene*, some in person, and others by their delegates, decreed and said: ‘Our predecessors, as we know from reliable witnesses, some of whom are still living, others resting in peace, enacted that we should humbly and without scruple, receive, as better and more preferable, those things that were approved by the source of our baptism and our faith, and offered us by the successors of the Lord's Apostles. After this, they in common, addressed to us, as is customary, a mandate, that in future we should celebrate Easter with the Universal Church.’”

St. Cummian next says that a difficulty arose, which the Irish bishops met then as they would meet a like difficulty now:—

“In accordance with a synodical decree, ‘*that when more important cases arose they should be referred to the chief of cities,*’ our superiors sent wise and humble men, as children to their mother, some of whom, having through God's will a prosperous journey reached Rome, and returned to us the third year, reporting that all things were as we had been told.”

The Irish deputations saw “Greeks and Orientals, and

Syrians and Egyptians," celebrating the Pasch together in St. Peter's Church, and on their return home they announced "*throughout the whole world, the Easter is, as we know, thus kept.*"

This testimony of St. Cummian is conclusive as to the belief of the Irish of his time in the supremacy of the Pope. In accordance with their own Canon Law, they appealed to the Apostolic See, as children to their mother, for guidance in a difficulty, and in the same filial spirit they accepted the instructions given them. And this testimony is doubly important, inasmuch as it proves not only that the Irish then believed in Papal supremacy, but also, that the doctrine was handed down to them from the great saints who had gone before.

In the closing stages of the controversy, the great champion of the Irish custom was St. Colman of Lindisfarne. In A.D. 664, Oswin, King of Northumberland, invited the advocates of both customs to discuss the question in his presence at Whitby. Bede gives the history of the conference (*Hist. Eccl. Gent. Ang.*, b. 3, c. 25). St. Colman defended the Irish, St. Wilfrid the Roman custom. St. Colman had in reality no argument but the sanctity of Columba and the other Irish saints, from whom he had inherited his custom. St. Wilfrid admitted the sanctity of Columba, but contended that if he had known it, he would have followed the custom of the universal Church. He then quoted the words of our Lord to St. Peter, as proof of the Pope's right to legislate for the universal Church, adding that Colman and his associates would be certainly guilty of sin if they in the present case refused to submit. Now, whatever may be thought of the arguments of Wilfrid and Colman, this, at least, is clear from Bede's interesting narrative—that on both sides, the words of our Lord to St. Peter were taken as applying also to Peter's successors, and as proving that the primacy of Peter descended to them. Wilfrid quoted the words to prove the binding force of the decrees of the Apostolic See. St. Colman did not admit that any Papal decree condemned his own custom, which was followed by so many saints; but he must have

taken our Lord's charge to Peter in the same sense as Wilfrid did ; otherwise he could easily, and certainly would, have defended his cherished custom by denying the transmission of the primacy from Peter to his successors. He, on the contrary, admitted it, as is clear from Bede's text, and "all present, great and small, gave their assent." Thus, then, the opposition to Rome, proved (Dr. Stokes fancies) by the Paschal controversy, is a phantom of his own imagination, repudiated expressly by both parties to the controversy.

There is one other remarkable document bearing on the relations of the early Irish Church with Rome. It is the celebrated canon of St. Patrick making the Apostolic See the ultimate tribunal of appeal in cases of special difficulty that may arise in Ireland.

"Moreover, if any case of great difficulty shall arise, and which the various judges of the Irish nation cannot decide, let it be properly referred to the See of the chief bishop of the Irish (that is, of Patrick), and submitted to the examination of this bishop. But if such a case cannot then be easily settled by him and his wise men, we have decreed that it shall be sent to the Apostolic See ; that is, to the Chair of Peter, having the authority of the City of Rome."

While treating of the relations of the early Irish Church with Rome, Professor Stokes, with characteristic candour, completely ignores this canon. He quotes it incidentally in favour of the primacy of Armagh, and carefully omits to show its more important bearing. But even here he completely misrepresents it. He infers from it, that "Armagh was then . . . the chief See, and *final* court of appeal for the churches of the Scottish nation." (*Celtic Church*, page 333.) This is manifestly false. According to the canon, Armagh was the court of appeal in the *first instance* ; but the *FINAL court of appeal* is the Apostolic See of Rome. Again, Dr. Stokes says : "This canon seems to me conclusive on the point of the precedence, authority, and dignity of the See of Armagh." Well, then, if an appeal from the other Irish churches to Armagh proves that Armagh has authority over these churches, surely an

appeal from Armagh to Rome, as the canon decrees, must prove that Rome has authority over Armagh and all its subordinate churches? This canon is contained in the *Book of Armagh*; but Professor Stokes would, if possible, rob it of the antiquity implied in its incorporation with that venerable book. In a note he says:—

“The existence of an entry in a volume like the *Book of Armagh* does not prove such entry coeval with the earliest portion of the book. It might be centuries later . . . The Queen’s name is written on the fly-sheet of the *Book of Kells*.” (Page 332.)

Now Professor Stokes could have seen for himself, or could have learned from O’Curry, that this canon is written in “*that part of the same old MSS. which was copied from the book written by St. Patrick’s own hand.*” (Curry’s *Lectures*, page 372.) The transcript was made not later than A.D. 807, from an original which was then so old as to be all but illegible. Moreover, the canon was quoted at the Synod of Magh-Lene (A.D. 630), as we learn from St. Cummin, who was present there. Now this canon proves that the Irish at that early date accepted Papal supremacy, otherwise they could not regard the Apostolic See as the *final* court of appeal. An appeal is to a higher authority, and the last appeal must, therefore, be to the authority that is supreme. Now, accepting from Professor Stokes, that the Irish have always been most tenacious of their traditions, we may well conclude that the belief in Papal supremacy—already an old tradition amongst them in A.D. 630—must have come down from our national apostle. And thus Mr. Whitley Stokes does not at all make too liberal a concession in saying that there is no reason for doubting the authenticity of this celebrated *canon*. Now, how are we to reconcile the professor’s treatment of this *canon* with his repeated pledges to be “impartial,” “fair, and truth-telling”? Why did he not explain it impartially to his student, when discussing the matter of which it treats? It would establish beyond doubt the teaching of the early Irish Church—perhaps of St. Patrick himself—on a most important and vital doctrine. Why, then, pass it over? The professor has a theory to maintain, and no evidence can be permitted to disturb it.

He wanted to impress upon his hearers that the early Irish Church had no connection with Rome—was hostile to Rome—and so while any little circumstance that would seem to favour this theory is quoted and exaggerated, all the evidence (and it is overwhelming) against it is systematically ignored. These are discreditable tactics; and he who has recourse to them, while boasting of his impartiality, reminds us of a certain other gentleman who, in an ecstasy of devotion, thanked God that he was not like the rest of men.

It would be a waste of time to follow the professor any further through the confused mass of trifles and contradictions that make up his two volumes. He is not quite certain when the "Romanising" of the Irish Church began; nor, indeed, when the process was completed. He is quite sure that English influence brought on Roman domination, royal supremacy, *congé d'élire*, and tithes, and so necessitated the Reformation. And yet, strange to say, royal supremacy and tithes were not reformed, but rather continue to be fundamental articles with the theological brethren of Dr. Stokes. Had he even a moderate knowledge of his subject he would not have risked his reputation in such a forlorn hope. The work of "Romanising" Ireland was perfected by St. Patrick, and ever since it has been maintained by his spiritual children in all its freshness and beauty. Untarnished by time, it has survived centuries of lying, hate, and wrong; it is not likely to be affected now by the pranks of Professor Stokes. His work is a failure, a miserable failure. On the subject of his lectures he has cast no light—rather, indeed, a good deal of darkness. There is a great parade of learning, reference to obscure authors implying an immense amount of erudition; but it differs as much from real scholarship as a review of militiamen does from the charge at Balaklava. Sydney Smith knew "a gentleman of the law who had a thorough knowledge of fortifications, and whose acquaintance with bastions and counterscarps and parallels was perfectly astonishing." The witty parson thought that the gentleman in question who piled up this "enormous load of ill-arranged facts," while he neglected the special studies of his profession, "only lowered himself

in the estimation of every man of understanding." What would he think of the Trinity College Professor of Ecclesiastical History? Dr. Stokes carries about with him "a load of ill-arranged facts," not closely connected with his professional duties. He knows a good deal about the "Land League," "Moonlighters," and "Connaught bandits;" he can talk confidently of the "Suez Canal," the "Round Towers," and the "Battle of Carrickshock;" he knows all about the Tectosagae, the "refreshments" of the Galatians, and the ancient "games of Ancyra:" he knows, in fact, something of everything except ecclesiastical history.

J. MURPHY, C.C.

THE LIVING ROSARY IN DETAIL.—III.

THE WORKING OF THE SODALITY.

WITH regard to the practical question of the working of the sodality, I think it well to insist upon the *ends*, primary and secondary, towards which the whole organization is directed, and that a healthy and normal movement will be secured by adopting whatever means the judgment of local directors may decide upon as best calculated to promote these ends. Apart, however, from all questions of local exigencies, there remains a good deal to be said in general as to these ends and means.

In the first place, the primary end of the organization is, without doubt, to promote as far as possible the devotion of the Most Sacred Rosary. Seeing that we are saved by faith, and that the Rosary is, perhaps, of all forms of devotion, that most eminently calculated to bring the entire body of the truths of faith before us, it has been prized in all ages of the Church since its institution, as a method of popular instruction. Now, the Living Rosary is only a less complete form of imparting such necessary knowledge. What the Most Sacred Rosary teaches the individual, the Living Rosary teaches collectively to an association, in order that the

piecemeal knowledge acquired by associates may stimulate them to the work of contemplating *all* the truths of faith in their entirety. Now this, I think, should be kept continually before the minds of the members of the association, so that it may really be, for many of them, an introduction to that powerful aid to salvation, the great Confraternity of the Most Sacred Rosary. It is well to bear in mind that they can become members of the latter without deserting the former. There are many special indulgences granted to the Living Rosary which are not granted to members of the confraternity as such ; so that it would be very bad policy indeed, for an associate to give up his sodality on joining the confraternity. They can be exhorted, then, to aspire to the recitation of the *entire* Rosary, without any fear of disruption of the ranks of the sodality.

But they must not be allowed to fall into the mistake that the Living Rosary is, in itself, a perfect work, in which they may be expected to rest without going further. The Living Rosary is, to a certain degree, *incomplete*, because for a whole month at a time it only proposes for consideration *one* of the fifteen great mysteries of our Redemption. If the members, as is permitted by No. 17 of the decrees, follow in their monthly assignation the natural order of the mysteries, it would take a year and a quarter before the mind of any individual had been occupied by all of them. If the lottery system, as prescribed by No. 16, be adopted, then the chances of an individual member having *all* the truths of faith explicitly proposed to him, would, as is evident, be very small indeed. These are the defects of the Living Rosary as a devotion, which it would not do to close our eyes to on account of certain perfections which it possesses. The Living Rosary itself is only what M^{me}. Jaricot intended it—a means to an end—and that end is the complete recitation by the individual of the fifteen mysteries of the Most Sacred Rosary.

Such, then, is the primary end of the Living Rosary devotion. As to the means to secure its fulfilment, I can propose none better than that the people should be carefully, minutely, and frequently instructed to perform the devotion

in an intelligent manner. They should have the meaning of each of the mysteries explained to them; the duties and virtues taught therein should be made clear to them; they should be instructed how to apply the teaching of each mystery to their own peculiar circumstances, so that they may be able afterwards by themselves to draw all the hope and consolation and religious stimulus from them which, in this hard life, they stand so much in need of. Then, and then only, will the people appreciate the beauty and the utility of this heaven-sent devotion, which, from its two characteristics of sublimity and simplicity, is so eminently adapted to satisfy the cravings of the great mass of humanity; and then, too, will the happy priest find that he has gained a firm and unshaken hold upon the hearts of his people, and that of him may be said what Father Aylward sings of St. Dominick:—

“With those Aves, first and plainest
Of the Church's prayers, thou rainest
Blessings on the earth, and gainest
Souls whom Jesus made.”

If we wish to gain a lasting hold upon the hearts of our people, we must, first of all, firmly grasp their intelligence; we must be plain and simple with them; and then, when we have awakened their ideas, we must show them how the child-like prayers and child-like teaching are a sublime bond of perfection which unites them by faith with a Father Who is in heaven.

This end of the Living Rosary sodality is, no doubt, extrinsic to it, though it is, at the same time, undoubtedly the primary end of the organization. We must now direct our attention to that which is intrinsic. This is the aggregate of spiritual advantages to be gained without ever going outside the sodality; namely, the gaining of indulgences, and that general tone of piety, which is the result of systematic co-operation in any good work. What, then, are the means to be adopted here? Without any doubt, systematic co-operation. The sodality will not work itself; it is only a machine, and a non-automatic one: it must be worked. Here there is a good deal to be said.

In the first place, I would suggest that something equivalent to a "Charter" of the sodality should be displayed in the meeting-room, which would put everyone on a clear understanding as to the meaning of the sodality—its *locus standi*; any secondary objects aggregated to it, the duties and advantages of the members. It might take the form, perhaps, of a large printed card, suspended at the church door, in the sacristy, or meeting-room, which would contain a brief statement¹ as to the object and constitution of the sodality, the diploma of the Director, Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20 of the decrees, the full list of the indulgences, and any local legislation made by the Director, authenticated by his signature.

In the second place, if the sodality is to flourish, it is of the very greatest importance to hold a monthly meeting, presided over, if possible, by the Director in person, in order that business of both primary and secondary necessity may be gone through. The third Sunday of the month, to which a plenary indulgence is specially attached for the associates, would naturally be the day for a general communion and meeting. At the meeting, it would be necessary to have the distribution of the mysteries for the coming month. An easy way of managing the lottery would be to have the *Rosary tickets* of each circle placed in a heap on a tray, or in a box, then to have the names in each circle called over, and, as each associate's name is called, for him or her to come forward, take a ticket at random, and deposit at the same time whatever offering may be decided upon. If a member be absent, then the head of the circle can take the ticket, and charge himself to deliver it as soon as possible, and receive the offering.

Should the other system of distribution be adopted, it

¹ I would suggest the following:—"The Living Rosary is an association for encouraging the devotion of the Most Sacred Rosary. The associates are ruled by a Director (always a priest), and divided into circles of fifteen, every member of which says daily one mystery of the Rosary, so that between the fifteen members the whole Rosary is recited every day. The Director always has the power of appointing Zelators or Heads of Circles for carrying out the work of the sodality, and also, if he sees fit, a President or Presidents to preside over the Heads of Circles."

would be well to be warned against a danger noticed by Father Esser, O.P. (*Der Rosenkranz*. Paderborn, 1889, page 516):—

“This plan [he says] would frequently be chosen in preference to the other on account of its convenience. But even in this convenience there lies a danger; namely, if the members are not each month reminded of their mysteries, it might easily happen that in a short time a division would get into disorder, from the fault of several reciting the same mystery, while other mysteries would not be recited at all. In no case ought the Zelators consider themselves exempt from their duty of reminding the members of their mysteries at the change of them.”

Perhaps it would be well to call over the names in the order of mysteries, the Heads of Circles taking care to make the requisite change each month. Thus:—Circle of St. Patrick—Joyful Mysteries; 1st, John Dooley; 2nd, Peter M'Grath; 3rd, James Dowling; and so on. The next month each name would have been moved on a place, and the list would read:—1st, Thomas Purcell; 2nd, John Dooley; 3rd, Peter M'Grath, &c.

This essential business having been gone through, an opportunity will now be given to the Director to make any announcements he may judge necessary. The plenary indulgences, especially, that may be gained by the associates during the ensuing month should be announced.¹ The efficacy, then, of a practical discourse on one of the mysteries of the Rosary cannot be easily overrated. Confraternities and other religious associations among the people cannot be kept flourishing unless a healthy stimulus is supplied to them by contact with a zealous, if possible enthusiastic, Director; and the easiest way certainly for him to communicate his religious enthusiasm is by means of an address.

Along with the ends of the sodality already spoken of, it is quite permissible to unite some other object, always saving the legislation of decree No. 19. To quote Father Esser again:—

“Provided that the rules laid down for the Living Rosary be

¹ Here I should wish to point out that in the sodality cards hitherto issued by Gill of O'Connell-street, the list of indulgences is very far indeed from complete.

considered as the foundation, it is not forbidden to unite another purpose with that of the sodality. From its very foundation in Lyons it had the secondary object of spreading good books. In Germany we know a place where the associates have taken charge of decorating the parish church, and they take the opportunity of the monthly change of the Rosary tickets to contribute a small alms thereto." (*Der Rosenkranz*, page 511.)

Everything, then, in connection with such an extraneous object would be very well discussed and arranged at the monthly meeting of the Living Rosary Sodality. It must be borne in mind, however, that, useful and advantageous as such a meeting would be, it is not strictly necessary; and according to decree No. 17, it would be sufficient for a Zelator or Zelatrix to hold the monthly lottery along with two companions, and send the mysteries marked out by lot to the absent associates; or, in fine, to adopt the method permitted by decree No. 18; that, namely, "according to which the mysteries once assigned by lot, are, from that out, changed privately at the beginning of each month by the several Rosarians, according to the natural series of the mysteries."

T. M. BYRNE, O.P.

Theological Questions.

A MARRIAGE QUESTION.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—I had hopes that somebody would have called attention to the solution of the marriage question, which was proposed in the January number of the I. E. RECORD, with a view of eliciting more ample, and, if possible, more definite information on a subject of very great practical importance. For my part, I must confess, when I read over the case proposed by 'Sacerdos,' I made up my mind that the marriage which had been contracted between John — and Mary — was either an invalid marriage, or, at all events, a doubtfully valid one; and that being such, it should have been dealt with according to the

special well-known principles of ecclesiastical jurisprudence applicable in such cases. But let us come to the question at issue. 'John —— and Mary —— went to service in St. Peter's parish, and there acquired a quasi-domicile. They are both over twenty-one years of age, and make arrangements to get married, taking a house to live in after their marriage in the same parish (St. Peter's). Their parents live in St. John's parish, where they go and get married without the permission of the parish priest of St. Peter's, or his ordinary. Is the marriage valid,' &c. All will, I think, admit that if they got married in presence of the parish priest of St. Peter's, or of his delegate, their marriage would most certainly be a valid one. They had acquired a quasi-domicile in his parish—a fact sufficient of itself to enable them to contract marriage validly in his parish, and in his or his delegate's presence. But, more than this, without forfeiting the privilege thus acquired by reason of their quasi-domicile, they take a house in the same parish (St. Peter's): they intend to make that house their permanent place of residence: they intend to dwell in that parish as inhabitants and parishioners. In one word, they do everything, it would seem, that is necessary to acquire a true domicile in that parish. 'Verum domicilium [says Konings, N. 1614] voluntate propria acquiritur per duo simul conjuncta, per factum scilicet commorationis et animum semper manendi.' And Schmalz still more clearly points out what is necessary to constitute a domicile in any place: 'Ut quis domicilium in aliquo loco habeat duo requiruntur, animus et factum . . . utrumque requiritur copulative. Porro animus volentis constituere domicilium in aliquo loco debet esse quod velit in eo loco constituere habitationem perpetuam ac stabilem . . . quod intellige, nisi quid avocet: sufficit enim perpetuitas proposita, quamvis deinde propositum mutari, et domicilium alio transferri possit. Ad domicilium acquirendum opus non est ut Caius illuc bona sua, aut majorem aut ullam eorum partem transferat,' &c. Schmalzgrueber. (L. 2, tom. 2, N. 9, 10.)

"Now, it seems to me that the two conditions here laid down as necessary and sufficient to acquire a domicile have been most fully verified in the question proposed. John —— and Mary —— actually reside in St. Peter's parish—they fulfil condition (a) *factum commorationis*; they also place condition (b), for, by taking a house in which they purpose to reside, they manifest the 'animus constituendi in eo loco habitationem

perpetuam, nisi quid avocet,' or the 'perpetuitas proposita.' It may be, indeed, that they will never reside in the house they have taken; it may be that the marriage, for some reason or other, will never be celebrated, and that the 'nisi quid avocet' will be verified in their case; still, I imagine, they will not cease to be parishioners of St. Peter's until they have left the parish, and relinquished the intention of residing in it as inhabitants of the place:—'*Omnis enim res, per quascumque causas nascitur, per easdem dissolvitur.*' (L. 5 Dec., Tit. 41, Reg. 1^a.) I do not, therefore, see the relevancy of saying, 'their intention was only conditional, and, therefore, insufficient for acquiring a domicile prior to the celebration of the marriage. We contend that the intention of dwelling in their new house, and of continuing to reside in St. Peter's parish was dependent on their marriage; and that if the marriage were frustrated, they would not inhabit the newly-purchased house, nor, perhaps, again revisit the parish.' Pope Benedict XIV. quotes, *a propos* of this point, a decree of the S. Rota—a tribunal of the very highest authority on matrimonial questions:—'*Si parochialitas ad effectum validitatis matrimonii contrahitur ex habitatione, et animo permanendi per aliquod justum temporis intervallum, non est sane inquirendum ex qua causa vel in cujus domo habitaverit quis; sed satis est quod ibidem de facto habitaverit cum animo permanendi,*' &c. Theologians, too, as far as I am aware, do not trouble themselves much about the question of absolute and conditional intentions on this point; or about the cause determining such intentions. Sufficient for them that the conditions above mentioned exist. They then apply the good old principle, '*ubi lex non distinguit nec nos distinguere debemus.*'

"But, it has been argued: 'Even supposing that they had acquired a domicile in St. Peter's, it does not follow that they had lost their parental domicile. A person may have two domiciles. . . . Hence their marriage would be valid, even if they had acquired a domicile in St. Peter's parish.'

"Doubtless a person might have two domiciles—such cases are contemplated by theologians—but I doubt very much that John and Mary, in the case under discussion, fulfilled the conditions necessary for holding two domiciles. '*Possunt* [says Feije, page 144, N. 229, 4^o] *duo etiam haberi domicilia aequaliter vel fere aequaliter habitando per modum veri domicilii sub duabus parochiis, ex gr. hyeme in civitate, aestate ruri; non autem requiritur*

mathematica aequalitas, sed moralis sufficit. And Pope Ben. XIV. still more explicitly says, Instit. 33, n. 36: 'Tunc solum duobus domiciliis instructum aliquem Jure appellari, cum in utraque aequaliter collocatus prudentium virorum judicio existimetur: quod etiam Juris Pontificii auctoritate probatur.' That John and Mary did not fulfil these conditions, and had no intention of fulfilling them, does not, I think, require proof.

"But when, it may be asked, did they lose their parental domicile? It may be that they lost it when they first left their homes to earn their bread. It would be an error to suppose that all servants retain a true canonical domicile in the home of their parents. The question as to whether John and Mary lost it when they first left their houses is a question of fact, which could only be decided by asking themselves what their intentions were at that time. 'Difficultates [says Dr. Murray, *De Imped. Mat.*, page 154] ex quæstionibus facti (*v. g.* utrum Caius miles, Titia famula, alibi domicilium habeat) non ad theologiam solvendæ pertinent sed, in singulis casibus occurrentibus, ad industriam et prudentiam parochi.' If, when leaving home, they had intended never more to live there as '*incolæ illius loci*,' they would have lost their domicile in it, and the fact of their returning to celebrate a marriage, unforeseen at the time of their departure, would not restore it to them. It may not be out of place here to remark that Zitelli—an official of the Congregation of Propaganda—in his very useful *Apparatus Juris Ecclesiasti*, speaking of the domiciles of various classes of persons, says of servants: '*Famulis domicilium est in paroecia in qua famulantur.*'

"But whatever opinion we may be inclined to form on this point, to me it seems pretty evident that the taking of the house in St. Peter's parish was a formal renunciation of their parental domicile; and consequently, from that moment they could not be considered to have anything more than a mere '*domicilium originis*' in St. John's, which would not suffice for the validity of their marriage celebrated in it. For these and other reasons which might be assigned, I am of opinion that the marriage was, at least, doubtful as to its validity, and that it should be treated as such.—Faithfully yours,

"ALTER SACERDOS."

In the January number of the I. E. RECORD the following case was submitted to us by a respected correspondent. "John and Mary went to service in St. Peter's parish, and there acquired a quasi-domicile. They are both over twenty-

one years of age, and make arrangements to get married, taking a house to live in after their marriage in the same parish. Their parents live in St. John's parish, where they go and get married without the permission of the parish priest of St. Peter's, or his Ordinary. Is the marriage valid?" &c. In our reply we argued that the marriage is valid: and we supported our answer by the following two arguments:—(a) even if John and Mary had acquired a *domicile* in St. Peter's, there was nothing to show that they had forfeited their parental *domicile* prior to their marriage; and (b) we denied that John and Mary had acquired a *domicile* in St. Peter's prior to their marriage. Our present correspondent challenges both our arguments, and pronounces the marriage invalid, or, at least, only doubtfully valid. In replying we shall follow our correspondent's order, and inquire—(1) had John and Mary acquired a *domicile* in St. Peter's prior to their marriage? and (2) had they before the marriage lost their parental domicile?

I.

Had John and Mary acquired a *domicile* in St. Peter's prior to their marriage?

1. A person might argue—we wrote in the January number—that they had acquired a *domicile*; because they certainly had had a quasi-domicile; they had had a residence in the home of their employer; and now having purchased a new house, and being about to reside in the parish permanently in future, the quasi-domiciliary intention of residing *per majorem anni partem* is changed into an intention of permanent residence; therefore a person might argue that they had acquired a *domicile* in St. Peter's. Nevertheless, we taught that John and Mary had not acquired a domicile in St. Peter's; "that their intention (of permanent residence) was only conditional, and therefore insufficient for acquiring a domicile prior to the celebration of the marriage."

2. Our correspondent, as we have observed, challenges this argument; and in support of his own view quotes a number of distinguished authorities on the conditions necessary for establishing a domicile. We have no objection

to their definitions ; we cheerfully subscribe to their teaching. But our correspondent has made no serious attempt to reply to our argument ; no attempt to show that a *conditional* intention of permanent residence is sufficient to *originate* a domicile. He does, indeed, reply to it in the following negative manner :—

“Theologians, too, as far as I am aware, do not trouble themselves much about the question of absolute and conditional intentions on this point ; or about the causes determining such intentions. Sufficient for them that the conditions above mentioned exist. They then apply the good old principle, ‘*Ubi lex non distinguit nec nos distinguere debemus.*’”

We contend, however, that theologians do trouble themselves about the question of absolute and conditional intentions. They do not, perhaps, treat of them formally and explicitly ; but, surely, it will suffice if we show that implicitly they insist on the principle of an absolute intention. Let us test their teaching by a few examples.

3. *Case A.*—A person from the country comes to Dublin—let us say, to prosecute a lawsuit. He engages fixed lodgings. He does not know on what day the case will be called, or how long it will last ; but believes it may detain him in town for seven months. He intends to remain to the end of the case, and to return home immediately after its termination. Does this man acquire a quasi-domicile in Dublin ? We can fancy our correspondent arguing :—(a) This man fulfils the first condition for quasi-domicile—*factum habitationis* ; (b) he has *some kind* of intention of residing there *per maiorem anni partem* ; and (c) “the theologians, too, so far as I am aware, do not trouble themselves much about the question of absolute and conditional intentions ;” therefore (d) he has acquired a quasi-domicile in Dublin. The theologians, however, on the contrary, would say that this man has not a quasi-domicile in Dublin. Ballerini, for example, writes :—

“Quando deest animus figendi alicubi domicilium aut quasi-domicilium, nihil refert brevisne an longa ibi mora trahatur ; ita v.g. si peregrinus in quapiam consistas urbe opperens . . . litis alicujus exitum . . . quæ reditum in patriam retardat . . . Etsi enim etiam quinquennio immo vel decennio moram in dies precariam ibi trahens permanear, nunquam illud domicilii

jus acquies, quod ad matrimonium coram parochio, quasi tuo valide contrahendum sufficit.”—(Gury-Ballerini, pars. ii, n. 847, note a.)

Ballerini does not, indeed, use the words *absolute* and *conditional* intention; but if we penetrate a little under the surface we shall see that he recognises the *principle* that conditional intention is of no avail, and that an absolute intention of residence is indispensably necessary to *originate* a domicile or quasi-domicile. For in the example he gives, and in our example, the person commences to reside in a parish; he intends to reside there as long as his business requires, but no longer; he *intends* to reside there *ad majorem anni partem*, or for several years, *if necessary*, for his business; and yet he does not acquire a domicile or quasi-domicile. And why does he not? Because the only *intention* recognised by the theologians is an absolute intention; and where only a conditional intention of residence exists, it can be said in the language of Ballerini, “Deest animus figendi alicubi domicilium aut quasi-domicilium.” This manifestly is the meaning of the theologians quoted by our correspondent; nor can we with any propriety of language say, without some qualifying clause, that a person has the intention of permanently residing in a place, if his intention *from the beginning* is known to be subject to certain conditions, and if he might cease at any moment to reside in the place on account of the non-fulfilment of these conditions.

4. *Case B.*—We endeavoured on some previous occasions to determine the conditions in which a domicile or quasi-domicile *ceases*, by appealing to the conditions necessary for its *inception*, because “Quibus mediis domicilium vel quasi-domicilium contrahitur, iisdem etiam solvitur.” We shall now reverse the process, and show that as a conditional intention of *abandoning* a domicile or quasi-domicile already established is not sufficient to *destroy* the domicile or quasi-domicile, so neither is it sufficient to *originate* it. Ladies from the provinces not unfrequently come to Dublin to be married. The parish priest or curate of their native parish assists at their marriage. They then go on their wedding tour, and afterwards repair directly to the homes of their

husbands, and continue to reside there. Now let us analyze this case in reference to the *cessation* of the parental domicile—
 (a) On leaving home to be married, the *factum habitationis* ceases; (b) they have some kind of intention of not returning to reside in their parental home; they are anxious to get married, and go to reside with their husbands. Can they, therefore, be married in Dublin by the parish priest of their native parish? Did not their domicile cease when they left their native home? We can imagine our correspondent answering that the domicile ceased on their departure from home, because the *factum habitationis* ceased, and there was some intention of not returning; and “theologians, as far as he is aware, do not trouble themselves much about the question of absolute and conditional intentions.” Nevertheless, universal practice is opposed to such a view, and with good reason; for these ladies have only a conditional intention of leaving their parental homes, an intention dependent on the success of their wish or *velleitas* to secure a new home. And a conditional wish, as we have already remarked, cannot without some qualification or limitation be described “*voluntas . . non habitandi de cetero.*” Now “*quibus mediis domicilium contrahitur eisdem etiam solvitur;*” and hence, as a conditional intention of ceasing to reside in a parish will not destroy a domicile already established, so neither will a conditional intention of future residence suffice to establish a new domicile.

5. Our correspondent seems to have been misled by the words, “*Nisi quid avocet.*” A person shall have the intention of residing permanently in a place, “*nisi quid avocet.*” Now, the words “*nisi quid avocet*” do not sanction *conditional* intention; they are not opposed to *absolute* intention, but to *irrevocable* and *efficacious* permanent residence. A person, for example, to establish a quasi-domicile shall have the intention of residing *per majorem anni partem* in a parish. This intention must not depend on any *particular* condition known to him at the time. It must be an *absolute* intention. However, it need not be *irrevocable* nor *efficacious*, infallibly securing actual residence in the place for the greater part of

the year; the intention may be subsequently revoked on account of some supervening cause, or it may be rendered inefficacious through the intervention of some particular or general cause, *e.g.*, death. Hence the words “*nisi quid avocet*” do not mean that conditional intention is sufficient to originate a quasi-domicile; but that a quasi-domicile is established when the two conditions—*factum* and *animus*—are fulfilled, even though some unforeseen particular cause, or some general cause should compel the revocation of the intention, or render it partially inefficacious afterwards. (See example, Gury-Ballerini, page ii., n. 847, note *a.*)

6. Finally, in treating of the quasi-domicile of servants and certain other classes of persons, Dr. Murray has the following:—

“*Si alibi domicilium habeant, tunc aut intendunt locum ubi nunc sunt deserere . . . aut intendunt in loco ubi nunc sunt per majorem anni partem habitare, moralem habentes certitudinem se ex eo ante id tempus completum non esse amovendos. . . . In casu secundo contrahere possunt coram paroco aut domicilii aut loci ubi nunc sunt, utpote hic quasi-domicilium habentes.*” (n. 376, 2°.)

Now here Dr. Murray, though he does not introduce the words *absolute* and *conditional* intention, manifestly recognises the principle that an *absolute* intention of residence is necessary to originate a quasi-domicile; because the intention of residence which he requires must be accompanied by moral certainty that the person will continue to reside in the place for the greater part of a year; and how could a person have this moral certainty, if his intention of continuing to reside in the place were from the very beginning hampered with conditions which might necessitate his departure at any moment?

Our correspondent, too, quotes Zitelli. But how did the following passage escape his notice?—

“*Ad domicilium duo simul requiruntur, scilicet habitatio et animus semper manendi, qui animus, nisi aut verbis expressus sit aut actis quae illum significant, ex decennali habitatione praesumitur. Cum autem praesumptio veritati cedat, omnino cessat, si constet aliquem ob accidentalem causam aliculi habitare, qua deficiente discessurus est; quod si cessante tali*

conditions vel officio, quis ita habitare perseveret, ut, ex circumstantiis erui debeat animus perpetuo manendi, domicilium contractum censebitur." (Page 421, N. 3.)

Does not Zitelli here recognise the principle that conditional intention is insufficient to originate a domicile ; and that it is only when the condition ceases a person can begin to have the "animus perpetuo manendi" ?

7. We have now, we hope, abundantly proved than an *absolute intention* of permanently residing in a place is necessary to originate a domicile. And when our correspondent writes : " I do not, therefore, see the relevancy of saying ' their intention was only conditional, and therefore insufficient for acquiring a domicile prior to the celebration of the marriage,' " &c, he shows himself rather unacquainted with the subject on which he undertook to write. We might stop here. John and Mary had not an absolute intention of residing in St. Peter's prior to their marriage. They, therefore, had not a domicile there. And there is absolutely no reason for supposing that they had forfeited their parental domicile. Therefore, they could be married, and were validly married, in their native parish of St. John's.

8. But let us examine more closely the position of John and Mary on their wedding morning in reference to the parish of St. Peter. Whose was the newly-purchased house in St. Peter's ? It was either John's, or Mary's, or both were joint owners. (a) If the house were John's, what was the position of Mary ? She had left for ever the house of her employer in St. Peter's ; in the interval between her departure from her employer and her marriage she had no home in the parish ; and if the marriage were frustrated she might never again return to the parish, but remain at home, or seek employment somewhere else. How, then, could it be said that she had already a home in St. Peter's, and the intention of dwelling there for ever ? On the contrary, a person might maintain that, during the interval which elapsed between her departure from her employer's and her marriage, she had not even a quasi-domicile in St. Peter's. Because she had no home in the parish ; and having left her former home in the parish, and having no intention of

continuing a home in the parish during the interval, she might be said to have revoked the conditions of quasi-domicile—the *factum habitationis*, and the *animus*.

(b) If the house were Mary's, then it is manifest for similar reasons that John could not have acquired a domicile in St. Peter's prior to his marriage. And (c) if both were joint owners, the same difficulties would arise about the house and about the intention of future residence in St. Peter's. Because neither would go to live in the newly-purchased house if the marriage did not take place; and both together dare not go to live there prior to the celebration of their marriage. We conclude, therefore, that John and Mary had not acquired a domicile in St. Peter's prior to their marriage.

II.

Had John and Mary lost their *parental domicile* before their marriage?

We argued in the January number of this periodical that, even if John and Mary had acquired a domicile in St. Peter's prior to their marriage, it might be contended that they also retained their parental domicile, as according to the teaching of theologians a person can have two domiciles at the same time. Our correspondent challenges this argument also. But while he undoubtedly quotes some standard authorities in support of his views on this as well as on the preceding question, we cannot help suspecting that he did not allow himself sufficient time to digest and assimilate their teaching. As we have already shown that John and Mary had not acquired a domicile in St. Peter's prior to their marriage, we shall be brief in our treatment of this subject.

1. First, then, our correspondent writes: "In order to have two domiciles a person shall reside equally in both—about a half year in each. But this could not be said of John and Mary, because, in the hypothesis of their marriage, they had only a few days to spend in their native parish."

Ans. (a) We must remember that a person can *retain* two *acquired domiciles*, even if he spends years away from both.

(b) Our correspondent's doctrine is true of the *ori-*

gination of two domiciles, and it indicates, moreover, the normal way in which they are retained and continued. But

(c) It is not necessary for the *continuance* of two domiciles that at *each moment* a person shall be prepared to dwell in, or even retain, his two homes for equal terms of succeeding years. If some unforeseen cause should compel him to abandon one of his homes even on the next day, he will retain his domicile there, until, together with the revocation of the *animus manendi*, actual habitation also ceases. For example: a gentleman has a domicile in Dublin, and another in Kingstown; he lives in Dublin from January to July, and in Kingstown for the remainder of the year. In May, 1891, some unforeseen event compels him to arrange for his certain and absolute departure from the country in the following December. Now, what we ask, is this gentleman's position in reference to his Dublin domicile from May to July? Does he retain that domicile? Our correspondent should answer in the negative; because to have two domiciles a person shall reside a half year in each home; but after May this gentleman can never again reside six months in his Dublin home; he can stay there only until July. Therefore in May he loses his domicile there, though the *factum habitationis* will continue to July. How very absurd! Now the servants of whom we are writing retained their parental domicile with the *quasi-domicile* of their place of service. And even if this quasi-domicile had become a domicile, their parental domicile would not cease from the mere fact that they had still only a few days or a few hours residence in their parental homes.

2. "When," our correspondent asks, "did they lose their parental domicile? It may be that they lost it when they first left their homes to earn their bread . . . It is only a question of fact which could only be decided by asking themselves what their intentions were at that time . . . If when leaving home they had intended never more to live there as '*incolae illius loci*,' they would have lost their domicile in it," &c.

Ans. (a) Here again our correspondent *seems* to us to exaggerate the conditions required for a continuance of

domicile. He seems to suspect that servants not unfrequently lose their domicile when they leave home. He appears to think that the words "*ut incolae illius loci*" suppose an intention of returning home, and living continuously for some time at home. But we must remember that there is question of the *continuance* of domicile; and the conditions required for the continuance of domicile are better expressed in negative than in positive terms. It is surely sufficient if the intention of regarding the parental domicile as their home to which they might at any moment return to live—if the intention of again dwelling there does not *absolutely* cease, or is not *absolutely* revoked at the time of their departure. Of course it is possible that servants sometimes lose their parental domicile when going to service; but we think that such cases are the exceptions and not the rule; we think that without interruption they regard the parental home as their own home, to which they might again return, and in which they might dwell as *incolae*, if circumstances so required; and we think that, in several circumstances, in various conditions of life, *e. g.*, in ill health, in the intervals between two periods of service, &c., this continuous union of servants with their parental home is abundantly and unmistakably manifested. Hence, when servants have had a domicile before they went to service, *per se*, we assume that it continues, unless there be some reason to the contrary.

(b) But "it may be that they lost their domicile when they left home." No doubt it *may* be; it is *possible*. But is there any reason for assuming or even suspecting that it *was* so? None whatever. The parish priest who referred the case to us, no doubt, employed all necessary prudence and industry to acquaint himself fully with the circumstances of the case. And yet it never occurred to him, as far as we could gather from his communication, to suspect that John and Mary lost their parental domicile when they "left home to earn their bread." His only difficulty was, that by purchasing a house in St. Peter's they may have acquired a *domicile* there, and in that way lost their parental domicile; but we have already shown

that they did not acquire a domicile in St. Peter's prior to their marriage; and that, therefore, our former correspondent need have no anxiety about the validity of the marriage.

3. With regard to the quotation from Zitelli, we think it must be regarded as an example of the loose and inaccurate forms of expression we sometimes meet even in our classical authors. The *domicile* of servants is in the parish of their service! We have been accustomed to read of the *quasi-domicile* of servants in the parish of their service. And are we henceforward to believe that a servant, *e.g.*, who intends to remain only one year in a parish has even a *domicile* in the parish?

4. "But, at least, the taking of the house in St. Peter's," our correspondent urges, "was a formal renunciation of their parental domicile." We have already shown in our reply to the first question that the taking of the house in St. Peter's in no way whatsoever affected the parental domicile prior to the marriage. If John and Mary went home and got married during their period of service, during their *quasi-domicile* in St. Peter's, no one would seriously question the validity of their marriage. And similarly there should be no doubt about the validity of their marriage, even after they had completed the period of their service. The purchase of the house in the circumstances did not indicate the renunciation of the parental domicile, but merely an intention of renouncing it soon; of renouncing it after their marriage. They went home in the usual way that servants go home; during their sojourn at home they were not strangers but *incolae*; if the marriage were frustrated, the parental homes would be their only homes during the interval of their disengagement from service; they may even remain at home permanently—at least it is as likely as that they would inhabit the newly-purchased house in St. Peter's, or again revisit the parish.

We conclude therefore, again, that there is no reason whatever for doubting the validity of the marriage of John and Mary celebrated in their native parish.

JURISDICTION OF RETIRED PRIESTS—QUASI-DOMICILE—
TEMPERANCE PLEDGE — EXCOMMUNICATION — PROMISE
OF MARRIAGE..

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly answer the following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD ?"

"1. Whether a priest who has for a long time retired—say for years—through ill health or his own choice, and whose faculties have never been *actually* revoked, need have them now renewed in case of restoration to health, or of his being asked by any priest of the same diocese to help in hearing confessions. The usual practice of the bishop of the said diocese is to give *the faculties of the diocese* to priests entering on the mission there; and in case of removal from one parish to another, to make no further mention of faculties, but merely to say you are transferred from such a mission to such another.

"2. Do you think one can have *two quasi-domiciles* ? It is beyond question, I believe, that one can have two *domiciles*; and it strikes me as strange if one cannot have two *quasi-domiciles*, as well. Still, as authors (especially in I. E. RECORD) are divided as to what is necessary to constitute a quasi-domicile, the matter appears very doubtful. Some hold that *more than six months* is necessary for a *quasi-domicile*, while a *great many* others hold as *certain* that *six months* are quite sufficient for it.

"One would imagine, to take a common-sense view of the matter, that since *factum* and *animus*, &c., are all that is required for the domicile, that the case ought to be *a pari* with regard to the *quasi-domicile*. *Quasi* means *like*; i.e., one ought to be able to establish *two temporary homes* by a process similar to that by which he establishes *two permanent homes*. I know the late declaration of the Congregation is against this view, but perhaps it might fairly be interpreted in a moral sense; i.e., in round numbers, for six months.

"If such is not the case, it does away with the generally received opinion, that servants hiring for *six months* acquire a *quasi-domicile*.

"3. In the case of persons having taken a temperance pledge, has any priest power to free them from that pledge on any particular occasion? Can he say to them: 'I'll give you leave to take something on this event'? And, even if he had any such power, do you think it at all prudent to use it so?

"I am aware, and the parties themselves are likely aware,

that the pledge binds under no sin, but still have had no notion beforehand of any such power in the priest.

"4. The censure of excommunication against those who attempt marriage *knowing they are under a diriment impediment*, is, I assume, removed since the time of Pius IX., not being again included in his '*Constitution Ap. sedis.*' If such still appeared in the statutes of any diocese, through inadvertence or otherwise of the ordinary (copied, no doubt, formerly from the general laws and censures of the Church), would it have still a binding force? Or is it *now ultra vires* for a bishop to insist on such a censure in this country, where, I take it, there can be no "*special reason*" for its enforcement more than in any other portion of the Church?

"5. If a man, on the day immediately before his marriage (*omnibus paratis*) comes and confesses he is bound by a *valid* promise to another girl, what is it prudent for the confessor to do? *I take for granted that the girl with whom he has broken his promise knows all about his marriage, and did so for days before, and made no remonstrance to priests about his having broken promise with her.* At the same time it is almost certain if the confessor tells him he is bound to his promise and should marry the former girl, he will not be obeyed. Is the confessor, then, to declare to him that he is bound to marry the girl he has promised, or is it the wise and prudent course under the circumstances to remain silent?—Yours faithfully,

"A SUBSCRIBER."

I.

JURISDICTION OF RETIRED PRIESTS.

Priests may retire from the mission in various ways, and in widely different circumstances; and hence it would be difficult to give a satisfactory answer to our correspondent's question without separating the many cases that are grouped under this general heading. Lehmkuhl states the general doctrine on the subject, as far as it regards secular priests, in these words: "*Si autem jurisdictio et approbatio simul collata erat propter munus, quod confessarius tanquam subditus in aliqua dioecesi gessit, non censetur abdicatione munere perdurare. Quare sacerdos sæcularis, qui munus capellani aliudve gessit, si in alteram dioecesim translatus est, in priori dioecesi non censetur facultatem excipiendi confessiones retinere, nisi*

aliunde de contraria mente Episcopi constet." (P. ii., L. 1, Tr. v., N. 382, note 1.) Hence:—

(a) Parish priests who retire from the mission in this sense, that they resign the administration of their parish to an administrator but remain parish priests, retain together with their office whatever jurisdiction they previously may have had in the diocese. But if they absolutely resign their parish, then we must apply to them the same principles which we apply to curates.

(b) Priests who, with the consent of their bishop, temporarily resign their mission, and go to serve him in a different diocese still retain their jurisdiction, though they may accept a temporary appointment from another bishop, and in another diocese. For example, this happens in the case of priests who are deputed to collect for churches or other charities in distant countries. They would not be said to have absolutely abdicated their office or appointment in their native diocese.

(c) We would say the same of persons, whether parish priests or curates, who retire through ill health, but still remain associated with the working body of clergy by receiving a pension from a parish or an allowance from a retired priests' fund. This would be particularly true of a person who retired through ill health while still comparatively young, and who expected to be able to resume his duties in improved health at a later period. Of course we always suppose the faculties not to have been actually revoked.

(d) On the other hand, we think that a person who formally or virtually abdicates his union with the priests of the diocese loses his jurisdiction. Hence we think: first, that a secular priest who receives an *exeat* loses his jurisdiction, even before he is adopted into another diocese; secondly, that a priest who retires even from his own choice, and lives completely isolated from the clergy, devoting himself to secular pursuits, and living on his private means, immediately loses his jurisdiction.

In reply, therefore, to our correspondent, we would take the word *munus* of Lehmkuhl in a wide sense; and say that a priest who has retired from the mission, and whose faculties

have not been expressly revoked, retains his faculties as long as he is morally united with the working clergy of the diocese ; and that he loses his faculties when he severs this moral union, and lives a quasi-secular life in the world.

II.

QUASI-DOMICILE.

We think our correspondent means to ask, can a person have *two* quasi-domiciles *successively* within the *same* year. Because his argument seems to be : " A person may have two domiciles : the same ought be true of *quasi*-domicile : one ought to be able to establish two permanent homes in a year, because the *major pars anni* may be fairly interpreted in round numbers for six months." We will extend the scope of our correspondent's question, and ask—

(a) Can a person have two quasi-domiciles *simultaneously*?

(b) Can a person have two quasi-domiciles *successively*?

(c) Can he have them within the same year?

(a) Can a person have two quasi-domiciles *simultaneously*? Theologians do not speak of the multiplication of quasi-domiciles as they do of domiciles. Yet we think a person can have two quasi-domiciles *simultaneously*. For example, a person has commenced actual residence in a parish, and intends to reside there for three years, and only three years. This is a quasi-domicile. Later on the person is obliged—while retaining his former home—to reside for the greater part of one of the years in another parish. This man would certainly have two quasi-domiciles *simultaneously*.

(b) Of course a person can have two quasi-domiciles *successively*.

(c) Can a person have two quasi-domiciles *successively* within the same year? This is equivalent to asking, are the words, "*per majorem anni partem*," mentioned in the Instruction of the Sacred Congregation, dated 7th July, 1867, to be understood strictly of the *greater* part of a year ; or are they to be interpreted morally so as to mean *half a year*? Prior to the issuing of this Instruction of the Sacred Congregation,

there were three principal opinions of theologians as to the time required to constitute a quasi-domicile.

1. Some theologians taught that it is sufficient if the time morally approach to a half-year. "Alii vero," writes Lehmkuhl, "dicunt sufficere, ut tempus illud lato quodam sensu ad dimidium annum accedat, seu ut notabiliter tres menses excedat." (P. ii., L. i., Tr. viii., n. 775.)

2. Others, again, held that *half a-year exactly* is sufficient, as Sporer and Mazzotta. (Murray, n. 371.)

3. Finally, the common opinion of theologians taught, that to establish a quasi-domicile a person shall have the intention of residing in a place *per majorem anni partem*. (Murray, *ibid.*) And the Sacred Congregation has adopted the language of these theologians in the Instruction to which we have already referred: "Ad constituendum quasi-domicilium . . . duo simul requiruntur: habitatio nempe . . . atque animus ibidem permanendi *per majorem anni partem*." These are the *data* we have for forming a judgment on the question proposed by our correspondent. Possibly, different persons will draw different conclusions from these *data*. We, however—although some modern theologians¹ who have seen this Instruction, seem to recognise a half-year as still sufficient—adopt the teaching of Dr. Murray (nn. 371, 372), and we think that the words of the Instruction should be understood literally of the *greater* part of a year. We adopt this opinion—first, because the Sacred Congregation in adopting the terminology of the theologians, who required the *major pars anni*, must, we think, be supposed to have adopted their teaching also; and second, because if we introduce any laxity of interpretation in reference to the Instruction, we shall be thrown back again into the confusion of opinions that preceded its publication. For example, if we take it to mean a half-year exactly, another may say it should be interpreted morally, so as to mean five months and a-half, or five months; and so we should frustrate the end of the publication of this Instruction.

¹ Konings writes: "Si agitur de quasi-domicilio, ex Resp. S. C. Inq. ad postul. Syn. Pl. Manut. certa est sententia, quæ exigit habitationem per majorem adeoque per integram saltem dimidiam anni partem." (Vol. ii., n. 1614, Q. 1, Resp. 1.) Feije, too, expresses himself in a similar way, nn. 210, 227.

III.

TEMPERANCE PLEDGE.

As our correspondent supposes that the pledge does not bind under sin, we must regard it as only a very solemn species of resolution. And as priests have no indiscriminate power of telling their people to break their good resolutions generally, so neither have they in the matter of the pledge; it is neither prudent nor permissible for them to free their people from a pledge, unless there is a sufficient cause. Then, if there be a sufficient cause, manifestly any priest may tell a pledged person that he is excused from his pledge; unless, indeed, the rules of his association require a person to get permission from the president of the association, or from some other particular person.

IV.

THE CENSURE OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

1. We think that it is not *ultra vires* for a bishop to continue the censure. It would be *ultra vires* for a bishop, to extend the scope of a general law of the Church, and to require of his subjects more than the law requires of the faithful generally. Hence, in treating of the third precept of the Decalogue, St. Liguori writes: "Episcopus non potest censuris . . . cogere ad audiendam Missam in parochia . . . Ratio autem est quia, ut ait Navarr., episcopus non potest tollere (nec restringere) jus commune, et generalem totius orbis consuetudinem." (Lib. iii., Tr. iii., cap i., Dub. iv., n. 322.) But it is not *ultra vires* to enforce existing general laws by enacting local censures. Possibly it may be urged that the abrogation of the general law of the Church is an indication that the adequate and complete purpose of the law for the whole community has ceased, and that the law itself therefore has similarly ceased. If the total end of the law had ceased for the whole community, then indeed the law would cease; it would be no longer useful. But we might say that the abrogation of the general censure only proves that it is no longer *necessary* for the whole Church; but does not prove that it may not be sometimes *useful* for the whole, or at

least some parts of the Church. Then no very particular reason for the censure is required. There is no question of the *infliction* of a censure, but of the enactment of a penal law, for which it is sufficient, if, like all laws, it conduce to the public good, if of its own nature it be apt to secure the better observance of the laws relating to the impediments of matrimony. If, therefore, a bishop wished to continue the law, we would not question his power to do so.

2. But as to the question of fact; of course if it still appears in some diocesan statutes, it depends on the will of the bishops whether it still binds or not. But we should think that, until the bishop abrogates the statute, it remains in full force. This law was not merely copied into the statutes, but, in addition to the common law of the Church, the bishop made a diocesan law in the same matter. Hence the law will cease only by an express or implied act of the bishop, or by contrary custom.

3. We have, so far, discussed this question, on the assumption of our correspondent, that this law was "copied, no doubt, formerly from the general laws and censures of the Church." We have not had much time to examine the general censures that have fallen into disuse. But we find that the excommunication referred to by our correspondent was not contained in the *Bulla Cane*. Neither is it contained in the Tridentine laws. And we are inclined, therefore, to believe that wherever the censure appeared in diocesan statutes, it was purely a diocesan excommunication; and has not been intertered with by the Bull *Apostolica Sedis*.

V.

PROMISE OF MARRIAGE.

The question seems to us to suppose only a simple promise, or at most *private* and somewhat occult sponsalia. And we think, as our correspondent himself seems to imply, that, as no great harm seems to have been done to the first *sponsa* (otherwise she would remonstrate against the marriage of the *sponsus* with another), and as there is no reasonable hope that the priest's admonition would be attended to, the person may be left in his *bona fides*.

HONORARIA FOR SECOND MASS.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—For a long time—at least for some time—the priests of this diocese have enjoyed the privilege of taking a *honorarium* for their *second* mass on Sundays and holidays. Recently, however, our bishop has withdrawn it; not, indeed, arbitrarily, but on the ground that he himself only held the power of granting it *ad quinquennium*, and that this has lapsed.

"Now, may I venture to disregard this prohibition; and, if I do, how far would I commit sin if I based my non-compliance on the following arguments?—

"1. There has been a *consuetudo* on the point, at least in this diocese.

"2. The *reason*, I take it, of this prohibitory law was to guard against the possibility of *avarice* by saying a second mass *in order to get a second honorarium*; but in our case the very reverse holds true; we—of course, I am speaking of curates—are bound *nolentes volentes* to say a second mass; and hence, I hold that this law does not apply to us.

"3. What about the case of a priest who often has no *honoraria* on some other days, nor even for his *first* mass on Sunday, though he may, perchance, be offered one for his *second* mass? for, to be strictly literal, the law applies to this latter case.

"4. How far do the Maynooth Statutes, page 81, No. 68, bear out our bishop?—Yours in Christ, "C. C."

We think that our correspondent can no longer avail himself of the privilege of taking two *honoraria* on Sundays and holidays. The reason is: he was enabled to take a *honorarium* for his second mass on Sundays and holidays, only in virtue of the permission received from his bishop; but his bishop's permission has ceased, "as he himself only held the power of granting it *ad quinquennium*, which has now lapsed." Our correspondent, we are sure, is of the same opinion; but he pleads the cause of the opposite opinion, in order that the question may be discussed, and all doubt about it removed. He argues, therefore:—

"1. That there has been a *custom* of taking two *honoraria* in his diocese. And, therefore, it is lawful for the priests to continue receiving two *honoraria*, though the bishop's power of dispensing in the matter has ceased."

I would answer, *nego antecedens*. Of course, we speak of a custom *contra legem*. Now, a custom *contra legem* is the continued repetition of acts or omissions against a law. But in the present case the law had been removed by dispensation for the priests of our correspondent's diocese, before they commenced to take two *honoraria* for their masses on festivals. They were not therefore acting against the law. Dispensation, therefore, so far from introducing a custom against a law, is rather a strong testimony to the reality and vitality of the law. For example, we have been receiving dispensations for years from a portion of the Lenten abstinence; but yet there is no custom against that portion of the Lenten law; and if the usual dispensation were refused during the present Lent, we should be back again to the more austere rigour of the early ages of the Church. Our correspondent, therefore, cannot plead *custom* for continuing to receive two *honoraria* on Sundays and holidays.

2. Our correspondent next urges the theological maxim, "Finis legis est anima ejus." "The reason of this prohibitory law was to guard against the possibility of *avarice* by saying a second mass *in order to get a second honorarium*. The reason ceases in the present case. Therefore the law too ceases."

I answer, *distinguo majorem*: the *total* and *adequate* reason of the law was to guard against *avarice*, &c., *nego*. A *partial* reason of the law was to guard against *avarice*, &c., *concedo*. Now, to come to the minor proposition: "The the reason of law ceases in the present case." *Contradist. min.* The *total* and *adequate* cause; *nego*. A *partial* cause; *concedo*.

In laws that are enacted to guard against the danger of abuses, theologians distinguish two motives—a direct and an indirect motive. In the present case the direct motive is the prevention of *avarice*. This motive does not exist in every case, because in very many cases there is no danger of *avarice*. What, then, is the reason of the law in these cases? The reason of the law in these cases—the indirect motive—is to secure uniformity and to prevent the law from becoming

quite inoperative. For if it were permitted to each person to interpret the law for himself, and to determine whether the reason of the law existed in his own case or not, we should be soon back again to the abuses which called forth this same Church legislation. This is confirmed by the fact that, when the Church permits bination, even when two masses must be said, she always prohibits her priests to take two *honoraria*. And a case is recorded where the Holy See, consulting for the extreme poverty of a parish priest, who had applied for permission to receive a *honorarium* for his second mass after offering the first *pro populo*, allowed him to offer the mass *pro populo* on a week morning, and to accept one *honorarium* on Sunday. This parish priest was bound *nolens volens* to say two masses on Sundays and holidays; and yet the Holy See, while willing to alleviate his manifest poverty, would not allow him to offer his first mass *pro populo* and accept a *honorarium* for the second. On the contrary, it consulted for the pastor's needs, and marked in a most emphatic way its sense of the importance of this law against two *honoraria*, by dispensing in another law, by allowing him to offer his mass *pro populo* on a week day, rather than permit him to discharge two obligations of justice on Sundays and holidays.

3. In reply to our correspondent's third point, we would lay down the same doctrine for priests who may not have *honoraria* on some other week days. What shall we say if a priest had no *honorarium* for his first mass, and was offered one for his second mass? Though, as our correspondent says, the decrees seem to prohibit a *honorarium* for the second mass absolutely, we think they pre-suppose a *honorarium* to have been received for the first mass, and only forbid a priest to receive two *honoraria* for his masses on the same day. We think they do not forbid one *honorarium*, whether it be received for the first or second mass. Thus Varceno writes: "Qui binas Missas celebrat non potest duplicatum stipendium accipere: . . . Neque secunda Missa, quando prima fuit applicata ad satisfaciendum onus ex justitia, poterit applicari pro satisfactione alterius oneris pariter ex justitia." (Tom. ii., cap. iv., art. i., p. 90.)

4. Finally, the paragraph in the Maynooth Statutes, to which our correspondent refers, proves what we have been endeavouring to establish. It states—(a) that when a bishop grants parish priests faculties to duplicate, he shall admonish them that from no person, and on no pretext, shall they accept a *honorarium* for the second mass; (b) that on account of the circumstance of some missionary countries the Holy Father has granted to their bishops, “*Ut justa et gravi causa intercedente sacerdotes sibi subditi hujusmodi stipendium possint ac valeant percipere.*” (c) It is stated that, “*Haec permissio ad Hiberniae praesules extenditur.*” Evidently, therefore, when a bishop’s power has expired, or if a bishop prefers not to exercise this power, his priests cannot accept two *honoraria* for the two masses they say on Sundays and holiday.

D. COGHLAN.

Liturgical Questions.

THE FIRST PRAYER IN A REQUIEM MASS.

“REV. DEAR SIR.—1. Would you kindly say if the Litany of the Blessed Virgin is indulgenced the same as that of the Holy Name, so that the faithful have the same benefit by the devout recital of each.

“2. In the *missa quotidiana*, in saying the prayer, ‘*Deus qui inter Apostolicos,*’ &c is the word ‘*seu*’ said as in the prayer; and in that prayer do we pray for bishops and priests, or is one order excluded?

“3. Is this prayer to be always said in the first place? I have lately been speaking to some priests about these points. They have different opinions. Please say a word about this matter in I. E. RECORD of next month.

“H. M. B.”

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1. The indulgences attached to the recital of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, commonly called “the Litany of Loretto,” are practically the same as those attached to the

recital of the Litany of the Holy Name, but are, if anything, somewhat more extensive. The words of the *Raccolta* are as follow :—

“The Sovereign Pontiff, Pius VII., by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, Sept. 30, 1817, not only confirmed the indulgence of two hundred days granted by Sixtus V. and Benedict XIII., but extended it to *three hundred days* every time that, with at least contrite heart and devotion the Litany of the Blessed Virgin is said. He granted, moreover, to all who shall say it daily, a *plenary indulgence* on the five feasts of obligation of our Blessed Lady ; viz., the Immaculate Conception, Nativity, Annunciation, Purification, and Assumption ; on condition, that on each of these days, being truly penitent, they shall, after confession and communion, visit a public church and pray there for the intention of his Holiness.”¹

2. The prayer, *Deus qui inter Apostolicos sacerdotes, &c.*, is to be said as it is in the missal, as has been again and again declared by the Congregation of Rites. Moreover, an edition of the missal having appeared, in which the particle *seu* was printed in italics, thereby implying that it was not to be considered as a part of the prayer, the Sacred Congregation decided that the missal should be corrected. From this it follows that *seu* is a part of the prayer, and is always to be said as such. This much having been premised, it is easy to infer, in reply to the concluding portion of our correspondent's second question, that in saying this prayer, we pray for both the superior and inferior orders of priests ; that is, for both bishops and priests.

3. The third question is not so easily answered as either of the preceding. If we follow modern writers on the Rubrics, we should answer unhesitatingly that the prayer, *Deus qui inter, &c.*, should always be said in the first place in the *missa quotidiana* when celebrated as a private mass ; but if we consult the older writers, without taking into account either the authority or arguments of the moderns, we should just as unhesitatingly declare that the first prayer should be, not *Deus qui inter, &c.*, but that one of the prayers given in the missal after the Requiem masses, which is appropriate to the intention for which the mass is offered. For example,

¹ English Translation, Philadelphia, 1889.

if a priest celebrates the *missa quotidiana* for a deceased priest, the first prayer, according to the older writers, should be the prayer *pro sacerdote*; if for a deceased person not a priest, the prayer *pro uno defuncto*, or *pro una defuncta*; and if for several deceased persons, the prayer *pro pluribus defunctis*. This opinion is held by all who have a claim to be regarded as the classic writers on Rubrics, among whom may be mentioned Merati, Guyetus, Lohner, Romsée, Jansens, Brassine, and De Herdt himself in the first four editions of his invaluable *Praxis Liturgiae*. In subsequent editions, however, De Herdt has changed, and now holds with the entire, or almost the entire, array of modern Rubricists.

But more important for us than the fact that a writer holds a certain view, or has changed his opinion, are the motives which convince him that his present opinion is correct. For with regard to modern Rubricists in particular, the value of their opinion depends not on their authority, but on the arguments by which it is supported. Now, if we act on this principle we must come to the conclusion that neither De Herdt, nor those who agree with him, had any reason sufficient to justify them in abandoning the teaching of the early writers. The following is the resolution of the Congregation of Rites to which it would appear De Herdt attributes his change of opinion; and as he quotes this one *in extenso* we may take it for granted that he considered it the most convincing:—

“An in missis quotidianis de *Requiem* sacerdos sive ratione eleemosynae sive legati private celebrans pro aliqua, aut pro aliquibus determinatis personis defunctis debetne indiscriminatim dicere primam orationem *Deus qui inter Apostolicos, &c.*, primo loco in missali assignatam; an potius loco dictae orationis tenetur aliam dicere ex diversis in eodem missali positis quae conveniat ei aut iis determinatis personis pro quibus missam applicet? S. eadem Congregatio proposito dubio rescribere rata est. *Affirmative ad primam partem. Negative ad secundam.*” (S. R. C. Sept. 16, 1865, n. 5355, in *Tuscanem*.)

Now what does the Congregation in this resolution affirm, and what does it deny? It affirms that a priest celebrating a private Requiem mass for one or more deceased persons should always, without exception (*indiscriminatim*)

say the prayer, *Deus qui inter Apostolicos, &c.*, which is placed first in the missal (*primo loco in missali assignatam*). It denies that a priest is ever *bound* (*tenetur*) to omit this prayer, and substitute for it one from the prayers given in the missal, appropriate to the person or persons for whom he celebrates. And what is the conclusion from this? Nothing more, certainly, than that the prayer *Deus qui inter Apostolicos, &c.*, must always be *one* of the three prayers said in a private Requiem mass, and that a priest is not bound in order to satisfy an obligation to say a prayer appropriate to the intention for which he celebrates. But there is not a word or phrase from which anyone could infer that this particular prayer should be said in the first place, or that a prayer specially adopted to the intention for which the mass is offered *may* not be said, or *should* not be said before it. We may conclude, therefore, that so far as the Rubrics and Resolutions of the Congregation of Rites are concerned, there is no evidence of any obligation or precept binding a priest to say the prayer *Deus qui inter Apostolicos, &c.*, as the first of three prayers in a private Requiem mass. The question then must be decided by the arguments and authority of those who support the opposite opinions. And with regard to authority, no one will for a moment think of comparing our modern Rubricists, able and learned though many of them undoubtedly are, with the older writers whose names have been given. Moreover, whereas the moderns rely for support of their opinion *solely* on the Resolutions of the Congregation of Rites, which as we have just seen afford them no support, the older writers give many solid reasons, chiefly from analogy, to prove that their opinion and it alone is in conformity with true liturgical principles.

The conclusion, then, at which we have arrived is—1, that a priest satisfies an obligation of celebrating a private Requiem mass for one or many by saying as the prayers the three given in the *missa quotidiana*, and in the order in which they are given; 2, that, though not of obligation, it is yet advisable that the first prayer should be that which best fits the intention for which the mass is offered. A writer

in the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*,¹ after a careful and able analysis of all the decrees of the Congregation of Rites bearing on this matter, arrives at conclusions practically the same as these; and the learned editor states in a note, that his Eminence Cardinal Parocchi defends these conclusions, and declares that he himself never had a doubt regarding them.

II. DOLOUR BEADS.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you be kind enough to answer the following questions in the next number of the I. E. RECORD?—

1. What form of blessing is used for blessing Dolour beads? 2. Is it necessary that the person for whom they are blessed be present? A form given in the Ritual would seem to suppose that he should. 3. Is there any difference between Dolour beads and the Crown beads?"

1. The *Formula* given in the Ritual for blessing Dolour beads must be employed by all priests, whether secular or regular, who have power to bless these beads, whether they have this power from the General of Servites, or directly from the Holy See.

2. It is not necessary that the person for whom the beads are blessed, or who is afterwards to use them, should be present while the priest is blessing them. The Ritual is misleading, because the *Formula* there given assumes that the scapular of the Seven Dolours is blessed and conferred on the same occasion on which the beads are blessed. Manifestly, however, as the investiture in the scapular lasts for a lifetime, the power of blessing beads cannot be limited to the occasions on which the scapular must be conferred.

3. There is a very marked difference both in form and signification between the Dolour and the Crown beads. As regards signification, the Dolour beads are said in honour of the Seven Dolours of our Lady of Sorrows, while the Crown beads are intended to honour the Passion of our divine Lord. They differ also in form; for, whereas the Dolour beads are made up of seven *septades*, on each of which a *Hail Mary* is said, preceded by a large bead, on which is

¹ Vol i., page 207, et sq.

² Decr. Anthem, n. 401.

said an *Our Father*, the Crown are composed of three *decades*, and three single grains, on each of which an *Our Father* is said; the decades, moreover, are preceded by a large grain on which is said a *Hail Mary*, and both before and after the last three is also a large grain, on each of which likewise is said a *Hail Mary*.

III. HYMNS IN THE VERNACULAR DURING MASS.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—Might I ask you to give a reply to a simple query in the next number of the I. E. RECORD? What is to be said of the practice of singing hymns, &c., in English *during* the celebration of mass? Is it necessary that what is sung during the celebration of mass be in the Latin tongue? and, moreover, that the hymn, &c., be approved of by competent authority for use in the public service of the Church?

"SUBSCRIBER."

Several decrees of the Congregation of Rites forbid the singing of hymns, &c., in the vernacular during mass, or any other strictly liturgical action. But, strange to say, rubricists, with the express approval of the same Congregation,¹ have excepted from this category private masses, and declare it to be lawful to sing during such masses pious hymns or prayers in the vernacular, *provided, however, they have the approval of the bishop*, which is always necessary when there is question of the public recital or singing of anything extra-liturgical. Moreover, both the rubricists and the Congregation have in mind congregational as distinguished from mere choral singing.²

D. O'LOAN.

¹ Dec. 2, 1858, in *Lucionem*, n. 3.

² Bourbon, *Introduction*, &c., n. 586, note (1).

Correspondence.

“THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN MACHALE, BY THE RIGHT REV. BERNARD O'REILLY.”—A REJOINDER.

“VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—May I count upon your sense of justice and fair play to publish in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD, a few observations in reference to two episcopal letters which appeared in the March number of that periodical?

“1. In these letters a statement, quoted from the second volume of the *Life and Times of John MacHale*, by the Right Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, is qualified as not merely slanderous and calumnious, but as basely and grossly so. That statement, however, thus qualified by your Most Rev. correspondents, is from the pen of the late Archbishop of Tuam himself, and forms part of a document written and sent by him to his ecclesiastical superiors in Rome, as anyone can see who turns to the page referred to. Had your correspondents been aware of this fact, one at least of them, if not both, would, I am sure, have hesitated to usurp the function of the Roman authorities to qualify an Archbishop's pronouncement, and would have abstained from using the language which appears over his signature.

“2. In the London *Weekly Register*, of the 6th February, 1875, I find the following:—‘The Catholics of Ireland, we are rejoiced to know, are preparing to celebrate with befitting honour the fifty years' episcopal dignity of the Most Rev. John MacHale.’ That there was to be a celebration, then, was well known throughout Ireland. Can it have been unknown in the neighbourhood of Tuam? So much for the *fact*, now as to the *date*, of the celebration. The following letter of the Archbishop, published at the time with editorial comments in the public newspapers, will throw light on this point:—

“ ‘ST. JARLATH'S, TUAM,

“ ‘January 2nd, 1875.

“ ‘VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—Having read some of the kind letters of your correspondents, several of them from priests in England, expressing their desire to know the exact day of this year on which the fiftieth anniversary of my episcopal consecration comes round, with a view, they add, of joining by a testimonial in its celebration, I beg you to signify to them that the exact anniversary day will be the 5th of June, which in the year 1825

fell on Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, but which on this year I deem right to transfer to Tuesday the 8th, for the convenience of the faithful of the diocese. For the prayers of the faithful on the solemn occasion, which I humbly and earnestly crave, I will feel most grateful; but for a testimonial in any pecuniary shape, I beg most respectfully to decline any such, appreciating at the same time the kind feelings from which the suggestions of such a tribute have issued.

“Your faithful servant,

“(Signed) ✠ JOHN MACHALE.”

“Now this letter is dated on the 2nd day of the year 1875, and was in reply to communications received by the Archbishop during the year 1874, and I am in a position to say, that such communications came pouring in even so early as August, 1874. If, therefore, the Catholics of Ireland were preparing to celebrate his jubilee, and if people at a distance in England and elsewhere, admirers of the Archbishop, in their anxiety to do him honour, went to the trouble of seeking for information many months before, as to the exact date of the celebration, what are we to say of others nearer home, who only six months previous to it, profess to have had absolutely no ‘idea of the time when the jubilee was to be celebrated’? Was not the actual date of the Archbishop’s consecration known by most Irish ecclesiastics, especially by those of them who lived for many years under his Grace’s immediate jurisdiction? Was it not most natural to presume that the date of the jubilee celebration would be fixed as closely as possible to the anniversary date? Yet it was the Galway Retreat that was fixed for that day! Your impartial readers will, I think, be forced to the conclusion, that such a coincidence was not the result of chance, and that those who fixed the date of the Retreat studiously ignored that of the approaching solemnity.

“3. It may perhaps be said that once the time for the Retreat at Galway was determined on, the arrangement could not have been interfered with without serious inconvenience to the Most Rev. Dr. Lynch. Are we then to suppose that in the year of grace, 1875, there was not to be found in all Ireland anyone to do the Galway clergy the charity of preaching their Retreat a week sooner or a week later than the jubilee week, reserving the services of his Lordship of Kildare for some other year? Every one knows that ‘where there’s a will there’s a way.’

“4. As to the ‘golden maxim—*audi alteram partem*’ I may state that the author of the *Life* would have been glad to listen,

if the *altera pars* chose to speak when the opportunity was offered him.

"It is on the principle of that 'golden maxim' that I beg to claim the insertion of this rejoinder, for which accept my best thanks beforehand, and believe me,

"Faithfully yours,

"THOMAS MACHALE."

THE STOWE MISSAL.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—The generous, albeit exaggerated, recognition accorded in the current number of the I. E. RECORD to my edition of the *Stowe Missal*, it were ungracious not to acknowledge. For the rest, the essay in question contains some matters of inference and fact which the data scarcely seem to warrant.

With respect to the fratricide laid to the charge of Donnchad, son of Brian Boru, I had before me the note in the Rolls' edition of the *Chronicon Scotorum*. But against the reading there given (to omit O'Connor, who in a linguistic or historical question counts for nothing) there was the Dublin transcript of the Bodleian MS. In addition, for grammatical reasons, which it was unnecessary to set forth, no option remained but to conclude that the original lection signified *submission*, not *instigation*. The Bodleian text is itself notoriously corrupt; so much so, indeed, in the present instance, that the *Four Masters*, as elsewhere, inserted from themselves the word without which the expression could not indisputably mean *to instigate*! Besides, all the extant native authorities, with the notable inclusion of the provincial chronicle, the *Annals of Innisfallen*, are silent respecting fratricide in connexion with the deposition of Donnchad.

As regards the age of the *Missal*, it is inferred that I date the older part of the MS. in the fifth century, because I agree with Dr. Todd that the character in which it is written may be deemed older than the sixth century. But, to take a parallel case, one could say the same of a Frankish document executed in Merovingian Cursive, without referring it thereby to the age of Merovæus.

His Lordship goes on to assert that the MS. was most probably written about the middle of the sixth century. This can be easily determined. For, as I pointed out (*Stowe Missal*, page 165), the name of Justus, fourth archbishop of Canterbury, occurs in the original part of the text. His death took place in 627. The transcription of the portion in question cannot, accordingly, date farther back than the second quarter of the seventh century

Similarly (*ib.*, pp. 166, 167), St. Samthann, of Clonbroney, county Longford, is invoked in the added Litany. As this virgin died A.D. 739, Moelcaich's work was executed, at the earliest, in the first half of the eighth century.

The *Cursus Scottorum*, it could not be well denied, signified the Office. "But then [first half of seventh century], as now, the rule was that the Mass corresponded with the Office, and hence what is said of the *cursus* may be understood of the entire liturgy, including the Mass." This inference, it may be admitted, is ingenious, and, as far as I know, original. But, in the first place, the existence and extent of the correspondence at the time remain to be proved. Secondly, correspondence does not imply inclusion; rather, it imports the contrary. It has consequently to be shown by direct proof that *cursus* was not strictly tied up to express the Office, but was employed, in addition, to signify the Mass. In connection herewith, it may not be deemed out of place to quote the conclusion arrived at by me after the best consideration I could give to the subject.

"The truth is, that Tract [containing the account of the *Cursus Scottorum*], as its first publisher, Spelman,¹ rightly understood, does not deal with the liturgy at all, but with the Office, or Celebration of the Canonical Hours.

"Two proofs will here suffice. The author lived probably towards the beginning, or first quarter, of the seventh century—a disciple of St. Columbanus. Well, the seventh chapter of that Patriarch's rule begins: 'De Synaxi, ergo, id est, de cursu psal-morum et orationum modo canonico.' Throughout the chapter, *Synaxis* and *Cursus* are used as convertible terms—the former, three; and the latter, five times.

"The Synodical Discourse to be announced to parish priests in every Synod, a fragment of which is preserved in *Lebar Breac*, contains the two following injunctions,² in which the distinction between *Cursus* and *Missa* could not be more clearly expressed:—*Cursum vestrum horis certis decantate. Missarum celebrationes religiose peragite.*

"If additional evidence be desired, time can be profitably spent in studying the quotations and verifying the references, more than half a column long, under the word *Cursus*, in *Du Cange*."³ (*Stowe Missal*, page 157.)

I considered it superfluous to add Menard's note on *Cursus*,

¹ *Conc. &c.*, London, 1639, i. 167.

² *L. B.*, 248 a.

³ *Bib. Max. Patr.*, xii., 4

⁴ Col. 1319, 1320.

in his edition of the *Concordia Regularum* (lii. 34) : Cursus est id quod vulgo dicitur divinum officium, horae canonicae, opus Dei, pensum divini officii, quod a monachis quotidie excurritur et persolvitur. He adds two references and seven quotations in support of the definition.

To come to the Tract in question, take the following, for instance :—Inde per diversorum prudentium virorum et modulationibus, series Scripturarum Novi ac Veteris Testamenti diversorum prudentium virorum paginis, non de propriis sed de Sacris Scripturis reciproca, antiphonas et responsus, seu sonus et allelujas composuerunt. Where, it is essential to inquire, is the Mass which "corresponds" to these data?

Again: Est et alius cursus beati Benedicti, qui ipsum singulariter paucis discordante a cursu Romano [composuit?]: in sua regula repperies scriptum. Where once more, will you find a Mass "written" in the Rule of St. Benedict?

But it is perhaps unreasonable to expect accuracy on such matters from a writer who (followed by Cardinal Moran and the I. E. RECORD essayist) gravely asserts that St. Basil was brother of St. Gregory Nazianzen!

The original portion of the *Missal*, it is said, may represent a liturgy older than the Gelasian recension. On the contrary, we have to regret that, as will be seen immediately, in common with every known copy of the Gelasian Canon, it exhibits the three clauses (*dies—numerari*) attributed to Gregory the Great, the next liturgical reviser after Gelasius. Moreover, in what Roman recension, old or new, is the following remarkable interpolation (in the original hand) to be found?—

Gelasian Canon.

(Reichenau MS., no. 1.)

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae, quaesumus, Domine, placatus accipias, diesque nostros in tua pace dispone atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripias et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari. Per Christum, Dominum nostrum.

Stowe Missal, folio 25 a, b.

(The modernized text is employed.)

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus in honorem Domini nostri, Jesu Christi, et in commemorationem beatorum martyrum tuorum, in hac ecclesia, quam famulus tuus ad honorem nominis gloriae tuae aedificavit, quaesumus, Domine, ut placatus suscipias, eumque atque omnem populum ab idolorum cultura eripias, et ad te Deum verum, Patrem omnipotentem, convertas; dies quoque nostros in tua pace disponas, atque ab aeterna damnatione nos eripias, et in electorum tuorum iubeas grege numerari. Per Dominum nostrum.

"This is strongly confirmed by the fact that the old canon of the *Missal* has been erased, and the Gelasian Canon written in by the second hand, who flourished at a much later period." Reference to the printed text (in which the erased portions are put in italics) will, on the contrary, show at a glance that the greater part of the Gelasian Canon (from *et memoriam venerantes*, folio 24 b, to *per omnia secula seculorum*, before the *Pater noster*, folio 32 a) is preserved intact, as written by the first hand.

"It also shows that these more recent changes in the *Missal* were made to bring it into conformity not with any oriental or Gallican rite, but with the later emendations of the Roman liturgy." "Later emendations" here, probably, signify the Gelasian Canon. If so, they were, as we have seen, introduced by the older hand. As to the object of the changes made in the Canon, I have not asserted, or intended to convey, that they were effected to make the Gelasian conform to any oriental rite. I have directed attention (page 157) to the very remarkable fact that two of the non-Gelasian portions are respectively the substance and enlargement of two items of the Clementine liturgy. Surely, his Lordship does not consider the Clementine to be an oriental rite?

That the changes were made to bring the Gelasian into conformity with the Gallican use, is, I beg to submit, amply proved respecting the old hand, by the fact that he divided the canon in order to insert the long prayer, *Cum—novit* (folio 27a—folio 31 a), between *in somno pacis* and *ipsis et omnibus*, &c. This interpolation corresponds with the Gallican *Post Secreta*, and is the *Consueta Deprecatio* of Adamnan (*Vita Columbæ*, iii. 12.)

As to the second hand, he erased the Canon in order to insert, amongst other additions, a prayer made up for the greater part of a Gallican *Post Nomina* and a Gallican *Post Sanctus*, after *pro redemptione animarum suarum* (folio 22 b—folio 23 b). But, after all, it may well be deemed superfluous to elaborate proof of these alterations, in the light of the fact that every known transcript of the Gelasian Canon has been to some extent accommodated to the Gallican use.

With respect to the charge brought against Eustasius (*missarum solemnia multiplicatione orationum vel collectarum celebrabat*) the true reading is given by Mabillon (quoted in the *Stowe, Missal*, page 176): *sacra missarum solemnia orationum et collectarum multiplici varietate celebrarent*. For the "multiplied variety" here intended, see page 154 of the *Missal*.

Apart from the foregoing questions, the present discussion cannot fail to be productive of good, if it leads students to investigate for themselves the sole surviving monument of our early liturgy that is at once authentic and complete—Yours faithfully,

B. MACCARTHY.

YOUGHAL, *February 7, 1891.*

CORRECTIONS:—In February number, page 155, line 28, for “which,” read “whom;” line 29, omit “give a deal to perceive it.”

Documents.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. ON THE TERCENTENARY OF ST. ALOYSIUS.

SUMMARY.

The excellence of devotion to St. Aloysius.—Its admirable fruits.—Special celebration of his Feast this year in honour of his tercentenary.

Special indulgences.—A Plenary Indulgence granted to those who attend each day at the Triduum Devotions, or five times, at least, at the Novena preparatory to the feast, and who, having confessed and communicated, shall devoutly visit a church or public Oratory where the Feast of St. Aloysius is being celebrated, and there pray for concord among Christian princes, the up-rooting of heresy, the conversion of sinners, and the exaltation of Holy Church.

An indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines granted to those who being contrite of heart, make a pious visit to the places already named, and to youth, and the parents of such youth, who enrol themselves among the clients of St. Aloysius, and attend at the Triduum or Novena, as already mentioned.

LEO PP. XIII.

Universis Christifidelibus præsentes Litteras inspecturis salutem et Benedictionem Apostolicam.

Opportune quidem et auspicato contingit ut XI. kalendas julias hoc anno sacra sollemnia in honorem Sancti ALOISII GONZAGÆ trium sæculorum a beatissimo exitu eius elapso spatio sint memori pietate peragenda. Nuntiatum Nobis est, ex faustitate huius eventus mirabili amore pietatisque studio exarsisse

animos christianorum adolescentium, quibus optima sane huiusmodi occasio visa est, ut suam in caelestem iuventutis Patronum voluntatem et reverentiam multiplici significatione testarentur. Et id quidem evenire videtur non in iis tantum regionibus quae sanctum Aloisium terris caeloque genuere, sed late ubicumque Aloisii nomen et sanctitatis fama percrebuit. Nos iam a tenera aetate angelicum Iuvenem summo pietatis studio colere assueti, cum haec novimus, perjucundo laetitiae sensu affecti sumus.

Deo autem opitulante confidimus eiusmodi sollemnia non vacua futura fructu christianis hominibus, nominatim adolescentibus qui Patrono tutelari suo honores cum habebunt, in cogitationem facile deducuntur clarissimarum virtutum quibus Ille quoad vixit ceteris in exemplum enituit. Quas quidem virtutes cum secum cogitent et admirentur, sperandum est fore ut adiuvante Deo animum mentemque suam ad eas velint informare, studeantque fieri imitatione meliores. Neque certe catholicis iuvenibus proponi potest praestantius ad imitandum exemplum illisque locupletius virtutibus quarum laude florere iuvenilem aetatem desiderari maxime solet. Ex vita enim et moribus Aloisii possunt adolescentes documenta plurima capere, unde ediscant quae cura et vigilantia vitae integritas et innocentia sit servanda, quae constantia castigandum corpus ad restringendos cupiditatum ardores, quomodo despiciendae divitiae contemnendique honores, quae mente atque animo tum studiis vacandum tum cetera omnia aetatis suae officia et munia implenda, quodque his praesertim temporibus maximi est momenti, quae fide, quo amore sit Ecclesiae matri et Apostolicae Sedi adhaerendum. Siquidem Angelicus Adolescens seu domesticos inter parietes degeret, seu nobilis ephebus in Aula Hispanica versaretur, seu animo virtute et doctrina excolendo operam daret in Societatem Iesu abdicato principatu adscitus, ubi quod in votis habuerat et praeclusum dignitatibus aditum et vitam omnem proximorum saluti sibi unice impendendam esse gestiebat, talem in omni vitae genere sese impertiit, ut facile ceteris omni laude antecelleret et praeclara relinqueret sanctitatis argumenta.

Quapropter sapienti sane consilio qui christianae iuventuti instituendae et erudiendae praeficiuntur, sanctum Aloisium proponere solent tamquam nobilissimum ad imitandum exemplum, obsequentes consilio decessoris Nostri Benedicti XIII. qui iuventuti studiis deditae praecipuum Patronum caelestem Aloisium constituit. Quare egregiam sane meritorum laudem sibi comparare

videntur illae catholicorum iuvenum societates, quae non modo in italicis sed etiam in externis urbibus sunt institutae eo proposito, ut huiusmodi Aloisiana sollemnitas singulari cultu celebretur. Nos non latet quantum studii operaeque illae contulerint in apparandis honoribus qui toto orbe catholico Angelico Juveni deferentur et quantam adhibeant curam ut catholicorum pietate pariter ac numero praestent pia peregrinationes vel ad natale solum Aloisii vel ad hanc almam Urbem quae castas eius exuvias asservat et colit, suscipiendae.

Pueris etiam, ut accepimus, puellisque oblata est ratio testandi Aloisio puri amoris et pietatis suae quasi primitias: pagellae enim late sunt diffusae, augustis iam nobilitatae Nominibus, in quibus ipsi se parentesque tamquam famulos et clientes inscribant. Singulari huic in re optima ardori et sanctis eiusmodi propositis et votis cupimus atque optamus ut bonus faustusque iuvante Deo exitus obtingat. Interea cum admotae nuper sint ad Nos preces ut in uberiores animarum fructum caelestibus Ecclesiae thesauris hanc sollemnitatem ditare et decorare velimus, Nos piis hisce precibus benigne adnuendum censuimus.

Quamobrem de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli App. Eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis utriusque sextus Christifidelibus qui triduanas quotidie, vel quinquies saltem novendialibus supplicationibus quae habendae sunt ante Aloisiana sollemnia diebus a respectivo loci Ordinario designandis, et vel ipso die festo, vel uno ex dictis diebus ad cuiuscunque arbitrium sibi eligendo, vere poenitentes atque confessi ac S. Communione refecti quamlibet Ecclesiam seu Oratorium publicum, ubi festum S. Aloisii celebrabitur, devote visitaverint, ibique pro christianorum Principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione ac S. Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, Plenariam omnium peccatorum suorum Indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Iis vero fidelibus qui corde saltem contriti pias peregrinationes ad memorata loca confecerint, et parvulis etiam pro eorum captu eorumque parentibus qui nomina ad promerendum Aloisii patrocinium inscripserint, dummodo triduanis vel novendialibus supplicationibus, ut supra dictum est, adstiterint, septem annos totidemque quadragenas in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones ac poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus christifidelium, quae Deo

in charitate coniunctae ab hac luce migraverint, per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus. Praesentibus hoc anno tantum valituris.

Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhibetur, ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 1. Ianuari MDCCCXCI. Pontificatus nostri anno XIII.

M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI.

LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA ON THE ANNUAL COLLECTION FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE SANCTUARIES OF THE HOLY LAND.

SUMMARY.

Funds much needed for the repair, protection, and administration of the Shrines of the Holy Land.

A Collection for this purpose is to be made annually on Good Friday, or, if more convenient, on some other day in the course of the year.

The amount of the collection is to be sent to the Rev. Father of the Order of St. Francis, who is appointed for this purpose Commissary of the Holy Land.

Die 20 Februarii 1891.

ILLME ET REVME DOMINE,

Haud ita pridem hoc Sacram Consilium Christiano Nomini propagando diligenter ad examen revocavit ea omnia quae ad necessitates Missionum Palaestinae, quaeque ad regimen et moderationem arcae a Fratribus Minoribus Franciscalibus in Locorum Sanctorum curam custodiamque administratae referuntur. Hac opportunitate petitiones Apostolicae Sedi porrectae circa eadem argumenta exhibitae sunt. Enimvero exploratum est, inspectis temporum nostrorum circumstantiis, auctaque itinerum facilitate, desiderium inter fideles quotidie magis exardescere ea loca visendi, quae Salvator Noster CHRISTUS Dominus praesentia sua, ac praedicatione, potissimum vero morte ac Sepulcro suo nobilissima imprimis reddidit, eaque de causa ingentes sane expensas ad peregrinos hospitio recipiendos exigi: insuper Sanctuariis conservandis, restaurandis, scholis erigendis missionibus provehendis haud exiguam pecuniae vim requiri.

Ad administrationem vero collectae stipis oculos convertens, eam reperit esse tanto ponderi plane imparem. Decennio quippe mox elapso diligenter inspecto, vim reddituum custodiae Terrae Sanctae vix ad decies centena millia libellarum pervenire intellexit. Qui quidem ex triplici fonte derivantur. Pars siquidem illius summae ex oblationibus ad sanctuarium, ex juribus stolae, et eleemosynis missarum, quae a Franciscalibus celebrantur, proveniunt: pars ex collectis, quas in universo orbe Fratres ipsi industria sua perficiunt: pars denique ex eleemosynis, quae Feria VI in Parasceve in omnium gentium ecclesiis colliguntur. Haec porro postrema pars non nisi exiguam portionem totius redditus, quae nimirum tertiam partem illius certe non excedit, complectitur. In ea vero conferenda stipe Americae et Europae gentes aequae concurrunt. Ad quam pecuniam diligenter ac studiose administrandam jam a pluribus saeculis benemerens Ordo Minorum magna cum laude incubuit; dum fidem Catholicam duris exantlatis laboribus, fusoque sanguine, praeclari sui Fundatoris vestigiis inhaerens, per totam Palaestinam, Syriam, atque Aegyptum amplificavit. Quapropter Apostolica Sedes nedum religiosos hujusmodi viros benevolentia ac beneficiis suis nullo non tempore cumulavit, verum ipsum Terrae Sanctae Pium Opus non unius nationis proprium sed internationale constituit, quo ea, quae illius intersunt, vigilantiae religiosorum virorum ex diversis nationibus credita communi veluti praecipuarum Europae gentium studio procurentur: tantumque administrationis negotium sibi obnoxium declaravit.

Ea itaque omnia considerans S. Congregatio, et curam prorsus singularem rerum ad Terram Sanctam pertinentium sibi a Summo Pontifice commissam esse sciens, Eodem adprobante declarandum censuit, uti per praesentes declarat, administrationem arcae Custodiae Terra Sanctae sub sua speciali tutela esse constitutam, sibi quoque negotiorum quoad eam gestorum uti antea ita in posterum esse quotannis reddendam rationem, ut a se examinetur et a Summo Pontifice adprobetur. Hoc scilicet modo debita oblationum ratio habebitur, quaeque ad nova aedificia extruenda, vetera amplificanda, caeteraque gravia in quoscumque usus dispendia pertinent, S. Consilium accuratae disceptationi subjiciet, ipsisque religiosis viris, SSmo D. N. sanciente, perficienda committet.

Ut vero commodius oblationum collectae fiant, mandatur ut apostolicae literae die 26 Decembris 1888 datae, quae incipiunt

Salvatoris ab universis ad quos pertinent omnino ad executionem mittantur, collectaeque eleemosynarum una vice singulis annis Feria VI. in Parasceve, vel alio quolibet intra annum die pro Terrae Sancta faciendae non debeant quomodolibet ad alios usus converti atque applicari, sed integrae ad Revmum P. Custodem Terrae Sanctae per Commissarios Ordini SS. Francisci¹ ex omnibus orbis regionibus diligenter transmitti, quacumque dispensatione exinde revocata.

Quoniam vero studiosissime satagendum est ne in Palaestinae regione praeter ea quae ab antiquo recognita sunt, nova Sanctuaria aut recenter inventa, aut in posterum detegenda inconsiderate adstruantur, absolute vetat hoc S. Consilium ne quis uti authentica prodat ejusmodi Sanctuaria vel eorum cultum permittat, quin idem Consilium ea super re judicium edat, ac sententia sua ut talia recognoscat ac probet.

Haec A. T. gravissima hac super re significanda erant: interea vero D. O. M. vehementer adprecor ut omnia fausta felicia tibi fidelibusque curae tuae creditis concedat.

Addictissimus uti frater

J. CARD. SIMEONI, *Prefectus*.

✠ D. ARCHIEP. TYRENSIS, *a Secretis*.

Notices of Books.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFERINGS OF EIGHTEEN CARTHUSIANS IN ENGLAND. Translated from the Latin of Dom Maurice Chauncy. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1890.

THE short but highly interesting narrative, of which the present is a translation, was written by Dom Chauncy, himself a Carthusian, after the year 1541. The original Latin was re-published in England about two years ago, and created a profound impression, as well in Protestant as in Catholic circles, by its simple and unadorned statement of the cruel sufferings endured for conscience' sake by the monks of the London Charter House. But as it was desirable that the narrative should reach a circle of readers wider than that for which the original Latin

¹The Commissary in Ireland is Very Rev. M. A. Cavanagh, O.S.F., Franciscan Convent, Drogheda.

was intended, the editors have had the present translation made and published.

Dom Maurice Chauncy began his novitiate in the London Charter House in the year 1531. The Anglican schism broke out in 1533, and the eighteen fathers and brothers, with one exception, were put to death in the two years 1535-37. Hence, this is the narrative of an eye-witness. The origin of the dispute between King Henry VIII. and the Pope is well known; and, viewed from a distance of three and a-half centuries, it appears inconceivable how he was able to carry with him almost the entire people of England, lay and ecclesiastical. But if we reflect on the means employed by the king, and the false issues that were presented to the people by his willing tools, we shall not be astonished, but rather pray lest by analogous methods a similar catastrophe may be precipitated in our own day.

: It was represented to the people that Henry's claims did not touch the spiritual jurisdiction of the Pope, but were only such as a temporal king might justly demand. In other words, the question at issue, it was said, was not one of "morals but of politics," as some modern "Reformers" are in the habit of saying regarding living issues. This view would still seem to find favour with English Protestants if we may judge from a statement made in a leader in *The Times* of May 21, 1873. The writer in drawing a parallel between the struggle against the papacy maintained by Henry VIII., in the sixteenth century, and that in which Prince Bismarck was then engaged, says: "With us then, as with Prince Bismarck now, the struggle with Romanism was essentially *political*." Deceived by this specious but insidious fallacy, the clergy submitted *as far as the law of Christ would permit them*; and with the clergy, the laity also submitted on the same tacit condition. But all compromise of principle, or equivocation regarding the laws of God or of the Church brings with it its own punishment. The people were bewildered; the king and his satellites who were plotting a complete rupture with Rome were strengthened; and the clergy, having made the first concession, were confounded to hear their own words and actions used as arguments for setting aside the Pope altogether. If a priest warned his people of the danger to his Faith, he was told to mind his own business, and the sixteenth-century equivalent for "no priests in politics" was often muttered or loudly proclaimed. The bulk of the clergy suc-

ceeded in arguing themselves into the belief that they might follow Henry without leaving the one true fold. Of this number was Dom Maurice Chaucey. But he soon repented, and spent the remaining years of his life in making atonement for his sin.

The narrative, we have said, is profoundly interesting. The writer begins by giving us a picture of life at the Charter House. And such does he represent the mortification, the obedience, and the charity of the monks to have been, that we do not feel the least surprise to learn that eighteen out of forty-eight gained the crown of martyrdom. Many of the monks had attained a very high degree of perfection, and were often vouchsafed revelations ; and such was the sanctity pervading the entire monastery, that it was not rarely the scene of extraordinary miracles, some of which the writer himself witnessed. Peculiarly affecting, and at the same time most edifying, is the account of the preparations which the whole community of the Charter House made for death, after having in solemn conference resolved to resist the edict of the king rejecting the spiritual headship of the Pope.

There is a curious mistake in the introduction by the editor. He says the narrative was written about 1539, whereas on page 69 is given an account of the martyrdom of one of the lay brothers, which, according to the writer, happened in 1541. And though the editor points out that this brother was put to death in 1540, it does not follow that the account of it could have been penned in 1539. On the contrary, seeing that Dom Chauncey has mistaken the year, would it not appear that he must have written the narrative several years after the event ?

SAINT ANASTASIA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR. By Margaret Howitt. London : Burns & Oates.

THE subject of this short history is one of the most remarkable, and most highly honoured of the early martyrs. Her name occurs in the Litany of Saints, and in the Canon of the Mass, and she is commemorated in the second Mass on Christmas Day. The Church dedicated to her in Rome, and in which her ashes repose, was, in the centuries succeeding her martyrdom, held in the highest honour and reverence. The Popes were wont to walk barefooted to this church twice each year, and to celebrate in it the Mass on Christmas Day, in which the commemoration of the holy martyr occurs. After a heroic life spent in ministering to the spiritual and temporal wants of the persecuted Christians, Anastasia suffered death by fire in the persecution of Diocletian,

about A.D. 303. This little biography, compiled from an Italian "Life," presents in a very readable form the chief incidents in the brief but noble life of the virgin martyr, together with edifying accounts of many other martyrs to whom she had ministered or with whom she was connected by ties of Christian friendship.

AIDS TO CORRECT AND EFFECTIVE ELOCUTION, WITH SELECTED READINGS AND RECITATIONS. By Eleanor O'Grady. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1890.

IN the theoretical part of this book Miss O'Grady makes a fairly successful attempt to construct a scientific basis for elocution. Gesture and speech are the two elements which combine to make elocution. Of these, the former, according to Miss O'Grady, should always precede the latter, and the gesture of the face should precede that of the hand. The six laws of gesture given by Delaumosare are stated and explained. But unless American students have penetrated much farther into the science of elocution than we have, it is to be feared that some parts of Miss O'Grady's explanations will be barely intelligible even to them. Thus, for instance, she says, speaking of bowing:—

"Bowling, kneeling, and seating one's self, are accomplished by observing the law of *poise*, or 'Opposition of Agents.' The law consists in placing the acting levers in opposition, and thus realizing *equilibrium*." The "Selections" have been chosen with great care with a view to illustrate the theory, and many of them will be new to most readers in this country. Some of them are in prose, some in verse, some are serious, some humorous, and all are interesting and instructive.

THE PERFECTION OF MAN BY CHARITY. By Fr. H. Reginald Buckler, O.P. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

THIS work, the author tells us, has been written mainly for religious persons; with the hope, however, that the general principles and plan of the work may be acceptable to ecclesiastics generally, and to pastors of souls in particular. Many of our modern ascetical works are but a collection of pointless platitudes, or weak thoughts strung together without order, or any well defined object. They profess to point out the path to perfection,

but ever and anon they keep turning away from the track they have chosen, into lanes and by-ways for the purpose of pursuing some stray and oftentimes irrelevant thought that had crossed the writer's mind. The present work is not one of these. Its object, clearly expressed in the title, is kept constantly before the reader, and all the arguments and illustrations are directed to showing how perfection depends on charity, and how persons may become perfect through charity. Though in the highest and lowest sense of the word a theological work, it is quite free from merely technical terms, and is withal written in an easy, graceful, and familiar style. For his matter, the author has gone to the very sources of theology ; namely, the Scriptures, the doctrines of the Church, the writings of the Fathers, and of the great Scholastics. Of the last category he quotes most largely, as might be expected, from the angel and the seraph of the schools, the great saints, Thomas and Bonaventure. We earnestly hope that this book may reach those for whom it is intended, and that it may fill them with that charity *quae nunquam excidit*.

THE VENERABLE SIR ADRIAN FORTESCUE, MARTYR. By Father John Morris, S.J. London : Burns & Oates.

SIR ADRIAN FORTESCUE was one of those who resisted the absurd and impious pretensions of Henry VIII. to the spiritual headship of the Church in England. Born in 1476, of a knightly family, whose members had served the kings of England both in the field and in the council chamber, Sir Adrian seems to have nobly preserved the traditions of his race. By command of King Henry he accompanied his noble but unhappy Queen, Catherine of Arragon, to the Field of the Cloth of Gold ; and very shortly afterwards he took part in a twenty-one weeks' campaign against France, in which he must have seen very sharp fighting. But neither his fidelity to the king, nor his kinship with the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, whose first cousin he was, sufficed to excuse him to the tyrant king for refusing to recognise him as supreme head of the Church. With another noble knight, Sir Thomas Dingley, he was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1539 ; thus by his heroic defence of the one true Faith, giving to his name and his motto—*forte scutum*—a higher and holier significance than it previously possessed. Father Morris has made this brochure very interesting by his numerous quotations from a domestic account-book kept by Sir Adrian, and from other contemporary documents.

THE HARP OF JESUS. A PRAYER-BOOK IN VERSE. By the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son. 1890.

THE Author's short Preface, in which he explains the peculiar title of this booklet, and the purpose it is intended to serve, is itself the most appropriate notice. We, therefore, transcribe it without apology :—

“The letters of *Eucharistia* may be so transposed as to form *Cithara Jesu*. This anagram and this hidden meaning suggested the name of this very peculiar little Prayer-book—a name which has the additional attraction of being associated with our Island of the Sacred Heart, whose symbol is the harp.

“The metrical form of these prayers may help children—and perhaps, too, some “children of a larger growth”—to learn a few of them by heart, and they may occur to the memory in moments when ordinary prayers would not be available. The unusualness of the form, also, may be of use in fixing attention on thoughts that are happily very familiar. This little book may thus aid some souls in fulfilling better the supreme duty of life, which is prayer.”

Though small, this Prayer-book contains a varied collection of prayers, among which will be found suitable ones for nearly all the different circumstances and conditions of life. These prayers, together with the graceful versification of which Father Russell is such a master, are remarkable for their deep pathos, their genuine piety, and soundness of doctrine, all distinctive attributes of their author's writings. •

LITTLE NELL. A Sketch. By Frances Noble. Burns & Oates.

THIS sketch, by the author of *Gertrude Mannering*, gives a very vivid picture of the agony endured by a father, who refused to forgive his daughter for having married a Protestant. Her death, soon after the marriage, opened his eyes to the folly of his course, and the love which he denied his daughter is lavished on her only child, who proves worthy of it, and who having become a Sister of Mercy, is sent by her superiors to console him in his last illness. The story is very well told, and will supply two or three hours' interesting reading.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MAY, 1891.

THE OFFICE OF REASON IN THEOLOGY.

THE contemptuous epithet of "Dark Ages," so long and so unreasonably applied to the mediæval period, is now happily going out of use. But if the more tolerant men of to-day graciously allow some excellence in earlier generations, they are still very far from losing sight of their own superior merits. They have gained sufficient "sweetness" to abstain from harsh language, but they, nevertheless, continue to regard the "light" as something peculiarly their own. The interest awakened by the mediæval, or still earlier periods, is not unmixed with pity. And the present century, in contrast with all its predecessors, is spoken of as this "enlightened age." The world, it would seem, has passed its term of childhood and reached the years of reason. Faith and credulity and superstition have gone their way. We are wiser than our fathers; we ask for proof, not authority. Such are the professions of the day. Whether the claim to this superiority is warranted by facts is another matter.

If we confine our attention to the field of physical science and mechanical invention it will be easy to make good the claim. Who would envy the man who can look with apathy on the vast strides which science of this kind is making in our day? New realms are ever opening to our sight, and conquests won, which are full as splendid, and far more lasting, than any gained by arms. Beside the mighty fabric

of modern physical science, the physics of earlier days make a poor show, indeed. And it is no wonder that men who look only at this are led to speak of the present century as the age of enlightenment, and to think little of the methods and teaching which come from the past. Yet it is, surely, fairer and more reasonable to look further afield before joining in this worship of the age. If we do this we shall find that, after all, our boasted progress is mainly confined to one field of knowledge, and that by no means the highest or the most important.

Literature in all its forms, and art and philosophy, are tokens of enlightenment, to say the least, as trustworthy as physical science or mechanics. Can we dare to claim pre-eminence in all these? Are there not ancient marbles rightly called the "despair of modern art," and old masters beside whose works the best paintings of to-day fade into insignificance? Is there no ancient poetry which finds but a faint echo of its lofty strains in the few great singers who are still with us? And, having passed to another field, how would the "philosophy" of this age of light bear comparison with the real philosophy of Plato and St. Augustine, of St. Thomas and Aristotle? Truth to say, it would make as poor a show as the mediæval naturalist compared with Huxley and Darwin. Nay, we cannot make a fair comparison between them, for most of the truth and beauty to be found in modern writings is taken from the great thinkers of the past.

The tone of superiority assumed by so many writers of the day is thus hardly in keeping with facts. We are told, however, that earlier ages were distinguished by a credulous and blind trust to authority, whereas the present lives by reason and proof. But is this the case? Do men nowadays make better use of their reason than in the ages of faith? Take, for instance, the general acceptance of the teaching of science. Does this rest on severe and formal reasoning or actual experience of the facts which are admitted? Undoubtedly a large number of facts in natural science have been ascertained with certainty, and many of its conclusions are proved to demonstration. Yes, but for whom is this proof?

For all who accept the teaching? Surely not. Very few of the thousands who receive it without qualms, who take the words of Huxley and Darwin as gospel truth to measure heaven and earth withal, could give any proof of their teaching. Nay, there are many quite incapable of appreciating the force of the arguments when these are placed before them. Science, like religion, has its *ecclesia discens* and its *ecclesia docens*. Authority, after all, has more influence in our lives than we are aware of—more, maybe, than we care to acknowledge. Even in matters which are susceptible of strict proof most of us are content to go by faith. We accept the teaching of those who are masters of their several subjects, and go by reason only in so far as practical reason tells us that we do well to take their authority.

Now there is no reason to complain of the acceptance of scientific teaching on the authority of competent men. It would be the height of folly to reject and disbelieve all science which we have not proved for ourselves. Reason itself condemns such a course. For it is not only in strict proof and formal investigation that the voice of reason is heard: it is in the office of reason to weigh the credentials of an authority, and form a practical judgment as to its trustworthiness; and this reasonable belief is and must always be one of the most effective means of arriving at the truth. There is thus what may be called an element of faith in the wide-spread acceptance of modern physical science. Unhappily, credulity and superstition follow in its train. Because a man has made important discoveries, or has done other excellent work in the field of physics, he is practically taken as a guide and teacher, not merely on those matters on which he can claim to speak with authority, but on the higher subjects of philosophy and religion. No doubt there are some men who have been carried into the trackless desert of scepticism and unbelief by doubts and difficulties of their own. But it is likely that the number of those who have thus gone astray through the disordered workings of their own minds, is not by any means considerable. The hosts of fashionable Freethinkers and Agnostics, and Positivists and Atheists, are

really led by the influence of others. They may talk of reason, and smile at the simple credulity of darker ages, yet they are themselves the victims of a singular delusion, and afford one of the most striking examples of credulity and unreasoning faith that the world has seen. What, after all, is the ultimate basis of their assent to the form of unbelief which they affect? It is the word of some eminent man who has no claim to authority but his achievements in physical science, or the charm of his literary style. Popular agnosticism is really a creed, or rather a system of credulity.

In all this we see the natural result of the perversion of reason from its true office. The revolt against the just sway of lawful authority has ended in the tyranny of usurpers. If we turn from the disciples to the teachers, we shall find fresh tokens of the want of real rationalism. How do modern writers treat the old reasons for religion, whose force has been felt by so many great thinkers in the past? For the most part, with contempt. They tell us that these things cannot bear the light of modern science: their day is gone by. It is easy to dogmatize in this fashion. The wonder is, that men are so easily satisfied.

And somehow the world accepts the *ex cathedra* pronouncement without further inquiry. It is true, some writers are not content with mere assertion, and put forth certain conclusions of modern science as their reasons for rejecting religion. But these "reasons," however plausible they may seem at first sight, will not bear a close scrutiny. We may well wonder at the singular confusion of ideas which somehow attacks some of the most powerful minds whenever they come to deal with the relations of science with religion. No attempt is made to distinguish between theology itself and the opinions of those who happen to be its exponents; and thus the teaching of religion is supposed to be discredited by a discovery which only affects these private opinions on matters of natural science. A very little reflection would show that the views in question were no part of the doctrines with which they happened to be associated, and were shared in by others who had nothing to do with theology. On the other hand, the crude speculations of scientists are often

mixed up with the ascertained truths of science, and the one is taken for the other.

Confusion of this kind begets that unfortunate appearance of hostility between science and religion which is doing so much harm in our days. Some of the votaries of physical science, from whatever motive, seem bent on keeping up the delusion, and their writings are often tainted with something worse than the proverbial *odium theologicum*. It is much to be regretted that certain apologists, with more zeal than judgment, unwittingly second these efforts, and do what in them lies to associate the cause of orthodoxy with obscurantism. The evolution hypothesis affords a conspicuous example of the prevailing confusion of ideas. This theory is often used as a pretext for rejecting the teaching of religion; but it is surely a very sorry pretext. Those who take up this position are arguing from a mere hypothesis; no adequate reasons are forthcoming. Nay, the theory is from the nature of the case hardly capable of strict demonstration. The most that can be looked for is a certain show of probability. And when all is said and done it must still remain possible that some other hypothesis would account for all the facts which are now supposed to tell in favour of evolution.¹

This hypothetical character belongs to the very essence of the evolution theory. The form in which the theory is often put forth is open to far more serious objections. Thus the attempt to give a mere material origin to the rational soul of man is really something apart from the rest of the theory. It is not simply a variation in the species of animal life; it is a leap into a new order of being. The wonder is that those who can reconcile themselves to this, do not make an equally bold step at the other end of the series, and say that matter was evolved out of absolute nothingness. There is no use in shirking facts. If we take into account those things which man has in common with the beasts, we must not shut our eyes to the far more striking facts which mark him off as something very different from them. Professor

¹ There is, for instance, the alternative of "ideal evolution," on which see Hartmann's *Wahrheit und Irrthum im Darwinismus*, ii.

Mivart speaks the language of sound reason when he says:—

“To estimate any object as a whole, its powers of action no less than its structure must be taken into consideration. The structure of the highest plants is more complex than that of the lowest animals; but, for all that, powers are possessed by jelly fishes of which oaks and cedars are devoid. The self-conscious intelligence of man establishes between him and all other animals a distinction far wider than the mere superiority of his brain, in mass and complexity, or any other physical difference would indicate.”¹

Max Müller, in like manner, is well within the mark when he says that language forms a rubicon which no beast can cross. Language is the expression of a reasoning soul, and the sign of a life that is not of the slime of the earth.²

It is much to be feared that in many instances the evolution hypothesis is more readily adopted because of its supposed antagonism with the teaching of religion. It is welcomed as a substitute for creation, and a refutation of the old theistic arguments. In any case, this would not be a very rational ground of belief, and it could hardly preclude the necessity of other reasons, or of a full consideration of the objections to which the theory is open. But the real folly of this hasty acceptance of the hypothesis, as a stick to beat religion with, is only seen when we come to examine the supposed antagonism more closely. And here there is need of very careful discrimination. A theory in itself is one thing; the animus of its exponents is another. The mere fact that a science is largely cultivated and taught by men who are, unhappily, prejudiced against theology, tends to obscure the real point at issue, and to clothe scientific statements or hypotheses in an atheistic garb. Such has certainly been the case with the bold theory of Darwin and his followers; and it is no wonder if many among us are repelled by a system which is so constantly set before us in this hateful guise.

¹ *Lessons in Elementary Anatomy*, concluding remarks.

² It is worth remarking that Onkelos 'paraphrases' Genesis ii. 7 by the words *והיות כאדם לרוח מלא*. “And it became in Adam a speaking spirit.” Onkel., *Targum in Genes.* ii. 7.

But what, after all, is the real character of the hypothesis itself? What has it to say against religion? Nothing whatever. Not only is the hypothesis—so far as it is consonant with reason and experience—perfectly compatible with a real and living theism, but it leaves the old theistic arguments untouched. The reasons of St. John Damascene and St. Thomas would still have all their force if that theory were to receive a full demonstration to-morrow. After all, it leaves the great riddle still unsolved. It provides no substitute for creation. Even if we admit that the hypothesis explains, to some extent, how the various forms of animal life may have been evolved from primeval matter, it can tell us nothing of the origin of that prolific matter itself, or of the cause which first set it in motion. Behind the elaborate cosmogony of Haeckel and his fellows we come once more to the old problem, and creation is the only answer in which reason can at length find rest.

It may, perhaps, be urged that the evolution hypothesis is, at least, at variance with the account of creation given to us by revealed teaching. This is often asserted by writers of very different schools, but it has never been proved. One writer will identify "evolution" with all the extravagant views with which that unfortunate word has ever been associated. Others betray a conception of creation which is hopelessly at variance with sound theology. But it cannot matter two straws whether an unscientific theory of evolution, and an untheological conception of creation, are compatible with one another or not. The loose language often heard in such discussions would be very amusing, were it not for the fact that it helps to keep alive the superstition that science and theology are at feud, and so does incalculable harm. When once we get rid of the misconceptions and the confusion of ideas which, unhappily, prevail, it will be seen that the supposed antagonism has no reasonable foundation.

What are the main lines of the cosmogony shadowed forth in the opening chapters of Genesis? The world with all its wealth of life is described as being gradually evolved from a primeval chaos. One by one the different orders of

living things appear above the face of the earth, or rather come out from it. Life, and beauty, and order, are breathed into the dead and formless matter by Him whose word had made it out of nothing. Each successive elevation in the scale of life is the work of His power. We may thus imagine the Creator, like an artist or a sculptor, fashioning and moulding the work of His hands. But this is the language of metaphor; theology teaches us to remove all the imperfections and limitations from our ideas of the divine operations. God works all that He wills immediately by His divine power. The movement or change is all in the creature itself, which becomes all that He wills it to be.

If a knowledge of these elementary principles of theology were more common, we should be spared a good many aimless objections from modern opponents. Thus, Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his *First Principles of Biology*, tells us that no one has ever seen a special creation; and he goes on to argue that such creations were purposeless, because *ex hypothesi* they all took place when there was no man to see them. Well, let us suppose that a man had been made before his time in order that he might witness the work of creation. What would he have seen? What could he have seen? Nothing but the effects; the earth apparently of itself sending forth plants and trees from its prolific bosom, the waters teeming with life, and animals coming up out of the earth. Only reason and faith could tell this imaginary spectator that all these changes were the work of God; just as the same light tells us now that His hand upholds the creatures He has made, and in Him they live and move and have their being. It might have seemed that the earth and sea were themselves producing the living things which came forth from them. Nay, they were in some sense secondary causes. The different forms of animals and plants were not, strictly speaking, *created*. In the language of the schools, they were drawn forth from the capacity or potentiality of the matter. Some writers, it is true, explain this in a merely passive sense; but there are not wanting others who hold that an active power of fruitfulness was given to the

earth and sea. And the greatest of all theologians has favoured this view.¹

Now, what has modern science to say against this? Does it deny that God made the primeval matter? or does it give us some other first cause of life and movement? Nothing of the kind: physical science does not deal with such questions.

There is, moreover, much in the more plausible speculations of recent scientists that bears a singular resemblance to the development set forth in Holy Writ, and expounded by St. Augustine. The Augustinian cosmogony is, in the truest sense of the word, a system of evolution. What is there in the modern hypothesis which is wanting here? We may put aside those various errors and exaggerations which do not really belong to the theory itself. It will then appear that there is little new beyond the statement that the higher forms of life have passed through the lower forms in the course of their development from the primitive matter whence all have sprung. If science should ever show that this is the way in which the development is carried on, it will give us valuable information on a point of detail concerning which theology is silent. It will fill up some portions of the grand outline, but it will not otherwise affect the ancient account. It is really a minor matter, the importance of which has been strangely exaggerated.

St. Augustine's famous teaching on this point is luminously stated and supported by St. Thomas, *De Potentia Qu. IV.*, art. 2, in the answers to the 22nd and 28th of the first series of objections. St. Bonaventure's words, "*Materia est plena formis secundum rationes seminales*" (*Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, c. 2), may be cited as connecting the scholastic axiom, "*formae educuntur de potentia materiae*," with the teaching of St. Augustine.

¹ Thus Berti says of the creation of plants and animals in their own proper forms: "*Istorum creatio perficitur in tempore et post sex illos dies invisibiles: spectatque ad dies naturales in quibus Deus operatur quotidie quicquid de illis tanquam involucris primordialibus in tempore evoluitur.*" (*De Theologicis Disciplinis*, l. xi., c. 2.) It is remarkable that this eminent Augustinian theologian of the last century clearly expressed his belief that modern philosophers would adopt the views of St. Augustine. "*Quapropter spem propositam habeo horum illustriores catervas magni Augustini placitis accessuras.*" (*Ibid.*, c. 3.) Whatever may be thought of the particular instance on which this prediction was based, it has certainly been strangely fulfilled. The writings of such an illustrious scientist as Professor Mivart have done much to satisfy Berti's expectations.

It is, if possible, even more unreasonable to make the origin of man's body a special ground for attacking revealed theology from the evolutionary standpoint. It is hardly too much to say that such attacks can only be effective on the supposition that theology has already been disproved. Surely no consistent theist can maintain that God could not by His almighty power make man *immediately* without the intervention of natural causes or natural laws. Hence, though all other living things were evolved, man may possibly be an exception. And when we consider the high destiny of man, we can hardly be surprised if we are told that there was something in the origin of even his lower nature which served to mark him off as a being of a higher order than the beasts of the field. What wonder if the clay, which was to be the abode and the instrument of an immortal soul, was quickened by no lower life before the rational spirit was breathed into it by its maker? Not, indeed, that man is something altogether apart from the rest of the animal world. If he is lifted above the beasts by his spiritual nature, and yet more by his supernatural destiny, he still has much in common with them. Writers like Haeckel seem to imagine that the relationship between man and the lower animals is something newly discovered, and they gloat over it as though it were a valuable weapon to turn against religion. As a matter of fact, this intimate connection between man and the rest of nature is a truth which may be read as plainly in the pages of theologians as in any treatise on biology. In Catholic theology man is the link between the material and the spiritual worlds. He is the summit of the visible creation, combining its various grades of life and being so as to be in a very real sense a microcosm in himself.¹ The priest as well as the king of material nature, he interprets its silent voice, and glorifies God in the name of all.

Hence we must not forget that man has a real kinship

¹ Lessius observes that for this reason the Incarnation was for the perfection of the universe: "Quia homine assumpto, totum, universum quodammodo assumptum et divinitati connexum." (*De Perfectionibus Moribusque Divinis*, lib. 12, cap. 4.)

with the animal and inanimate nature by which he is surrounded. He is, in truth, a part of it, in harmony with the rest, and holds a definite place in the order of animals. If, then, there was something exceptional in the origin of the first man, it could not be anything which would destroy this relationship. Suppose for the moment, that all other living things are the result of a gradual evolution; and suppose further, that man is specially and immediately created without passing through any lower ranks of life; then this special origin will surely be akin to a miraculous birth. Though not actually the result of the same forces which produced the rest of the animal world, he will still be made such as he would have been had he been evolved like the rest. He belongs to the genus animal, and resembles the other members of the family; hence he will bear in him those marks which in the other species are *ex hypothesi*, the tokens of the evolution which gave them birth. Only revelation can tell us that man was specially and immediately created. And if it does teach this, science can never gainsay it.

If the modern theory of evolution, when put in its only plausible form, is not in itself at variance with the teachings of revealed theology, it is not, for this reason, necessarily true. Further investigations may throw fresh light on what is now but dimly seen; and the popular theory, which has been so hastily adopted, may be as hastily abandoned.

But, in any case, the present treatment of this theory will remain a conspicuous example of the unreason of the age. No after proof or disproof can alter the fact that this hypothesis has been taken as the standard of truth, before it has been proved that it is put forth as the solution of questions which it does not even touch, and the refutation of doctrines with which it is, to all appearance, in perfect harmony.

It is a positive relief to turn from this subject to consider how reason fares, and what place it holds in Catholic philosophy and theology. Here, again, the first thing to be done is to clear away the false notions which are only too common in our day. The enemies of religion claim to be the champions of "reason," with what warrant we have already,

in some measure, seen. On the other hand, they do all that in them lies to make the Church appear the enemy of reason, and if repeated assertion can be taken to stand for proof, it must be allowed that they have made good their position. But we, surely, have a right to ask for something more. What are really the facts of the case? Does the Church deny the existence of the light of natural reason? Or does she forbid its exercise or trench upon its province? She does none of these things. It is true she tells us of doctrines beyond the view of natural reason which are the peculiar province of her authority; and when it is sought to drag these down and submit them to a tribunal incapable of judging them, she administers a timely rebuke. But it is, surely, a strange abuse of metaphor to speak of this as an enslavement of the mind, or to describe the rejection of this authority as an emancipation. Ignorance and prejudice and error are the only real fetters of the mind, for these hinder the free exercise of reason within its own sphere. But it is yet to be proved that Catholics have more than their share of these too common *impedimenta*.

The Church is very far from doing anything to question the power of reason to deal with natural science and other matters falling within its own range. On the contrary, she has ever cherished and sanctioned the sound and sensible philosophy which alone maintained the just prerogatives of reason. This is worth recalling in these days of materialism, and idealism, and agnosticism, and other systems which strike at the root of all knowledge and certainty, and cut away the foundations of physical science itself. This is no exaggeration of the effect of modern "philosophy" if once it is consistently applied. Let the "idealism," which tells us that nothing exists but the thinking subject, once gain ground, and what room is left for physics? The temple of physical science, reared with such infinite pains, will perish like the baseless fabric of a vision.

Nor is the opposite system of "materialism" less fatal to true science than the dreams of the idealist school. One denies the reality of its object: the other eliminates the thinking subject itself. And as external objects can only be

known by means of subjective faculties, the latter negation is really the more far-reaching of the two. It will ultimately lead to a denial of that objective reality which is for the time being still maintained.

It is true that not a few of the most distinguished labourers in the field of physical science affect a "philosophy" which is nothing less than materialism. And a superficial observer might be led to credit this barren creed with some of the brilliant results which have been obtained in that field. Yet this is by no means the case. The heterodox philosophy which unhappily prevails does nothing to help the onward march of science; and is only not hurtful because its influence is neutralized by the inconsistency of its professors. Like too many Christians they do not live according to their creed. It is only in their occasional excursions into the province of theology that they make any practical use of their philosophic views. Their scientific labours are happily conducted on sounder principles. In their researches and experiments they are guided by laws of thought which "materialism" knows not, and make free use of the subtle powers of informal influence, which their philosophy denies to the religious inquirer. It is not to materialism or to any other false system that the growth of science is due. It is rather to the unconscious use of the one true philosophy which finds its most appropriate expression in a very different school. To one who looks beneath the surface, the clouds of new theories cannot hide the real significance of scientific development. Let scientists teach materialism as they list; we need not go far for its refutation. Their own work bears witness in unmistakable fashion to the reality of those mental powers which they would fain eliminate. The advance of physical science is the "triumph of mind over matter."

The presence of the idealist philosophy may at length awaken these scientists to the incongruity of their position, and bring home to them the need of some firm philosophic basis for their scientific teaching. But there is really no occasion for constructing any new system. In the philosophy which the Church has inherited from the genius of

Greece, purifying and perfecting it by the hands of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, the much-needed support is ready to hand. At first the unfamiliar language in which the Catholic philosophy is conveyed may hide its merits from modern inquirers, and the force of ancient prejudice may not be easily overcome.¹ But once let that old philosophy be seen in its real colours, and its truth will be once more acknowledged.

It is, surely, a significant fact that the system which, for want of a better name may be called the scholastic philosophy, stands midway between the two conflicting theories of idealism and materialism. This is the natural position of that truth which must ultimately prevail. *παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος θεοῦ ὥπασεν.*

This philosophy must not be identified with the terminology of the schools, excellent things in their way; these terms are but the outward raiment of an inward reality. Nor is the important distinction between "matter and form" by any means the chief characteristic of scholasticism. The root lies deeper. A theory of knowledge, based on experienced facts, seizing and expressing the true relations of the objective truth, and the thinking subject which receives it, steering thus with even keel between the whirlpool of idealism and the shallows of materialism: this is the philosophy of St. Thomas and the Catholic Church. While the founders of other systems build theory on theory, and only look at those facts which suit their purpose, the true philosopher starts from facts alone. He does but give an ordered expression to those truths which are borne in upon the mind of man as freely and as naturally as the light of heaven pours upon his sight, and the many voices of nature echo in his

¹The common notion that the scholastic philosophy was responsible for the imperfect state of physical science in the middle ages is nothing more than a time-honoured superstition. The real causes of the low state of mediæval physics must be sought elsewhere. "The chaos resulting from the break up of the Western Empire being reduced to order mainly by the action of the Christian Church, at a period when the early germs of natural science had withered under the influence of the barbarian invasions, considerations relating to the next world occupied all mental activity, not directly employed in ministering to the immediate and most pressing wants of this." — (*Contemporary Evolution*, by Professor Mivart, chap. i.)

ears. He does not explain away one fact that he may exaggerate the importance of another. What warrant has he to trust the senses which tell him of the surrounding matter, and to pay no heed to the inward voice which speaks of higher truths, and leads him onwards and upwards to a world unseen? The dictates of conscience, the sense of right and duty, the perception of truths which change not, and cannot spring from the ever-changing material world, all these are facts as certain and unquestionable as anything that can be felt by the senses or tested in the laboratory. We have no more right to explain these away as mere functions of matter than we have to say that the brain itself and all other material things are the dream of the thinking subject and have no real existence. As Plato tells us, we must needs make use of our own selves.¹ Once question the trustworthiness of our own faculties, once go behind the evidence of sense and the judgment of the practical reason which tells us of first principles, and there is an end of all philosophy and all science of whatever kind.

Happily such a thorough and consistent scepticism is as impossible as it is unreasonable. The materialist who questions and explains away the higher faculties of man, accepts without qualms the evidence of the lower senses. While on the other hand the idealist who denies the objective reality of material nature does not extend his scepticism to the world of mind. Thus, both schools stand self-condemned. A "philosophy" which cannot be consistent cannot be true, and can have no part with science, which is the knowledge of truth.

When the present Holy Father put forth his memorable Constitution on the Scholastic Philosophy, he numbered among the benefits which would follow from a return to that old philosophy the progress of all the sciences—*incrementum omnium scientiarum*. It is easy for those who know little and understand less of the scholastic metaphysics to receive this statement with incredulity. But it is none the less true. It is that old philosophy alone which affords a firm

¹ ἅλλ' ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη (οἷμαι) χρῆσθαι ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. Socrates in the *Theætetus*.

basis and support for true science of whatever kind; and the Church which cherishes that philosophy is the best friend of science and of reason. Those who are still disposed to doubt the compatibility of mediæval philosophy with modern science would do well to read the fourth chapter of Professor Mivart's *Contemporary Evolution*. It is, surely, a significant fact that some three years before the publication of the Encyclical *Æterni Patris*, the claims of scholasticism were ably and earnestly advocated by one of the most eminent of modern scientists.

Nor is it only in the formation of a just and ordered knowledge of the things of earth that reason finds its true office. It can pass beyond them to a real though imperfect knowledge of higher truths. This is not a claim newly put forth by rationalistic theologians. It is and ever has been the teaching of the Church. In the earliest ages we find Clement of Alexandria frankly recognising the high value of Greek philosophy in its bearing on the truths of religion; and his words are echoed by the Holy Father in our own day. The natural theology and ethics of the schoolmen were to a great extent taken from Aristotle. This might seem sufficient evidence of the fact that Catholic theologians considered some knowledge of those subjects within the range of natural reason. If a modern school has sought to narrow that range and deny to reason any power of acquiring such a knowledge of religious truth, this has only served to bring out more clearly than ever what the Church really teaches on this important point. The "traditionalist" theory was promptly repudiated by the voice of authority, and its chief advocates were required to acknowledge the truth that natural reason can obtain a knowledge of the existence of God. And in the Ecumenical Council¹ this teaching was solemnly defined. At the same time, Catholic theologians take care to insist on the fact that men are liable to error, and are, moreover, beset and hampered by so many difficulties and obstacles in searching out the truths of natural theology and ethics that their reason cannot,

¹ *Concil. Vatican, Constitutio de Fide Catholica*, cap. 2, and *Can. 1 de Revelatione*.

unaided, attain to a full knowledge of them. This statement is surely well warranted by the evidence of facts. Even the great philosophers of Greece, whose writings are an abiding proof of what reason can do, bear witness by their errors to its weakness and its need of support. In the brighter light afforded by revelation, ethics and natural theology are set forth with a completeness and a freedom from error which reason may recognise, but cannot reach of itself.

Here, it is of the utmost importance to keep in mind the distinction between the two orders of knowledge—the natural and the supernatural. As Scheeben has shown in his masterly treatise, *Natur und Gnade*, this is the real key to the position. Eliminate that distinction, and there will remain no *tertium quid* between rationalism and traditionalism. It will be impossible to maintain sufficiently the absolute need of revelation without denying to reason any native power of coming to a knowledge of God; or, on the other hand, to assert that power without dragging down from their impenetrable heights the hidden things of faith. The pronouncements of Holy Church on this matter seem involved in hopeless confusion, when once we lose sight of this fundamental distinction. The light of revelation scatters those clouds which else must darken the field of natural theology; and thus it renders valuable aid to reason in its own proper sphere. But it does far more than this. It opens up a region of truth, a world of heavenly and supernatural mysteries, which reason could neither find nor fathom. The existence of such mysteries is surely no difficulty; there is nothing here in conflict with the dictates of natural reason. True philosophy teaches us to know and to use our own powers; but at the same time it bids us recognise their limits. As Paschal truly says, “La dernière démarche de la raison, c’est de connaître qu’il y a une infinité de choses qui la surpassent.” There is much in the things at our feet which we can never fully understand: every new discovery which adds to our knowledge of nature is a fresh proof of the imperfection of that knowledge. Still more are we straitened when we turn to higher things, and seek to know God through the creatures He has made. How

faintly are His perfections shadowed forth in the best and purest of His works ! And the conceptions which we derive from these sources must needs be more imperfect still. He who doubts the existence of mysteries beyond and above his own powers, has surely made small progress in the knowledge within his reach.

In most false systems, whether of religion or of philosophy, there are some elements of truth. Nay, the error itself is often one half of a truth strained and exaggerated like a deformed limb. And this very exaggeration comes not unfrequently by way of reaction against an opposite error wherein this portion of the truth was lost sight of or openly denied. *Neglectum sui ulciscitur*. In the political world, tyranny naturally leads to revolution, and anarchy is the seed-time of despotism. So is it here. Every heresy or false philosophy gives birth to another of an opposite character. What the one denies the other exaggerates and overstates. Sabellianism and Arianism, Nestorianism and Eutychianism, Nominalism and extreme Realism, Rationalism and Agnosticism, are all so many instances of this genesis of error. There is much in the language of modern agnosticism which strangely resembles the orthodox doctrine on the necessary imperfection of our conceptions of the divine nature and attributes, and on the need of faith and of revelation. Indeed, we may say that this latest phase of modern thought is partly due to ignorance or misconception of the true doctrine on these questions, and partly to a reaction against the earlier forms of theological "rationalism." The hopeless teaching that we can know nothing, is the natural outcome of the arrogant claim to know all.

The heavenly mysteries of the faith are, indeed, outside the province of human philosophy and beyond the reach of our natural powers. They must be made known by divine revelation and accepted by supernatural faith. Nevertheless, even here, reason has a manifold and important office. And first, reason must go before and accompany that supernatural faith by which the teaching of revelation is received. As St. Augustine says, we could not believe unless we had

rational souls.¹ The habit or principle of faith presupposes a soul capable of receiving it; the act of faith requires not merely the faculty of reason but its exercise. The assent is, indeed, elicited by a supernatural power: but it must none the less be based on reasonable grounds. It must be, in the words of St. Paul, the "reasonable homage of faith." Reason tells us that in matters beyond our own knowledge we must needs be guided by authority. We have, indeed, to weigh the credibility of the writer, and consider his claim to speak with authority; but when the credentials are satisfactory, reason itself enjoins assent. It is the height of unreason to ask for direct proof of matter beyond our reach, and to reject the testimony of trustworthy witnesses. Our knowledge of distant places or of other times than our own must rest on the word of others. From the nature of the case we cannot go by *a priori* reasoning in these matters. Still more is this so with those eternal mysteries which transcend all place and time. Here we must be taught of God, or remain for ever in ignorance. A doctrine which makes no claim to divine origin stands thus self-condemned. But where the claim is advanced it is for reason to weigh well the evidence—not for the doctrine itself, for this is not susceptible of proof—but for the fact that the teaching does indeed come from God. In this inquiry we must not confine ourselves to any narrow formalism; we must be true to our nature and allow free play to all its powers. It is not a question of abstract theory, but a most momentous fact. And these concrete truths are often best known by means of informal inference and the exercise of what Cardinal Newman calls the illative sense. Truth is at times borne in upon us with a force that is not the less irresistible because we cannot well put it into words.

When once the motives of credibility have been duly weighed and found to be sufficient to warrant and induce assent, it is plainly unreasonable to question any part of the doctrine delivered to us. No incidental difficulty can justify

¹ Absit, inquam, ut ideo credamus ne rationem accipiamus sive quaeramus, cum etiam credere non possemus, nisi rationabiles animas haberemus. (Ep. 120, ad Crescentium.)

this. Certitude is indefectible; and one established fact must not be denied because we do not see how it fits in with another equally certain. Nature itself has many difficulties of this kind. And we might well expect to find them in a greater degree in the mysteries of revelation. Reason may, indeed, do something to lessen the difficulty. But the denial of any portion of revealed teaching can never have this effect. It is, after all, the substitution of a real contradiction for one that is imaginary. The rationalizing theologian who first accepts the teaching of revelation and then proceeds to reconstruct its doctrines according to his own light, is of all men the most unreasonable.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that when reason has satisfied itself of the evidence for revelation, its task is done. On the contrary, a higher office still remains. What that is may be seen on every page of the Fathers and theologians. To enter as far as possible into the deep meaning of the truths delivered to us; to seize and set forth their harmony with one another and with natural truths, and to give to them an ordered arrangement and a scientific form—all this is the office of reason purified and elevated by the light of grace and supernatural faith.¹ We may truly say of grace, as the poet says of earthly love, that it

“ Gives to every power a double power
Above their functions and their offices.”

Even here the *rationabile obsequium* of faith has an abundant reward. A new world of truth and light is opened to us, and all the regions of our knowledge are lit up by its rays. The conceptions of philosophy are elevated and perfected in the light of supernatural theology.² And the natural sciences possessing to the full all their native charms, acquire fresh attractions for those who can recognise their harmony with higher truths, and see the hand of God in all His works.

Here let me close this faint and imperfect sketch of the office of reason in Catholic philosophy and theology. There

¹ Cf. *Concil. Vatican, Constitutio Dogmatica de Fide*, cap. iv.

² Cf. Scheeben, *Mysterium des Christenthums*, ss. 69.

is no need, surely, to labour the point and bring forward arguments to show that this is the true conception of the natural powers and duties of reason, or that the contrary teaching is false in itself and baneful in its results. It is really a question of apprehension rather than judgment. So long as the opposing systems are not seen in their true colours it is plainly of no use to offer arguments. And when once they are thus seen, proof is no longer needed.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

THE IRISH ABBEY IN YPRES.—II.

THE first superior of the Irish community, Abbess Cary, died on February 20th, 1686, and was succeeded by Dame Mary Joseph Butler, who belonged to the family of the Duke of Ormond. The See of Ypres being then vacant, the new abbess was blessed at Comines, on November 24th, by Mgr. de-Choiseul-de-Plessis-Praslin, Bishop of Tournay. In the following year King James II. ordered the Duke of Tyrconnell, his Lieutenant in Ireland, to write to Abbess Butler, asking her to repair to Dublin with the view of establishing her monastery in that city.¹ In more than one quarter great objections were raised to the proposal, but the perseverance of the king overcame them all, and the Lord Lieutenant took a house for the nuns in Great Ship-street, from which it appears they moved after a time to another in Channell-row, on the North of the Liffey, which afterwards belonged to the Dominican nuns who are now settled at Cabra. Abbess Butler travelled from Ypres in the habit of her order; and, still wearing it, waited on the Queen, Mary of Modena, at Whitehall, on her way through London. She reached Dublin on the 31st of October, 1689, and was presented to the king, who received her very graciously. James showed his interest in the new

¹ See *Gallia Christiana*, v. 348,

community by assisting at the consecration of the conventual church, a ceremony which was performed by Archbishop Patrick Russell of Dublin ; and in a more marked manner in the following year by giving them a royal charter. The original of this is still in the archives of the Ypres Abbey, and it will be allowable perhaps to quote it in full :—

“James the II, by the grace of God, of England Scotland France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, to all to whom these presents shall come greeting, know ye that we of our special grace, certain knowledge and meer motion have granted, constituted, ordained and declared, and appointed, and by these presents we do for us our heirs and successors, grant and constitute, ordain, declare, and appoint that there shall be from time to time and at all times hereafter in our city of Dublin, or in any other convenient place in our kingdom of Ireland a convent of nuns of the Order of St. Benedict, consisting of one abbess, and nuns, and to be called and known by the name of abbess and convent of our first and chief Royal Monastery of Gratia Dei, and we do for us, our heirs and successors ordain and declare by these presents that within the said convent there shall be one free body politique and cooperate, consisting of one abbess and nuns and that all the novices when professed shall be professed nuns of the Order of St. Benedict in the said Monastery of Gratia Dei, and shall be for ever hereafter by virtue of these presents one true body politique and cooperate in matters cause and name by the name of abbess and convent of our chief Royal Monastery of Gratia Dei and that they shall by the said name be one true free body politique and cooperate in matters cause and name to the full, and that they by the name of abbess and convent of our Royal Monastery of Gratia Dei may have perpetual succession and that they may be from time to time, and at all times hereafter persons capable in law to have receive and possess lands, tenements, and hereditaments, goods, chattelles, and what kind soever to them and their successors, all sorts of fruits, oblations, legacies, lations, or grants, either from us, or from any other person or persons whatsoever and to build a monastery, and to have a house, a garden, in our said city of Dublin, or elsewhere within our said kingdom of Ireland, and that they by the name aforesaid may plead, and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, before us our heirs and successors, and before any of the judges of us our heirs and successors in all sorts of actions, plaints, and demands whatsoever against them or to be brought by them in this our kingdom of Ireland and we do of our like especial grace, certain knowledge and meer motion for us our heirs and successors give and constitute that the said abbess of the said convent and her

successors for ever shall be constituted, and chosen in such manner in these presents here expressed and specified and that for the better execution of the premises, and for the good rule and government of the said monastery from time to time for ever we have assigned, named, ordained, and constituted, and by these presents for us and heirs, and successors we do assign name, ordain, and constitute our well-beloved Dame Mary Butler, to be first abbess of the said convent of St. Benedict, willing that the said Mary Butler be, and shall continue abbess of the said convent, during her life, and if the said abbess shall happen to die or be removed for reasonable cause that then, and so often it shall, and may be lawful for the nuns of the said Order of St. Benedict to go to a new election of an abbess according to the Rules of St. Benedict, and also we have assigned, named, ordained, and constituted, and by these presents we for us our heirs and successors do assign, name, ordain and constitute our well-beloved Margaret and Mary Lawson, to be the first two nuns of the said Order of St. Benedict in the same monastery, to continue therein during their lives, if not removed for some reasonable cause, and further we do for us, our heirs and successors, grant that the said abbess, and convent shall have a common seal of the same form and impression as they shall think fit for the affairs of the said monastery, and that the said abbess, and convent and their successors for ever as often as they shall see occasion have power to choose, and receive, and profess novices, and other persons according to the rules and constitutions of St. Benedict aforesaid, and power to them to make such rules, and orders for the better government of the said monastery, and of the persons therein residing as they shall deem meet so as such rules and orders shall be sonant and agreeing to the rules of St. Benedict, and further our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us our heirs and successors for the better establishment and maintenance of the said abbess, and convent, and their successors give and grant unto them an annuity of one hundred pounds sterling to be paid to them, and their successors every year for ever out of the receipt of our Exchequer at two different times, viz., at Christmas and the feast of St. John Baptist half yearly by even, and equal moities, the first payment thereof to be at the feast of our Lord Jesus Christ next ensuing the date hereof, and we do further for us and our heirs and successors grant that the said abbess and convent shall enjoy all and singular the premises, without any taxes, exactions and subceed whatsoever, and further of our special grace, and certain knowledge, and meer motive we have given, granted, and by these presents do give and grant unto the said abbess, and convent, and their successors, for ever these our letters patents by the enrollment thereof shall be in all things, firm, good, and valid, sufficient and effectual in the law unto them the said abbess and convent,

and their successors, and shall be construed, and interpreted in as favorable benign and gracious manner and form as they may be as well in our court, and within our said realm of Ireland, or elsewhere to the best advantage, benefit and behalf of the said abbess and convent, notwithstanding the statute of mortmaine, and notwithstanding any other cause, matter, or thing to the contrary, privileged always that these our present patents shall be enrolled in the rolls of our high court of Chancery, in this our kingdom of Ireland, and in the space of six months next after the date of these presents although no express mention be made of the true yearly value, or of the premises or of any gift or grant heretofore made by us, or any of our progenitors to the said abbess or convent of the premises in these presents and statute and ordinance or possession or restitution or any other cause matter or thing and whatsoever to the contrary hereof in anywise notwithstanding in witness thereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness our Seal at Dublin the 5th June and 6th year of our reign.

“THOMAS ARTHUR.”

Less than a month after he had signed these letters patent the King of England Scotland and Ireland was defeated by his Dutch son-in-law at the battle of the Boyne, and then, despairing of maintaining his right, fled to France.

Immediately after her arrival in Ireland, Abbess Butler took possession of her convent, and introduced regular observance. She opened a school, and received into it the daughters of some of the chief Irish families. Out of thirty who were thus entrusted to her charge no less than eighteen asked for the Benedictine cowl; but the prudent abbess, fearing as she did the success of the revolution, would not accede to their demand, bidding them wait for more settled times. Her forebodings were only too well justified by the disastrous battle of the Boyne, after which Schomberg's troops marched on Dublin, and when there did not fail to ransack the monastery; but the abbess had fortunately sent her pupils home, and with her nuns taken refuge in a neighbouring house. She managed, too, to save her church plate. At this trying time her relative, the Duke of Ormond, sought her out, and promised that if she would stay in Ireland she should receive the protection of William; she insisted, however, on returning to Ypres, and Ormond procured her a safe conduct,

It was long before the abbey of Ypres recovered from this *contretemps*. The Pontoise nuns had returned to their own convent, and for five long years the brave abbess struggled on in the greatest poverty with only four lay sisters to form her community; among her benefactors in this time of bitter trial must be mentioned His Holiness Innocent XII., who in 1699 gave the nuns the sum of one thousand scudi, being part of a large sum set aside by him for the relief of the distressed Irish refugees; ¹ a sum of five hundred florins allowed them annually by the King of France; and an allowance from the Queen of England, Mary of Modena, as we learn from the Caryll papers in the British Museum.²

The first of the Caryll papers relating to Ypres is a letter written by the abbess Caryll of Dunkirk to her brother John, afterwards Lord Caryll of West Grinstead in Sussex, secretary to the Queen of England, who was then in exile at St. Germain. The letter is undated, but was evidently written before December, 1699; and from it we can glean various interesting items. The first part relates to family affairs, and the last to those of the convent of Dunkirk; that portion which refers to Ypres is as follows:—

“ . . . Our Bishop and L'Abeye de Guie is now at Paris, an on of them if not both will be speedily at St. Germain, they appear to be very uneasy that they could not yett comply with the Queen's desire of Professing the four novises at Ipres, to serve her Ma^{ty} the Bishop seems sollisitous, yett the feare of bringing a burthen on the Dioces oblidges him to be cautious, the truth is they are very ill situated, and has bine these thirty years in this unsettled way; if the Queen should dye (whom God preserve) theyr maintenances ceases, however my Lord to shew his zeal in her Ma^{ty}s pious concurrence and independent of any casualty, he will try whether the 500 [“] the King of France gives as an almes during his life, may be a settled foundation. I have used all my weak endeavours to further it, and have promist too of my Religious to assist the Lady Butler till her novices be fitted and experienced in Religious Discipline.”

The bishop failed to get a settled foundation from Louis XIV., and to avoid the Queen's importunities did not go to

¹ See *Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland* (page 647) by his Eminence Cardinal Moran, Abp. of Sydney. Dublin, 1884.

² Add MSS. 28,226.

St. Germain's, as we learn from another letter from the abbess to her brother :—

“ . . . Now I can tell you what has made my Lord Bishop change his resolutions of going to St. Germain's, was only to avoid the Queen's solicitations to profess the novices ; had he succeeded in his proposals of getting a settled foundation from France, he would have prevented the Queen, in offering her Mag^y to receive their vows, but failing of this project he would not make his appearance, however, the Abbot de Guie is resolved to give that mark of respect to the Queen. . . . ”

Having failed to get an endowment from the King of France the bishop seems to have cast about for some other solution of the difficulty. Unwilling as he was to burden his diocese with the maintenance of a religious house, he was no less unwilling to refuse to profess the four novices in whom the Queen of England took so great an interest. He accordingly proposed to incorporate the convent of Ypres with that of Dunkirk. This idea, however, met with but little favour at Dunkirk, as may be seen from the following letter, dated Dec. 2nd, 1699 :—

“ MY DEAR BROTHER,

“ . . . I am bound to say much more to you from this family and myself, for the evil you have averted had we been so unfortunate as to have been incorporated with these good people at Ypres, what would become of us if we had not so beneficial a friend as you at Court, his holy name be prayed for it, the same goodness reward you with health and long life, which is the daily prayer of this community, in the meantime I am amused that such a proposal should be entertained in the thought of an indidious person ; however I will give you another proposal in their behalfs, the Queen maintains too Religious that was profest in Ireland, what if the Queen proposed to our Bishop, their removal to this Monastery of Ypres ? If you allow of this project speak of it to her Ma^y give at the same time our most humble duties and profound respects perhaps their will still be the same objection, no certainty of a foundation to be depended on however we so frightened and alarmed at this project, that I shall hardly venture any of my Religious to bring up their young ones, as I half consented too, by that lady Butler's importunity's, but now shall take leave of having any more to do, with thanks to God that I have escaped this danger by your favour. . . . I am with all the gratitude imaginable, Deare Brother,

“ Your affectionate Sister,

“ M^A. CARYLL.”

It is much to be wished that the good abbess had mentioned where the two religious professed in Ireland were, and why they were not at Ypres. The community of Dunkirk delegated one of their number, Dame Maura Knightley, to write a formal letter of thanks to Mr. Caryll for the service he had done them in preventing the incorporation "which had ellse beene inevitable;" but she seems to have thought that they were not quite safe, for she continues:—"The whole community does most earnestly beseech y^r Hon^r still to enterpose your credit to secure us in a business My L^d Bishop thinks he must bring about to satisfy the Queen, and yett not charge his own Bishoprick by proffesing the four Irish novices in the unsettled condition of that house, wth both himself, and the towne soe long intended to dissolve."

It says not a little for the unconquerable perseverance of Abbess Butler that she should have struggled through such difficulties; but she had a good friend in the Queen and in the end won the day, so that not only were her novices professed and her house not dissolved, but it is actually the only one of the communities then existing in Ypres which has remained to this day. When the bishop yielded to the importunate demands of Queen Mary, and consented to admit the novices to profession, another difficulty arose—there were no funds to put the church into proper order. But the energy of the little community overcame this, and it is recorded that one, at least, of the novices, Sister Xaveria Arthur, of whom more anon, carried earth in baskets from the garden through the street into the church to prepare a bed for the pavement which in due course was laid. This was in 1700.

In the following year King James II. died in exile. He had been a true friend to the Irish nuns; and the present community possesses many letters written by him to their predecessors. They possess too a quantity of lace which was made by the unfortunate Queen of Scots, and given to the convent by her hardly less unfortunate successor. It is impossible to doubt that the good abbess must have been intensely Jacobite in her feelings, and that therefore she

must have been given considerable pleasure in her old age by the adhesion of her kinsman the Duke of Ormond, who had befriended her in Dublin, to the son of her benefactor; even though it brought about, as it did in 1715, the Duke's impeachment, attainder, and exile.

Five years after the death of James, in 1706, the battle of Ramillies took place. An Irish regiment commanded by Lord Clare took part in it, fighting under the French colours. Out of a total of eight hundred men no less than three hundred and sixty-four, of whom thirty-eight were officers, were killed. Lord Clare himself received a mortal wound, and died soon after at Brussels. On that occasion the British troops lost two colours, and the honour of taking them fell to Clare's regiment; the lieutenant-colonel of which, Murrough O'Brien, placed them in the church of the Irish Abbey at Ypres,¹ an incident which is referred to by the poet Davis:—

“ The flags we conquered in that fray
Look lone in Ypres choir they say.”

Abbess Butler died in 1723, in the eighty-second year of her age, the sixty-fifth of her religious profession, and the thirty-eighth of her reign as abbess. To her prudence and perseverance are due the existence of the Irish abbey of Ypres; and, indeed, when those five long years, with no one in her community but four lay sisters, are remembered, it would hardly be too much to speak of her as the real foundress of the house. Many another would have given up in despair after the Dublin disaster, and have retired to the quiet of some other convent of her Order. But she stuck to her post, and after a long time of waiting, gathered together a small band of novices, with whom, as soon as it was possible, she recommenced the choral recitation of the Divine Office. This was in 1700, and from that time to this it has gone on regularly in spite of the troubles brought about by the French Revolution, which will be dealt with in another number of the I. E. RECORD.

E. W. BECK.

¹ See *History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France*, by John Cornelius O'Callaghan. 1885.

THOUGHTS ABOUT ST. PATRICK:

ST. PATRICK AND ST. PAUL.

THERE is a strong and growing feeling that there are already too many theories about the life and labours of Ireland's national saint. It may be well, therefore, to say at the outset, that the title of this paper—which may, at first view, appear somewhat startling—does not imply that yet another is to be added to the number. Many are beginning to think that recent Patrician literature has concerned itself too much about a few controverted points in the life of our saint; and too little, very much too little, about that beautiful life itself. They think that much of the theorizing on the subject might have been omitted without detriment either to the cause of historical truth or to the honour of the saint himself; and, however ingenious or original or brilliant it may appear, they are sometimes at a loss to understand either the ground on which it rests or the good purpose it could possibly serve. In a word, there are in the saint's life, a few points which have hitherto been subjects of controversy and doubt; with present materials they are likely, or certain, to remain so; and it is the opinion of those to whom I refer, that it is wiser—even were it not so necessary as it is—candidly to acknowledge as much. And this for many reasons. Such authorities as O'Curry assure us that the materials of Irish history, to be yet written, are all but unlimited. His own researches in the field of Irish archæology were rewarded by many valuable discoveries. *The Tripartite Life*, one of the seven in Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, and perhaps the most prized of all the ancient lives of St. Patrick, was long lost, and was discovered only in comparatively recent times. Is it too much to hope for other and yet greater discoveries still in the same field? or, may not future research decide once and for all some or all of those questions we now discuss so warmly, and upset many a theory that had cost its author much precious labour and time?¹

¹The above was written before we had seen the learned paper of Fr. Malone, to which, therefore, it need scarcely be said, there is no special

Whatever of this, we repeat that, *with present materials*, there are some few questions that are not likely to be solved. About the exact year of his birth, for instance, we have no less than five opinions, resting each on respectable authority. What avails it to continue the discussion, unless for the privilege or pleasure of differing from such writers as Colgan and Lanigan, Villaneuva, Jocelyn, and Tillemont. Nor does the question of place appear nearer to solution. The weight of authority seemed in favour of France ; but the balance is, perhaps, on a level since Cardinal Moran decided in favour of Scotland. And when we come to localities, there are nearly a score that claim the honour.

Again, why should it appear a matter of surprise or importance if we must leave a few such questions unanswered ? A very long list, we think, might easily be made out of names the greatest in history, sacred and profane, about which similar doubts exist ; nor would St. Patrick be the only national apostle in the list. Not to go further, is it settled where St. Augustine, England's apostle, was born ? Indeed, it is wonderful how little we do know sometimes of even the greatest names. Someone has undertaken to put into one sentence—and it does not err in length—all that is known for certain of the greatest dramatist that ever lived ; and when it comes to the question of writing or pronouncing his name—an elementary one, as would appear—the learned cannot agree. In future time there may be similar doubt about the very name of the arch-heresiarch of latter times, for the very good reason that he seems to have changed it as often as his doctrines, and to have written it himself in no less than four or five different ways. What wonder if, in the case of a saint who lived fourteen hundred years ago, we cannot determine the place of his consecration or the exact year of his birth ?

And, if another reason of the same kind may be added, what we *do* know for certain is very much, very edifying, and worthy of our deepest attention and study. It is found in his own authentic writings. Few as they are—and this

reference. How far he has made good the claim of Wales as the birth-place of St. Patrick, we must leave to others to decide.

is one of the strange things about him—they nevertheless tell us more of his inner self than what we know of saints who wrote at much greater length.

It is a picture unique in the history of God's Church ; a beautiful picture from whatever standpoint we look at it. A great soul prepared by God for the highest mission by fitting graces and rarest gifts ; labouring with a zeal, and rewarded with a success, the like of which the world had seldom, if ever, seen equalled ! Even from another and lower standpoint there is much to study and admire in the story of his life : scenes varying from the tenderest pathos to the highest drama. No wonder that such a life, with the countless legends of pathos and beauty that circle around it, should have attracted the fancy of one of Ireland's truest poets, or that the genius of Aubrey de Vere should have weaved out of such a theme a work¹ which of itself should place his name very high among the greatest of English poets.

With those who make the lives of God's saints a study, nothing is more common—as we must have observed—than comparison and contrast. All have much in common ; there is, as some one has said, a family likeness between them all ; but yet a beautiful study it must be to inquire how, like star differing from star in glory, saint differs from saint in some special grace or gift that is all his own. As an example of such study, we would have quoted, did space permit, a beautiful passage in which, writing of his own St. Philip, one of his greatest sons,² compares him to other saints of his time, and in a few words, worthy of so great a master of language, pointing out what he had in common with each, as well as what distinguished him from all.

But why, it may be asked, do we go back, in order to find a prototype for our saint, to the Prophets and Apostles ? The answer is, the comparison is not ours. It has been made and repeated by the biographers of St. Patrick, from St. Evin, who lived in an age so close on the saint's own, down to Fr. Morris and Dean Kinnane. It occurred to us that there must be good reason for a comparison thus

¹ *Legends of St. Patrick.*

² Newman, *Idea of a University*, page 235.

frequently and authoritatively suggested, and that it would be an interesting study to seek out what the reasons were. This is the aim of the present paper: the study must be flattering to us as children of St. Patrick; it may be edifying; it certainly has the negative merit—which some recent theories can hardly claim—that it can do no harm; and if the tendency, if not the effect, of some of those latter was to make people begin to doubt of the very existence of a saint, every event of whose life was the subject of endless controversy, it will have a counteracting effect, if we so far take that life and all its main events as certain, as to compare him to so great a saint, and one of so decided a personality, as the Apostle of the Gentiles.

We have said that St. Patrick's biographers generally compare him to St. Paul: one or two examples will suffice:—

“A just man, indeed, was this man: with purity of nature, like the patriarchs; a true pilgrim, like Abraham; gentle and forgiving, like Moses; a praiseworthy psalmist, like David; an emulator of wisdom, like Solomon; a chosen vessel for proclaiming truth, *like the Apostle Paul*; a man full of grace and the knowledge of the Holy Ghost, like the beloved John; a fair flower-garden to children of grace, a fruitful vine-branch . . . a lion in strength and power, a dove in gentleness and humility, a serpent in wisdom and cunning to do good; gentle, humble, merciful to the sons of life; dark, ungentle towards the sons of death; a servant of labour and service of Christ; a king in dignity and power for binding and loosening, for liberating and convicting, for killing and giving life.”¹

And in the hymn of St. Sechnall or Secundinus, nephew of our saint, we find:—

“Quem Deus misit ut Paulum
Ad gentes apostolum
Ut hominibus ducatum
Proberet regno Dei.”²

With most of the comparisons in these passages we are not concerned now. To some of the prophets St. Patrick bore an evident resemblance—notably to Moses, to whom he is often likened in the olden lives; but this we must leave to another time, if not to another pen. Moses on the

¹ *Tripartite Life*.

² *Liber Hymnorum*, 1885.

mount with God, and Patrick struggling on Cruachan; Moses before Pharaoh, and our saint before Laeghaire, whose heart was hardened like that of Pharaoh;¹ Moses leading the Israelites through the desert, and Patrick, on his return from captivity, obtaining food miraculously for his followers in the wilderness—are pictures which we need only place side by side; and they are only some of the points of striking, and we might almost say mysterious, resemblance between the two. The grandeur of his miracles, his familiarity with heaven, his constant intercourse with and guidance by his angel Victor, remind us rather of a theocracy than the *magisterium* of the Church, and suggest comparison with the saints of the Old rather than of the New Law.

The name of St. Paul is specially mentioned in both of the passages quoted, and it is with it alone we will now concern ourselves. The saints of God are distinguished one from another chiefly in this, that each seems to have what may be called a characteristic gift, a peculiar grace, a spirit which may be called his own. If, therefore, we would compare or contrast one with another, our first thought must be about the distinguishing grace of each. What was the distinguishing gift of St. Paul? Fortunately we get an answer from the distinguished writer already referred to:² he treats of this very subject in two places:—

“And I think his characteristic gift is this—that, as I have said, in him the fulness of divine gifts does not tend to destroy what is human in him, but to spiritualize and perfect it. According to his own words, used on another subject, but laying down, as it were, the principle on which his own character was formed—‘We would not be *unclothed* [he says], but clothed *upon*; that what is mortal may be swallowed up in life.’”

And again, in the sermon, “St. Paul’s Characteristic Gifts,” he says:—

“To him specially was it given to preach to the world who knew the world; he subdued the heart who understood the heart. It was his *sympathy* that was his means of influence; it was his affectionateness that was his title of empire.”

Readers of the life of St. Patrick need not be told that

¹ *Vita Sexta Jocelyn.*

² Newman, *Sermons on Various Occasions.*

all this applies to him as literally as to his great prototype. Human sympathy, elevated by grace and spiritualized till it became a most burning zeal for souls, was also a characteristic of his. It is remarkable that of two of his most recent biographers¹ one heads a chapter "St. Patrick's tenderness of heart," and another "St. Patrick's zeal for souls." Aubrey de Vere, in describing the saint addressing some chieftain and his court, thus beautifully touches the same trait in the conclusion of his description:—

. . . "Gradual thus
With lessening cadence sank that great discourse,
While round him gazed Saint Patrick, now the old
Regarding, now the young; and flung on each
In turn his *boundless* heart, and gazing *longed*,
As only apostolic heart can long,
To help the helpless."²

But the best evidence of this spirit of our saint is found in his *Epistle to Coroticus*, every line of which breathes the tenderest sympathy and the most ardent zeal for the souls of his people. Some of these had been carried away captive by the Welsh marauder; from his hands they are likely to pass as slaves to the Picts and Scots; and the saint after a first expostulation in vain sends a letter to Coroticus himself. The tender pathos, when he speaks of his captive children, reminds us of the Epistle to Titus or Timothy or the beloved Philippians; while the fierce denunciation of the tyrant himself vies with anything to be found in the Epistles to the Corinthians. Outside the parable of the Good Shepherd it would be hard to find a finer picture of what the good shepherd should be:—

"What shall I do, O Lord? . . . Lo! Thy children are torn round me and plundered . . . Ravening wolves have scattered the flock of the Lord . . . Therefore I cry out with grief and sorrow: O beautiful and well-beloved brethren, whom I have brought forth in Christ in such multitudes, what shall I do for you? I grieve, O my beloved ones . . . I have abandoned my country and parents, and would give my soul unto death, if I were worthy."³

¹ Fr. Morris and Dean Kinnane.

² *Legends of St. Patrick.*

³ *Letter to Coroticus.*

Perhaps the virtue, after zeal and charity, that is most conspicuous in the two saints is humility. It may be said to be a characteristic of both, and both express it—and they are constantly giving expression to it—in language very similar. If St. Paul is the “last of the Apostles,” a “persecutor of the Church,” “carnal,” and “sold under sin,” St. Patrick is “a sinner,” and “the unlearned,” “the rudest and least of all the faithful,” and was brought “captive to Ireland, as we deserved, for we had forsaken God.”

If the spirit of the two saints be so similar, if their characteristic gifts be identical, we should expect that the resemblance should show itself (2) in the *style* of their writings and (3) in the *method* of their missionary labours. And so, we think, it is. Like everything about St. Patrick, his style is marked by a strong distinctive personality; so much so, indeed, that some one has said it is inimitable. It is, according to an ancient writer, its own witness; yet we are constantly met with passages in both the *Confession* and *Epistle* which remind us of St. Paul's Epistles, in phrase and style, as well as in sentiment. True, an explanation may be found in St. Patrick's thorough acquaintance with Sacred Scripture. That he studied in the most famous centres of learning and sanctity, and that Sacred Scripture formed part of his course, are equally certain. *The Tripartite* mentions his visit to St. Martin at Marmonties; Probus assures us that he spent many years with St. Germanus at Auxerre; and another writer assures us that he studied Scripture at Rome. Wherever he studied it, there can be no doubt of his remarkable familiarity with it; his frequent quotations, and still more his constant allusions, bear ample testimony to a knowlege of every part of Scripture that was simply wonderful. This may explain any similarity in style, as well as in ideas, of the kind referred to; but we think it would be as satisfactory and, perhaps, more reasonable to say that, as the two great souls were similarly gifted by God, so, when they came to speak, their thoughts clothed themselves in like words and phrases.

The same principle would explain the similarity that is said to exist between passages of the *Lorica* and St. Francis'

Hymn to the Sun; for among more modern saints there is none to whom our national apostle can be better likened than the seraphic Francis; a fact which—we may say in passing—may go some way to account for the mutual attachment and devotion of their children to this day. Without making any attempt at collating, which would be unnecessary for those who are familiar with St. Paul's style, it will be sufficient to quote one or two passages from writings with which we are, perhaps, less familiar. Does not the following remind us of a conclusion of some of St. Paul's Epistles?—

“In that day we shall arise in the brightness of the sun, that is, in the glory of Jesus Christ, and all redeemed we shall be, as it were, the sons of God, and co-heirs of Christ, and made like to His image in the future. For from Him, and in Him, and by Him are all things; to Him be glory for ever. Amen.”¹

In another part of the same we find—and it shall be our last quotation:—

“And on another night, whether in me or near me, God knows, I heard eloquent words, which I could not understand until the end of the speech, when it was said: ‘He who gave His life for thee is He who speaks in thee,’ and so I awoke full of joy. And, again, I saw one praying within me; and I was as it were within my body, and I heard, that is, above the inner man, and there he prayed earnestly with groans . . . and I awoke, and remembered that the Apostle said: ‘Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity.’” (Rom. viii. 26.)

In fine, a word on the *method* of their labours. Both became all things to all men, and in a very special manner. The method of St. Patrick was not that of sweeping change or general revolution: the very opposite is particularly noted. He adapted and perfected rather than rejected. The laws he found before him he sought to purify, rejecting only what may not be retained. Witness his taking part in the compilation of the *Senchus Mor* in A.D. 439:—

“I to that people all things made myself,
For Christ's sake, building still that good they lacked,
On good already theirs.”²

¹ St. Patrick's *Confession*.

² *Legends of St. Patrick*, Aubrey de Vere

Even whatever knowledge of art and handicraft he found he carefully used for the glory of God, and the purposes of his mission. The same author, in a poem entitled *St. Patrick's Journey to Armagh*, describes his usual following; and, after mentioning Benignus his psalmist, Lecknall bishop, Erc his brehon, Mochta his priest, he adds:—

“ . . . And Sinnell of the bells,
Rodan his shepherd, Essa, Bite, and Tassach,
Workers of might, in iron and in stone,
God taught to build the churches of the faith
With wisdom, and with heart-delighting craft.”

How like is all this to the spirit and method of him who became all things to all men, and who while he was “the special preacher of divine grace is also the special friend and intimate of human nature,” who would circumcise the beloved Timothy to please the Jews, and who would himself conform to the rite of the Nazarites for the same purpose!

Again, it is pointed out by writers on St. Patrick—and, indeed, we cannot fail to remark it—that he, as if instinctively, first sought the enemy in his “centre and citadel” Royal Tara, Ailech of the Kings, Cruachan, and Cashel; such seemed to be the goals to which he would first direct his steps; and if he turned aside at all it was to seek out the stronghold of another and more powerful enemy, that of idolatry; for one of his first visits was to *Magh Slecht* to destroy the great idol *Crom Cruach*. In like manner do we find his great prototype in the great centres not of a nation only, but of the world—in Athens and Corinth, in Jerusalem and Rome. St. Patrick, boldly preaching the Gospel before council of king and brehon and druid, seems but a counterpart of St. Paul, proclaiming the name of Christ to the Jews in their synagogues, and to Gentiles in the very Areopagus.

There are many other points of resemblance of a minor kind, which we can only mention in a few words. Their mission was the same: St. Paul preached to the Gentiles; St. Patrick to “a barbarous nation.” In both cases there was a vocation direct from heaven; its manner was like in

each case, for the description of the scene in which St. Patrick heard a voice he knew not whether "within him or close by," and in which "fell scales from mine inner eyes," remind us, surely, of the great event that happened on the way to Damascus. St. Paul only knew Christ and Him crucified; St. Patrick—Tillemont tells us—was learned only in Scripture and sacred science. Both stand out unlike to, and distinct from, all around them, by a strong and peculiar personal character. In fine, when we hear of "the unearthly elevation" of his (St. Patrick's) character; that his character had a decided, though human share in his work; that he "subdued rather than persuaded," and that the "peculiar character of his apostolate came from the conviction of a special message from God," we cannot but feel that all this applies equally to the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

We have stated that the comparison we have been thus far considering is suggested by all the biographers of our saint. The beautiful life by our distinguished countryman, Aubrey de Vere—for, indeed, his series of poems may be said to be a life—is no exception; and, as we have quoted from him so often, we may fitly conclude by a passage in which he refers to it:—

" . . . The words that Patrick spake
Were words of power. Not futile did they fall;
But, probing, healed a sorrowing people's wound.
Round him they stood, as oft in Grecian days
Some haughty city sieged, her penitent sons
Thronging green Pnyx or templed Forum hushed,
Stood listening to that people's one true voice,
The man that ne'er had flattered, ne'er deceived,
Nursed no false hope."

JAMES HALPIN, C.C.

WALTER SCOTT'S JOURNAL.

FEW men have been more fortunate than Sir Walter Scott was in his biographer. As is well known, Lockhart's *Life of Scott* is a model of all that a full and detailed account of the career of a distinguished man should be. The general reader may, no doubt, find the perusal of the whole ten volumes, full of interest as they are, an over lengthy process. Should he do so, Lockhart himself furnishes him with an abridgement of the original; and this has again been epitomized by Mr. Jenkinson into an easy and short volume. Hence, the busiest man who is desirous of knowing somewhat of an author whose works have bewitched and delighted the three generations past of English-speaking peoples, can thus easily gratify his wish.

For the last six years of Scott's life, Lockhart found ample material in the volumes now before us—Sir Walter's own *Journal*. This, however, in its entirety, has only lately been given to the public by Mrs. Maxwell-Scott, Sir Walter's great-grand-daughter; a certain delay, for obvious reasons, being desirable before Scott's frank and unrestrained criticisms of events and persons should be made public. That his genial remarks could often have caused any serious heart-burnings, we doubt; still, near relations are sensitive; and Scott's representatives have acted wisely in retarding a publication any word of which might have jarred on those whose feelings Sir Walter would have been the first to respect.

The *Journal* now comes as a welcome reviver of our interest in the biography, which, we will preface our remarks on the former by observing, had best be glanced at afresh before reading the *Journal*. And this, although the editor has freely used Lockhart's work in footnotes, explaining much that without some such help would be obscure. Scott, not unnaturally, "as he talked to himself," did not think it necessary to be as explicit as the reader, more than half a

¹ *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, from the Original Manuscript at Abbotsford. Two Volumes. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1890.*

century later, might wish ; and we therefore must look elsewhere for a fuller account of many a reference which Scott took for granted that his readers would understand.

The record of the last six years of Scott's life is contained in two large volumes, and so fascinating have we found them that we can only share his own regret that he did not earlier in life keep a Journal. As it is, Sir Walter is fifty-five years of age, and already a famous man, before he places on record his own impressions, and details the events of his daily life. Our regret is increased by the fact that it is only for a few months after his first entry that we read of the prosperous author and highly fortunate man. He begins to write in October ; and in the following January, through no fault of his own, but as a result of commercial failures in which he was involved, he is a ruined man, and is only saved from absolute bankruptcy by the forbearance of his creditors, to whom, in return, he pledges the profits of all future labour. Moreover, domestic sorrows follow hard on pecuniary losses ; and his well-loved wife, the companion of thirty years, whose health was already feeble when the monetary misfortunes befell her husband, succumbs ; and in the following May her loss is added to Scott's other trial. No wonder that for a moment his accustomed courage fails him, and he writes sadly :—

“ I think my heart will break. Lonely, aged . . . an impoverished and embarrassed man, I am deprived of the sharer of my thoughts and counsels, who could always talk down my sense of the calamitous apprehensions which break the heart that must bear them alone.”

It is not often, however, that Scott allows his own deep sorrow to sadden the pages of his journal. In the main, it is a book the reading of which is both bracing and profitable. So brave and courageous is the fight which Scott makes against accumulating misfortunes of pecuniary and domestic losses, which are speedily followed by weakened health and bodily suffering, and a lessening and clouding of his mental powers, that his cheerfulness throughout his trials is noteworthy ; and the energy with which he applies himself to remedy the misfortunes which he can, to some extent,

mitigate by his extraordinary industry and power of work, is beyond all praise.

Although it is difficult to fix on any one page or entry in the *Journal* as distinctive of Scott, yet the whole book enables us to form a tolerably accurate picture of the man. He is one whose intimate acquaintance, or still more, his real friendship, would have been valued by all. We see a thoroughly upright and strictly honourable man, an attached husband and affectionate father, a genial friend and a considerate master. In whatever relation of life Scott appears we should have been glad to have encountered him. Even his dogs were fortunate in their owner, and, as was once truly remarked, "Sir Walter was always a gentleman, even to his dogs." Then, as a companion, Scott must have been specially delightful. From his earliest youth he was an amusing and persistent story-teller; and his memory, though he himself tells us that it was rather a fickle ally, and often failed him when it came to names and dates, and the technicalities of history, yet retained tenaciously "passages of poetry, play-house ditties, or, above all, a border-raid ballad," and any amusing anecdotes that were likely to enhance his value as an entertaining companion. He was, moreover, pre-eminently a social being, who felt kindly towards his fellow-men, and who, even if he sometimes grumbled at the inroads on his time made by visitors, yet, we feel convinced, never suffered from the morose spirit which induces some men of genius to shun their kind. His love of nature, specially his own wild, stern Scotch nature, is evident. He once told Washington Irving that he could hardly survive a complete severance from the heathery moors of his native country; and his enjoyment of fishing, forestry, and all out-of-door pleasures is constantly appearing.

When the *Journal* opens, Scott's life had for many years run in the same grooves in which it remained until within a year or so of his death. Abbotsford was already built, and its woods were planted; and, as we hear of no more land being bought, we conclude that the estate was then of the size which it has since maintained. Indeed, we read in the *Journal* of a resolution Sir Walter makes on first hearing

the distant threatenings of the storm, which eventually engulfed his fortune, to the effect that no additional land must be purchased until his position is more secure. As, instead of any improvement, absolute ruin followed closely on his resolve, he must perforce have adhered to his intention. His life was spent between Abbotsford and Edinburgh; his residence for a certain number of months in the year in this city being necessitated by his legal position as a Clerk of Sessions. This appointment obliged Scott to spend some five or six hours in court on the days when the judges sat. It also involved a certain amount of legal work, such as studying references and authorities, when not actually present in the court-house. The labour was, therefore, sufficient to occupy an ordinary man's working hours, and to give him full employment. To Scott, however, his official duties were a mere interlude in his day. The greater part of his time was devoted to writing, his literary work being considerably more than we believe had ever before been accomplished by one man, and we will venture to add, has been accomplished since.

As is well known, the rapidity with which the *Waverley Novels* were written and published was almost phenomenal; and they were far from being Scott's sole literary work. In his earlier years he had achieved great political success, and to the end was engaged in writing history. Though not agreeing with Macaulay, when he tells us, that the most remarkable thing about the *Waverley Novels* was the rapidity with which they were written, and the large sums of money which Scott received for them; yet, no doubt, both are sufficiently noteworthy. Indeed, it may strike the reader of Scott's *Journal* that he appears to be writing only for gain. He must, however, remember that it is not for his own profit that Scott appears so anxious, but in order to realize the large sum of money necessary to satisfy his creditors.

When the failure of his printers and publishers, Constable and Ballantyne, ruined Scott, he found himself liable for the sum of £130,000. To meet this, he had but his own pen to rely on. He might, it is true, have allowed himself to be declared bankrupt, and have paid so many shillings in the

pound, sacrificing his household possessions and the property in his books already written to his creditors, though Abbotsford itself was beyond their reach, having been already settled on his eldest son. Had he done this, the future would have been all his own, and the profits from any works he might yet write he would himself have enjoyed. As it was, he preferred to make an exceptional arrangement with his creditors, and one which redounded greatly to the credit, moderation, and foresight of both parties. Sir Walter was allowed to remain unmolested in his own house, with his own library and furniture around him; and he, in his turn, guaranteed the ultimate payment of his debts in full. His confidence in his power of writing and of retaining his hold on the public taste may seem to have been excessive, but it was shared by his creditors, and in the end was justified. Neither side had miscalculated. The creditors knew well they were dealing with a gentleman, and an essentially honest man, who would do his uttermost to serve them; and although Scott paid the penalty of health, and probably shortened his life by his incessant labours, we feel sure that he thought it cheaply purchased at the price of allowing none eventually to be the poorer through his losses.

The *Journal* gives full evidence of the hardness of the task which stood before Scott. Some years earlier he wrote that the only difference between the labour of a rich man and of a poor one is, that the former works in order to get an appetite for his dinner, the latter works in order to get a dinner for his appetite. But it was for more than a dinner that Scott wrote. Throughout his efforts, however, cheerfulness never flags. Even at the actual time of his trial, his most serious complaint is the half playful quotation of a Spanish proverb which occurs to him after a sleepless night: "He that sleeps too long in the morning, let him borrow the pillow of a debtor." But, even in these early days, he consoles himself by reflecting that though the public favour is his only lottery, yet

"I have long enjoyed the foremost prize, and something in my breast tells me my evil genius will not overwhelm me if I stand by myself. Why should I not? I have no enemies—many

attached friends. The popular ascendancy which I have maintained is of the kind which is rather improved by frequent appearances."

And he turns at once to the writing of *Woodstock*, the novel which he had on hand when the disastrous failure of January, 1826, occurred.

How quickly and resolutely Scott sets to work, we may judge from the fact, that between the 19th January and the 2nd February he has written a volume; and a volume, at the cheapest, is to him worth £1,000! "This is working at the rate of £24,000 a year; but then" he prudently adds, "we must not bake buns faster than people have appetite to eat them. They are not essential to the market, like potatoes." It was not, too, alone on novels that Scott was busy. He had already commenced a voluminous *Life of Napoleon*, and the work was carried on at the same time as the novels and the series of easy books on history, known as *Tales of a Grandfather*, which Sir Walter wrote for his favourite little grandson, John Hugh Lockhart.

In order to obtain information on the spot for his *Life of Napoleon*, in the autumn following his pecuniary losses and the death of his wife, Scott visits both London and Paris. Scott was accompanied by his daughter, Anne, the only one of his four children, who was now his constant companion. After some four or five days' travelling by road, they reached London, where a warm welcome from old friends assured Sir Walter that his misfortune had in no way lessened their affection. This, indeed, had been marked from the first; and no sooner were Scott's losses made public, than he was almost overwhelmed by liberal offers of assistance: "all anxious to serve me, and careless about their own risk of loss." The same kindness now meets him in London; and no sooner had he arrived in Pall Mall, than he receives the royal commands to visit George IV. at Windsor. The king had always treated Scott with attention, and now received him in a gracious and flattering manner, made him sit at his side, and encouraged him to talk a great deal: "Too much, perhaps," said Sir Walter, "for the king has the art of raising one's spirits, and making you forget

the *retenue* which is prudent everywhere, especially at Court." No doubt George IV., like other men in his position, was glad occasionally to unbend and enjoy the animated conversation of an avowedly good talker, which is certainly not to be had if the stiffness of a Court is to restrain a natural flow of high spirits, and check its vivacity at every turn. Moreover, Sir Walter was not entertained at Windsor Castle, that most magnificent of royal residences, where the grandeur and constraint of a Court are in keeping with the external surroundings of the palace; but at the lodge in Windsor forest, a cottage *ornée*, where, the king was wont to retire with his immediate suite, and where, with his small party of intimates, he would relax the *etiquette* which a monarch is bound to maintain when *en evidence*.

Although Scott's stay in London is not a long one, he meets many men of interest; and, indeed, whether in Edinburgh or London, he is constantly visited by literary men and women of eminence. Lord Byron he met early in life. Tom Moore's visit to Abbotsford is one of the first events chronicled in the *Journal*; and the pleasure he felt in the society of Mrs. Hemans, is more than once recorded in its second volume. Although space forbids our enlarging on Scott's friends, we cannot refrain from quoting an excellent story with which Sir Walter endeavours to counteract the peculiar melancholy which this lady tells him she always attached to the words "*no more*":—

"I could not help telling, as a different application of the words, how an old dame riding home along Cockensie Sands, pretty bowsy, fell off the pillion, and her husband, being in good order also, did not miss her till he came to Prestonpans. He instantly returned with some neighbours, and found the good woman seated amidst the advancing tide, which began to rise, with her lips ejaculating to her cummers, who she supposed were still pressing her to another cup, 'Nae a drop mair, I thank you kindly.'"

From London Sir Walter journeys to Paris, and this city seems disposed to outdo even London in the cordiality with which it welcomes the author of *Waverley*. Dinners, *soufflés*, visits to the opera, and parties to St. Cloud, follow

one another in quick succession. Nor is French royalty behind the English king in its attentions. Scott and his daughter are invited to the Tuilleries, see the royal family pass along on their way to Mass, and in their turn are looked at with great interest. Scott writes:—

“The king, on passing out, did me the honour to say a few civil words, which produced a great sensation. Mad. la Dauphine and Mad. de Berrie curtsied, smiled and looked extremely gracious . . . We were conducted by an officer of the *Royal Gardes du Corps* to a convenient place in chapel, where we had the pleasure of hearing the grand Mass performed with excellent music.”

Amongst other notabilities, Scott meets Fenimore Cooper, the novelist, in Paris; a man whom, as he says, has shown so much genius. He proposes to assist Sir Walter in gaining some profits from his books published in America, by entering them as the property of a citizen. Scott for awhile entertains the idea, as “every little helps;” and money being a prime necessity to him, if ever he is again to be a free man, he is justified in making it wherever he could do so legitimately. We believe, however, that, as a fact, the suggestion was never carried out—one cause of Scott’s hesitation being a fear, that were he to consent to Cooper’s wish, the American public would not get his works at the low prices at which they had been accustomed to buy them. In Cooper’s own account of his meeting with Scott, he tells us that the latter was so obliging as to make him a number of flattering speeches, which, however, he did not repay in kind; giving as a reason for his silence, the words of Dr. Johnson regarding his meeting with George III.: “It was not for me to bandy compliments with my sovereign.”

The continual civilities and compliments of the Parisians, however gratifying, become at length more than Scott can enjoy. He declares that he “feels like a bee that sips treacle,” and sighs after a little Scotch causticity. He nevertheless cordially admits that he feels gratified by his warm reception, and writes:—

“*Erè I leave la belle France*, it is fit I should express my

gratitude for the unwontedly kind reception which I met with at all hands. It would be an unworthy piece of affectation did I not allow that I have been pleased—highly pleased—to find a species of literature, intended only for my own country, has met such an extensive and favourable reception in a foreign land, where there was so much *a priori* to oppose its progress."

Scott makes but a short halt in London on his return, and is soon safely back in Edinburgh, attending the Court of Sessions, and devoting every spare moment to his literary work. His journey was, on the whole, highly successful, not alone for its immediate object—the obtaining authentic materials for his *Life of Napoleon*—but also, as restoring to his mind a healthy and cheerful tone; and he returned to Scotland with renewed hope, and even increased industry for the prosecution of his task.

The following winter was a trying one. The weather was unusually inclement, and Sir Walter suffered from frequent and severe attacks of acute rheumatism. The pain was sometimes so intense that he could hardly sit in his chair; and yet, through all his sufferings, his literary labour never flagged, and it was during these months of trying illness that his *Life of Napoleon* and the *Canongate Chronicles* shaped themselves into their present form. We are glad to be able to record that such courageous industry was not unrewarded. *Woodstock* is soon disposed of for £8,000; and in the following year the *Life of Napoleon* is sold for £11,000. Many more such substantial sums will go far to free Sir Walter from his liabilities; and if life and strength last, he may yet see himself reinstated in his old position.

It was shortly after the publication of *Napoleon*, that Scott and Cadell, one of the trustees for his creditors, matured the idea of bringing out a handsome and uniform edition of all Scott's works, both his poetical writings and his fiction. These volumes were intended to be prefaced by biographical sketches, and to be illustrated by historical and antiquarian notes. On this work, commonly called by Sir Walter his *Opus Magnum*, he bestowed immense pains. It necessitated the repurchase of the copyrights of some of Scott's earlier works, and to this, after some demur, the other

trustees and creditors consented, and it was decidedly for the interest of all concerned that they should do so. The success of this new edition exceeded even sanguine expectation. Before the termination of a year, eight volumes had been issued, and the monthly sales had gone up as high as 35,000 copies. Thus, besides the undiminished industry with which Scott continued the composition of his new works, he had discovered a mine of wealth in those already issued; and whilst writing *The Fair Maid of Perth*, *Anne of Geierstein*, and finishing the last series of *Scotch Tales of a Grandfather*, he would yet find time to correct and annotate the proof-sheets of his *Opus Magnum*. No wonder that, about this time, he describes himself as having become "a writing automaton;" though, we must add, an automaton of an unusually imaginative species.

Such incessant labour at length, alas! demanded its usual penalty. The human machine is not impassible, and the human brain cannot be overtaken without retribution following thereon. Scott was only fifty-nine; but the last four years had been no ordinary ones in his life. In every sense of the term he had been tried: by money losses, by domestic sorrow, by the death of old and valued friends; and at last by that of his trusty and faithful servant, his factotum, Tom Purdie, whose name so frequently occurs in the *Journal*; and these blows had followed one another in rapid succession. Through all of them he carries the same brave front, and, moreover, never relaxes his extraordinary labours; but nature is inexorable, and now demands that its debt, too, shall be paid.

In February, 1830, he had an alarming seizure of a paralytic nature, which—although at the time he mastered it so completely as to allow its occurrence to remain secret—was soon succeeded by others of a like character. Added to his precarious health, anxious and observant friends soon discover an unevenness in the excellency of his literary work which presages ill for the future. He was at this time working at his *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, and on the fourth series of the *Tales of a Grandfather*; and, though both contain passages equal to the writing of his

best days, yet, on the whole, that level is not sustained. Nor can more be said for *Castle Dangerous*, or *Count Robert of Paris*, the two last novels Scott published, of which, although by an indiscriminating public they were welcomed with rapture, to Lockhart he privately owns that he felt ashamed. Seeing his failing health, it is probable that a proposed change in his life was not unacceptable to Scott, and that, after having acted as a Clerk of Sessions for more than twenty-six years, he gladly fell in with the Government proposal now to retire, exchanging his salary of £1,300 a-year for an allowance of £800. To this, the English ministry of the day were quite ready to add a pension of £500, so that he should regain the complete freedom of his time, without suffering any pecuniary loss—would Sir Walter accept it. Scott, however, was unwilling to do so; and, though he felt it necessary to make the offer known to his creditors, as he had no right to refuse money which really belonged to them, he at the same time let them know the extreme distaste he should feel at accepting what the Government was considerate enough to offer. We are glad to add, that on this, as on every other occasion, Scott's creditors behaved with their usual delicacy and consideration, and gratified Sir Walter greatly by begging him to do no injury to his feelings in the matter, but to forego the extra pension.

In spite of his exemption from official duties, Scott's condition does not greatly improve. No wonder it does not; for he has simply exchanged the semi-mechanical work in Court, which occupied so many of his hours, for continuous and exciting labour at his desk. After each attack his physicians could but repeat their advice that he should follow a certain regimen, and abstain from working his brain. The former injunction Sir Walter followed scrupulously, but as decidedly ignored the second, maintaining that work was a positive necessity to him. To Lockhart, who ventured on offering him the same advice, he even says: "I foresee distinctly that if I were to be idle, I should go mad. In comparison to this, death is no risk to shrink from."

His failing health was now aggravated by political excitement. These were the years immediately preceding the passing of the first Reform Bill of 1832; and all England and Scotland were in a turmoil. Scott was too zealous a constitutionalist not to view the approaching Liberal change with apprehension. Though far from being a bigoted Tory, he dreaded the idea of a popular franchise, and personally interposed in the local politics of his neighbourhood. The elections, at this date, were often occasions of riot and serious disturbance, and those who espoused the Conservative and unpopular side lay in danger even of actual maltreatment. Sir Walter's carriage on one occasion was pelted, and he himself had to bide his time at an inn, and then make his escape through bye lanes. He was ill-fitted at this time for any disturbance of his accustomed calm; and the excitement of the election at Jedborough was followed by months of serious illness.

From May to October, 1831, Scott's *Journal* is silent. It then opens with the ominous words: "I have been very ill;" and it is clear that the end is not very far distant. In order to avoid a Scotch winter, Sir Walter consents to spend the ensuing months in the south of Europe; and in September he leaves Abbotsford, first for London and Portsmouth, whence he sails in a man-of-war for Malta. Here Scott spends nearly a month; and feeling revived by the genial air of the Mediterranean, he is able to enjoy the picturesqueness of the island, and the mediæval associations with which it abounds, and which to him were ever attractive. From Malta he proceeds to Naples, and there finds his second son, Charles, ready to receive him; and with his daughter, Anne, they spend the winter agreeably in a palazzo—the Italians vying with the English residents in making their stay a pleasant one.

Were we to judge alone from the *Journal*, we should suppose that Sir Walter had now every reason to rejoice, for here the imagination seizes him that his debts are fully paid, and that he is a rich man, who can "play the good papa with my family, without thinking on pounds, shillings, and pence." As a fact, the sums received by Scott during the

last six years of his life—extraordinarily large as they were—still left him owing not less than £54,000 at the time of his death. Sir Walter's life was insured for £22,000; but it was not until 1847 that his liabilities were finally extinguished, and that his estate became completely unfettered. Still, no one can regret that, though a delusion, this dream should have solaced the last months of Scott's life. If he was not free, he fully merited to be free; and though the belief that his creditors were paid was a vain fancy at that date, yet, as we have just stated, it was an accomplished fact some few years later.

Although apparently enjoying life at Naples, Scott's health cannot have seriously improved; for, when once he decides on turning homewards, the journey has to be accomplished with all the precautions necessary for an invalid. Of the journey, however, the *Journal* tells us nothing, the last unfinished entry being made on the morning after his arrival in Rome:—"We slept reasonably, but the next morning—."

Of this next morning, alas! we shall never hear more; and we regretfully close a volume which has changed an author, whose works we have read and re-read with delight, into a personal friend; to whose thoughts and wishes we have been admitted; and whose behaviour, whether in joy or sorrow, we feel we shall do well to emulate.

CECIL CLAYTON.

THE EVERY-DAY LIFE OF A COUNTRY PARISH PRIEST IN GERMANY.

LAST summer I received a warm invitation from Father H—, a German friend, who had not long been appointed parish priest in an out-of-the-way part of the Eifel, the highlands of the Rhine. The name of the village was Lommersdorf. I confess that I had never heard of it

before, and even since I have not been able to discover that it has any place in history. My friend assured me that the almost ubiquitous British tourist had not yet explored it. This decided me to accept the offer. I was much interested by what I saw and heard during my visit, and it has struck me that some account of it may interest my brother priests who have not had a similar opportunity.

Starting from Cologne on the afternoon of Sunday, August 23rd, I arrived, after a weary journey along the Euskirchen-Treves railway, at a station named Blankenheim. My friend was there to meet me. After a hearty greeting he explained that the town of Blankenheim was three miles distant, and that our destination was seven miles beyond that. A broken-down fly, drawn by a couple of sorry nags, was to carry us. We reached our first stage shortly after sunset. The little town was crowded with holiday-folk, in their best, for it happened to be the Kermess. All the meat in the inn had disappeared, so we had to put up with a dish of eggs, washed down with Moselle wine. While we were taking our meal we could hear some admirable part-singing in an adjoining apartment. I was at once reminded of old college-days, for the strains were the familiar "On a bank two Roses fair." The gathering presently broke up with the health-song, from the well-known collection of glees, entitled "Das Rütli."

The less said the better about our second stage. Night had now set in; it was quite dark, and the rain was coming down in torrents. One of the springs of our conveyance had previously been broken and patched up, and it was doubtful whether it would last the journey. The driver slowed to a walking pace, and got down from his box now and then to inspect the makeshift. He used to report its condition to my host in a jargon which I could not understand, and then he advanced more cautiously than before. When we reached Lommersdorf we immediately went to bed, for I found that we should have to be up soon after five.

Next morning at a quarter to six I went to the church,

and found Father H—— already saying mass. Every place was filled. At six I had to sing a Requiem for a long-deceased benefactor of the parish. No one was now in the church except the sacristan, who sang the plain-chant through in a loud and not unmusical voice. After breakfast my good friend prepared to show me round, and to answer my numerous questions. And now I had better lay aside the form of a diary, and at once describe the scenes of his labours, and give the substance of our many conversations.

The village of Lommersdorf is situated on the undulating table-land in the northern angle formed by the Rhine and the Ahr. Its inhabitants are the peasant-proprietors of the surrounding fields. Some five or six miles off are the ruins of the castle of the Counts of Ahrenberg, formerly lords of all this part of the country; but the labours of Stein in the early part of the century transferred the ownership of the soil to the people. There every rood of ground maintains its man. The land is poor, and the climate too bleak for the vine; there is little pasture, and the farming is almost entirely arable. This kind of cultivation, however, makes the people industrious and thrifty. The houses are solidly built, and within are tidy and clean. Religion and education are held in the highest respect; no men are so honoured as the priest (Herr Pastor) and the schoolmaster; no buildings can compare with the church, the presbytery, and the school. Sunday is strictly observed; but even on week days, as we have seen, the church is crowded. The common greeting is "Gelobt sei Jesus Christus" (Praised be Jesus Christ); and the answer is "In Ewigkeit. Amen" (For ever. Amen). The beggar, the thief, and the policeman—those three products of advanced civilization—are almost unknown. Marriage is always deferred until the parties are in a position to bring up a family, and in order to obtain this the young of both sexes betake themselves to the neighbouring large towns during the winter months. It was from villages like this that the sturdy peasants marched in triumph to Gravelotte and Sedan.

Often, as I sat in their cottages or watched them gather-

ing in the harvest, did Goldsmith's beautiful lines come into my mind :—

“ Yet still, e'en here, content can spread a charm,
Redress the clime, and all its rage disarm.
Though poor the peasant hut, his feasts though small,
He sees his little lot the lot of all ;
Sees no contiguous palace rear its head,
To shame the meanness of his humble shed ;
No costly lord the sumptuous banquet deal,
To make him loathe his vegetable meal ;
But calm, and bred in innocence and toil,
Each wish contracting fits him to the soil.

At night returning, every labour sped,
He sits him down the monarch of a shed ;
Smiles by his cheerful fire, and round surveys
His children's looks, that brighten at the blaze ;
While his loved partner, boastful of her hoard,
Displays her cleanly platter on the board ;
And haply too some pilgrim, thither led,
With many a tale repays the nightly bed.”

The church is not unlike what one sees in an English village. It is too small for the wants of the people, and is about to be enlarged and restored. The interior has rather a poverty-stricken appearance, in comparison with country churches here. There are, of course, no pews for the squire and gentry, and the walls are adorned with no monuments ; but the sanctuary was well kept, and, as I found, the supply of vestments and sacred vessels was excellent. At the eastern end of the little church-yard stands the priest's house. It is low, long, and straggling, with a kitchen-garden and a square plot of grass in front. When Father H—— was appointed, it was put into thorough repair by the government ; but all the furniture had to be supplied by himself.

It may be well to explain at once the sources of a parish priest's income. The Rhine provinces were assigned to Prussia by the Treaty of Vienna. As the population was almost entirely Catholic, the new government undertook to respect the rights of the Church ; consequently, the parish priests are almost in the same position

as English Protestant rectors. My friend has a glebe of about forty acres, which he lets ; he receives a portion of a tax corresponding to the English tithe, but levied by the government ; he also receives the stipends for masses for deceased benefactors ; and, lastly, there are voluntary gifts of his parishioners on occasions of marriages, funerals, &c. Out of the tax the government pays the sacristan and organist, provides altar requisites, and keeps the church and house in repair. Every year the parish priest has to fill up a form accounting for all his receipts and expenditure, to be forwarded to the Vicar-General at Cologne. The average income is about £150. Before being appointed to a parish, a priest must have served at least twelve or thirteen years as a curate, and must have passed an examination to prove that he is qualified. As far as I could ascertain, the examination is not a difficult one. The candidate must show a fair practical knowledge of the administration of the sacraments, of preaching and catechizing, of the liturgy, of plain-chant, and of the duties and rights of a parish priest. Success in the examination is not immediately followed by an appointment. When a parish falls vacant, a notice to that effect is inserted in the diocesan gazette, which is sent round to all the clergy. Any duly qualified priest may apply for the post. The appointments are made partly according to seniority and partly by selection. Thus an important town parish would be given to a curate of eighteen or twenty years' standing, or to one who had distinguished himself in literary or pastoral labours. Of course, country parish priests are sometimes transferred to the towns. The diocese of Cologne, to which my host belonged, contains over 800 parishes and 1,600 priests.

After the church and priest's house, the next place that interested me was the school. Elementary education is entirely in the hands of the State, which owns the buildings and pays all the salaries. Certain hours are set apart for religious instruction, which is given by the priest. This system works well in a place like Lommersdorf, where there is not a single Protestant. As the harvest was going on during my visit, the children were keeping half time at

school. They assembled at seven in the morning; secular instruction was given for two hours, followed by an hour for catechism. At ten they were free to go and help their fathers and mothers in the fields. As a rule, the inspectors (not examiners) of the schools are priests, and in this way they possess some control over the masters and mistresses. The English priest, harassed by school debts, may well envy his German brethren, and long for a similar system of State education.

Such is the framework of a country parish priest's life. The life itself has many consolations; but it is very lonely. None of the villagers can afford the priest that equal intercourse which is so necessary to men in every station of life. The neighbouring clergy are his only associates; and, as the villages are far apart, their visits must be rare, even in fine weather. He has, therefore, to fall back upon the companionship of his pipe and his books. I was present at a little clerical gathering at Lommersdorf, and I was taken to some of the other villages. I was much struck with the friendliness of the priests towards each other, and towards me, a stranger. My imperfect knowledge of German, however, prevented me from taking much part in the conversation, and it was also a drawback that I could not smoke the enormous pipes offered to me. The refreshments were a small glass of cognac, coffee and cakes, and afterwards Moselle or Rhine wine. I should here mention that Father H—— has some exceptional resources. During the Kulturkampf he had been obliged to leave his native country. He remained some time in Brussels, and afterwards was on the English mission for five years. His excellent knowledge of English and French now stands him in good stead. When I was with him he had two pupils—one of them being a young Frenchman about to enter St. Cyr, the great military school of France. We often talked in a friendly way about the last and coming wars. It has already been arranged that when our French friend enters the Rhine provinces at the head of his victorious squadrons, the village of Lommersdorf shall be exempted from all exactions. I know of no better way of

acquiring familiarity with German, than to spend a few months with some country priest, and to call in the aid of the schoolmaster.

A few days after my arrival the whole village turned out for a funeral. As the deceased was a young girl, the coffin was white, and the wooden cross (carried at the head of the procession and afterwards placed on the grave) was also white. At the offertory a collecting plate was placed on the altar, and the congregation, first the men and then the women, came up in procession to make their offerings. The amount, judging from the number of contributions, seemed to be considerable; but my friend afterwards allowed me to count it, and, though I found one hundred and eighty pieces of money, the total was only about two shillings. The pfennig, that convenient coin for charitable purposes, was the prevailing piece. I was also present at two weddings. There was nothing particular to remark about them, except that the brides were dressed in black; that the men also had wedding rings; and that the priest wound his stole about the joined hands of the parties.

But the event that most interested me was the Sunday processions. It was not any special ceremony. No elaborate preparations had been made. When the afternoon is fine the villagers walk out to a little oratory, about two miles distant, dedicated to St. Jodocus, the patron saint of these parts. On the road they recite the Rosary. At first I could not quite make out the second part of the Hail Mary, but I found that they were saying "Holy Mary, Mother of God, holy Jodocus, pray for us sinners," &c. Of course, the first part ended with the usual reference to the particular mystery which was being recited. Thus "blessed is the fruit of thy womb Jesus, whom thou, O Virgin, didst conceive by the Holy Ghost; whom thou, O Virgin, didst carry to Elizabeth," &c.

If I were to say that everyone in the village, except the blind and the lame, took part in the procession, I might be thought to exaggerate. But I was assured that such was the case; nay, I myself saw blind men led by the hand, and a poor fellow with one leg limping along. I noticed, too, that

none of the women or girls wore bonnets or hats. Father H—— told me that these were strictly forbidden by public opinion. When the young people make for the towns at the end of the harvest, they are allowed to adorn their heads as they please. They then present themselves in batches before the priest, and receive some good advice and his blessing. On the 1st of May they return ; but they must not enter the village in their town finery. The priest meets them some distance outside, and then the hats and bonnets are taken off and carried over the arm, not to be resumed until the following October.

Before my visit to Lammersdorf I had always been a staunch supporter of the French against the Germans, and I eagerly looked forward to the *revanche*. But who could wish that the Rhineland should be handed over to an infidel government, to be corrupted by the scoffing disciples of Voltaire? Under the rule of Protestant Prussia the Catholic religion is honoured and endowed ; under the French she is starved and despised. May it be long before the armies of France encamp in the Eifel, and take up their quarters in the happy village of Lammersdorf !

T. B. SCANNELL.

ARISTOTLE AND CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHY.

THE Apostles and Fathers of the Apostolic age embraced no system of philosophy. In confirmation of the truths which they preached, they appealed not to metaphysics, but to the vivid recollection of the miracles of Christ and to the wonders that they themselves daily wrought. It was only reluctantly, and from the necessity of meeting the pagan philosophers with their own weapons, that Christian writers in the early centuries of our era summoned Greek philosophy to their aid. Gradually its utility for the systematic exposition of Christian truth

became more and more evident, and then it came into universal favour. The character of the Patristic philosophy, of the second and third centuries is frequently misrepresented. The Socinians, eager to trace the doctrines of the Trinity to pagan sources, strenuously maintain that the early Fathers were Platonists. Their view, however, receives scant support from writers familiar with Patristic literature. Justin Martyr, Tatien, Athenagoras, Hermias, Theophilus of Antioch, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen, were all in favour of adopting an eclectic attitude towards Greek philosophy. The historian Mosheim holds that they were Neo-Platonists. His argument that the Fathers must have been Neo-Platonists because both are eclectic, involves the common fallacy of non-distribution of the middle term. The Christian dogma of the Trinity had been definitely expressed in the theology of St. Irenæus long before Neo-Platonism had taken form in the mind of the apostate Ammونیus Saccas. The early Fathers were eclectics, but their eclecticism was widely different from Neo-Platonism. What elements did the philosophy of Aristotle contribute to it? This question alone concerning the Patristic eclecticism bears upon the subject of the influence of Aristotle on the development of Catholic philosophy.

A word upon the general history of the Peripatetic school during the first centuries of the Christian era will shed much light upon this question, as well as upon others that are to appear later on. The followers of the Stagyrīte during this period, especially after the rise of Neo-Platonism, lapsed into Syncretism. This fusion of Aristotelic principles with pernicious doctrines borrowed from other systems could not fail to excite in the minds of orthodox Christians a lasting prejudice against Peripatetic teaching. In the writings of the two distinguished commentators, Alexander of Aphrodisias, and Themistius, the philosophy of Aristotle is distinctly Syncretistic, and each, because of his eminence being followed by a train of imitators, this spurious Aristotelianism endured for a very long period. One subject brought prominently to the front by Alexander and Themistius, and destined to attract considerable attention in later times, was

the nature of the active and passive intellects. Alexander held that the *intellectus agens* is not a faculty of the individual soul, but is the same for all; that the *intellectus possibilis* is only a disposition, a mere *potentia obedientialis* in the organic faculties of sense, to whose vicissitudes it is subject; and that, consequently, the immortality of the individual human soul is only a figment of the fancy. Themistius, on the contrary, taught that both intellects inhere in the same substance, and that this substance, which is the individual human soul is, consequently, spiritual and immortal. Even at the present day both views have their adherents. Alexander of Aphrodisias and Ernest Rénan are but the extremities of a chain of philosophical development the intermediate links of which are supplied by Averroës and Rosmini.

Such, in general terms, was the character of the Peripatetic philosophy in early Patristic times. Between it and the Christian thought of the period there was very little contact of a positive character. Even if the Syncretism described above were not present at all, Aristotle's belief in the eternity of the world, and his denial of the immortality of the human soul—doctrine so incompatible with the foundations of Christian belief—could not fail to excite strong prejudices in that age of fervent faith. The physical, metaphysical, and ethical works of Aristotle had no share in determining the *content* of the Patristic philosophy at any time, although the *Organon* or logical writings contributed largely to moulding its form. The value of the *Organon* was acknowledged in the catechetical school of Alexandria in the time of Origen. Gregory of Nazianzen, the pupil of Themistius, wrote a compendium of it. Boethius translated portions of it into Latin. This translation of Boethius occupies a very important place in the history of philosophy. For down to the time of John of Salisbury, who died in the year 1180, it was the only means possessed in the Western Church of becoming acquainted with the teaching of Aristotle. John of Salisbury was the first to bring the entire *Organon* under the notice of his western contemporaries. During the whole of the Patristic era, therefore, the only Aristotelian

source from which Christian philosophy derived assistance was the *Organon*, and in the Western Church only the relatively small portion of the *Organon* translated into Latin by Boethius.

We now come to the period when the entire extant writings of Aristotle were brought to the University of Paris, then rapidly rising to that position of fame and influence which it afterwards occupied. Almost immediately a great progressive change took place in scholastic philosophy. To determine, therefore, under what guise and with what immediate results the works of Aristotle were first placed within reach of the scholastic philosophers of the Middle Ages, cannot fail to be deeply interesting to every student of the history of philosophy.

The scholastics owed their first acquaintance with Aristotle's entire system to two very different historical events—the Mahommedan invasion of Spain and the Eastern Crusades of the Christians. The works of Aristotle were first brought to Paris by Jewish merchants, who had received them from some of the Mahommedan professors, then in possession of all the chairs in the Spanish Universities. That the full bearing of this event upon subsequent philosophical development may be understood, it will be necessary to append some details of the history and character of the Mahommedan philosophy.

The Mahommedans—as, indeed, the whole Semitic race—were originally hostile to philosophy. Their religion was, however, intrinsically adapted for an alliance with the Peripatetic rather than any other system. It was essentially anti-Trinitarian in character. Islam means belief in the *personal* unity of the Deity, and the word *Moslim* signifies those who accept that doctrine. Mahommedan prejudices should, therefore, naturally first give way before a system such as Aristotle's, which favours a rigid monotheism. Extrinsic causes concurred to effect an amalgamation between them. Under the care of the Nestorian heretics in Syria, the Peripatetic philosophy had long flourished in the School of Edessa; and when the School of Edessa was closed by the edict of the Emperor Zeno,

it lingered on until it got a new lease of life in the schools of Nisibis and Grandisapora. Now there were many Syrian Nestorians in Arabia, even when Mahommedanism commenced to be preached, and the physician and friend of the false prophet himself was one of them. A little later, when the Arabians entered upon their career of conquest, Syria was one of the first provinces to accept their rule. These facts, together with the predisposition above referred to, supply an explanation of the origin of Mahommedan philosophy in the East. Very soon it made its way to Europe. The militant spirit of their religion impelled the Mahommedans towards Africa, with their war-cry of the Koran, tribute, or the sword. They won over the province of Mauritania, and those who remained to colonize it were ever afterwards called Moors. Some of the Moors subsequently crossed over into Spain, drove the Christians to the mountains, and took possession of all the fairest districts of the Peninsula for themselves. That terribly dark cloud of Mahommedan invasion was not, however, altogether without its silver lining. As Alexander the Great, when he subjugated the peoples of the East, made them some compensation for the loss of political power by placing within their reach the resources of Greek civilization, so did the Moors, by spreading acquaintance with the works of Aristotle, do something to counterbalance the physical suffering and spiritual evils which they caused wherever they appeared. Widespread as the Mahommedan Empire had become, it was ruled over by one Caliph, or successor of Mahommed, down to the year 755 A.D. Five years previously a change of dynasty had taken place, the Ommiads having been expelled by the Abbasides. A member of the old reigning family fled into Spain, and established a new Caliphate at Cordova. There were henceforward an Eastern and a Western Caliphate, analogous to the Eastern and Western Empires. But, notwithstanding the political separation thus effected between the Moors and the Saracens, there was sufficient intercommunication between them to secure a certain unity in their philosophy. The Peripatetic School among the Moors rose from the ruins in which the philosophy of the

Saracens had been laid by the scepticism of Algazel. Averroës of Spain was the logical descendant of Avicenna of Bokhara. Every important element of the Mahommedan philosophy finds a place in the writings of these two commentators. A brief exposition, therefore, of the teaching of each will be the most expeditious method of revealing the spirit of the entire Mahommedan system.

With Avicenna, who was born in the province of Bokhara, in the year 980 A.D., the Peripatetic philosophy lost much of the Syncretism with which previous commentators had invested it. He retained the Neo-Platonic theory of emanation, but he strictly adhered to the teaching of Aristotle on the eternity of matter, the principle of individuation, and the nature of the universal. His exposition of the last point, because of its simplicity, accurateness, and clearness calls for special notice. He held that the universal, *as such*, derives its being from the mind, and exists in it alone. He distinguished between the *universalia ante res*, or the prototypal ideas in the divine intellect, the *universalia in rebus*, or the immanent essences of things, and the *universalia post res*, or the universal concepts formed from the consideration of individual objects with the aid of the intellectual processes of abstraction and comparison.

Whatever may have been the defects of Avicenna's exposition—and they were many—we cannot but rejoice that at a period when on the one hand the very foundations of science were threatened by the Nominalists, and on the other, a thoroughgoing Pantheism was being fostered by the Ultra-Realists, such satisfactory views on the subject of the controversy were introduced to the notice of the disputants in Western Europe. The general reader cannot well realize the far-reaching consequences of the view taken on this point. Were contemporary English thinkers but to adopt the sound teaching of Avicenna they might without sinking their blind prejudices against the Scholastics escape from the intellectual chaos into which they have almost hopelessly plunged the mind of their country.

Between Avicenna and Averroës there is a natural bond of connection. Dante, himself a great philosopher,

associates their names in the fourth canto of his *Inferno*, where he represents Aristotle as holding philosophical converse with his admirers in the first circle of hell :

“ Vidi il maestro di color che sanno,
 Seder tra filosofica famiglia

 Avicenna e Galieno,
 Averrois, che il gran commento feo.”

Tiraboschi, in his *History of Italian Literature*, calls Averroës the parent of modern philosophical impiety. However this may be, the value of his commentaries was universally admitted throughout the Middle Ages. He was born at Cordova, in the year 1126 A.D. As Aristotle was called “the Philosopher,” Averroës was called “the Commentator.” His admiration of the Peripatetic philosophy was immoderate. One of its good results was to remove Syncretistic elements even still more than Avicenna had done. His views on the question of Universals were identical with Avicenna’s. The most characteristic portion of his philosophical creed deals with the nature of the active and passive intellects. The opinions of Alexander of Aphrodisias and Themistius have been already explained. Averroës professed to aim at a synthesis of both. Identifying the *Intellectus agens* with the *Intellectus possibilis*, he held, with Themistius, that both inhere in the same substance ; but, with Alexander, he taught that man’s share in the origin of ideas is solely due to a mere disposition of the animal or organic faculties of sense. This view is clearly as irreconcilable with the doctrine of individual immortality as the opinion of Alexander.

Such was the garb in which Aristotle’s entire philosophy first attracted attention in the Western Church. Among the first to hail the advent of the new doctrines is said to have been Amalrich, or Amaury of Chartres. Educated in the opinions of Scotus Erigena, the genuine elements of the Peripatetic philosophy in the writings of the Mahommedans naturally fell in less with his preconceived notions than did the Neo-Platonic elements which were intermingled with them. The result was a Pantheism similar to that of Erigena, and based not upon Aristotelic principles at all, but

on a corrupted Platonism. A moment's comparison of the Platonic theory of ideas with the views of Erigena and Amalrich will suffice to show the real origin of their system. Between the Platonic ideas, which were supposed extra-mental realities, relations were represented to exist corresponding to the relations which exist between logical concepts. The highest logical concept is that of *being*; the highest Platonic idea is an assumed external reality corresponding to it. The concept of *being* becomes differentiated into the highest generic concepts, and at the same time constitutes a unity between them. Likewise the highest Platonic idea is differentiated into subordinate ideas, and at the same time constitutes their unity. We may carry on this parallelism between the two orders of evolution, the subjective and the objective, until we reach the lowest specific concepts on the one hand, and the corresponding extra-mental ideas on the other. We thus see the hierarchy of ideas constituted by unity passing into plurality, and we have only to reverse the process in order to see plurality passing back into unity. So long as we confine ourselves to the dialectical development of the concept of *being* in the subjective order we shall be in perfect harmony with Peripatetic principles; but when we pass to the objective order, and attribute to the universal, *as such*, an extra-mental existence—in one word, the moment we *hypostasize* the universal—we pass from the Lyceum to the Academy. This Platonic theory of ideas presents to the imagination the appearance of a tree covered with the fairest blossoms, but when we study its development we see the blossoms for the most part changing into Dead Sea fruit in the form of extravagant Pantheistic systems. How little there is in Neo-Platonism, or the Pantheism of Erigena and Amalrich, or the system of Hegel, that is not a modification of Plato's theory of ideas! Here the systems of Erigena and Amalrich alone concern us. By a sort of divine evolution, God, like the highest idea, is represented as passing first into the highest *genera*, then through the intermediate *genera*, next through the lowest species, until finally individuals are reached. All ultimately return into the bosom of the Deity, from Whom they emanated.

This system may be popularly explained by means of an illustration. If, standing on the sea-shore and looking seaward, we descry something on the verge of horizon, we can only at first vaguely characterize it as an object. As it comes nearer, we may perceive that it is a ship. Gradually as it approaches we may discover in succession that it is a steamship, a man-of-war, a British man-of-war, until finally its very name and individual characteristics become known. If we now suppose it to recede from view, its appearances to our vision pass through the reverse order. What is to be noted is, that from start to finish the object is precisely the same—only its manifestations to our consciousness vary. In a manner somewhat analogous, Erigena and Amalrich conceive the Divinity, while remaining one and undivided, to pass and re-pass through various manifestations corresponding to the logical divisions of the concept of *being*. But why do I introduce their system here? I introduce it to explain the ecclesiastical prohibition of the study of the works of Aristotle issued by the Provincial Council of Paris, in the year 1209 A.D. The followers of Amalrich claimed for their views the authority of Aristotle. The Archbishop of Sens, Peter of Corbeil, who presided over the Council, condemned the false doctrines and their sources *as alleged*. The prohibition against the physical and metaphysical works was renewed in 1215 by the papal legate when he gave his approbation to the statutes of the University of Paris. Sixteen years later Gregory IX. forbade the study of Aristotle's *Physics* until such time as the erroneous views which it contained regarding the eternity of the world would be expurgated from it. All ecclesiastical hostility ceased in the year 1237. After the successful siege of Constantinople by the Crusaders, the pure Greek text of Aristotle was brought back to France. Albertus Magnus and S. Thomas had special translations made for themselves. Ecclesiastical prohibitions now gave way to express commands to expound the Peripatetic philosophy in the schools and universities. He who had been nominally under the ban of the Church was now styled "the Philosopher," and designated by some *praecursor Christi in naturalibus*, as John the Baptist had been styled

præcursor Christi in gratuitis. The schoolmen only needed an introduction to the genuine Peripatetic philosophy in order to admire it. The Aristotle condemned by the Council of Paris was not the Aristotle revered by Albertus Magnus and S. Thomas. The sudden change of attitude, therefore, in the Western Church towards the Aristotelic writings, when properly interpreted, cannot excite surprise.

Such is the history of the *external* connection between Aristotle's teaching and Catholic philosophy. It only remains to describe on some future occasion the characteristics of the scholastic philosophy at different periods, in order that a correct estimate may be formed of how far the perfection it achieved in the time of Albertus Magnus and S. Thomas is to be attributed to the writings of Aristotle.

T. E. JUDGE.

Theological Questions.

A MARRIAGE QUESTION.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—I feel confident that I can rely on your usual kindness to afford me space in the next number of the *L. E. RECORD* for a few additional remarks on the instructive marriage question which has been discussed in its pages for some time past. As will be seen by your last issue, I expressed an opinion that the marriage contracted in St. John's parish—their parental domicile—by two servants, who, whilst enjoying a quasi-domicile in St. Peter's, take in the same parish a house in which they intend to reside after their marriage, was either an invalid marriage, or, at all events, a doubtfully valid one. I formed this opinion because it seemed to me (1) that the servants in question—John and Mary—having acquired a true domicile in St. Peter's by the fulfilment of the two conditions necessary and sufficient to acquire it, viz. : (a) actual residence in the parish, and (b) the intention of living there permanently, manifested by the taking of the house; they thereby (2) lost their domicile in St. John's, where, consequently, they could not get married without the permission of the parish priest of St. Peter's, or of

his Ordinary. Having quoted in support of this view, among other authorities, the following decree of the S. Rota :—‘*Si parochialitas ad effectum validitatis matrimonii contrahitur ex habitatione, et animo permanendi per aliquod Justum temporis intervallum, non est sane inquirendum ex qua causa vel in cujus domo habitaverit quis; sed satis est quod-ibidem de facto habitaverit cum animo permanendi,*’ &c.—a decree which seemed to me to establish beyond doubt the sufficiency in order to acquire a domicile of actual residence in a place with the intention of living there permanently—*factum* and *animus*; and to preclude the necessity of inquiring whether the intention, provided it was for the requisite space of time, was absolute or conditional; or what were the causes that might have determined it—having quoted this decree, I said: ‘Theologians, too, as far as I am aware, do not trouble themselves much about the question of absolute and conditional intentions on this point; or about the causes determining such intentions. Sufficient for them that the conditions above mentioned exist. They then apply the good old principle, “*Ubi lex non distinguit nec nos distinguere debemus.*”’

“The writer of a severe criticism of my remarks in the last number of the I. E. RECORD, commenting on these words says :—‘We contend that theologians do trouble themselves about the question of absolute and conditional intentions. They do not, perhaps, treat of them formally and explicitly; but surely it will suffice, if we show that implicitly they insist on the principle of an absolute intention.’ In order to test the teaching of theologians on the point under discussion, he cites in the first part of his disquisition a few examples in the form of Case A, and Case B; and also gives passages from the works of theologians to prove that an absolute intention is, according to them, indispensably necessary to *originate* a domicile or quasi-domicile.

I.

“‘*Case A.*—A person from the country comes to Dublin—let us say, to prosecute a lawsuit. He engages fixed lodgings. He does not know on what day the case will be called, or how long it will last; but believes it may detain him in town for seven months. He intends to remain to the end of the case, and to return home immediately after its termination. Does this man acquire a quasi-domicile in Dublin? We can fancy our corres-

pendent arguing:—(a) This man fulfils the first condition for quasi-domicile—*factum habitationis*; (b) he has *some intention* of residing there *per majorem anni partem*; and (c) “the theologians, too, so far as I am aware, do not trouble themselves much about the question of absolute and conditional intentions;” therefore (d) he has acquired a quasi-domicile in Dublin.’

“Really, if I may express an opinion on this purely imaginary solution attributed to me, and on a case quite different from that I was discussing—this one having reference to quasi-domicile, the other to domicile—I must say that I do not object very much to it. If the person in the case intended to remain in Dublin for seven months, as is supposed, I think it might be very fairly argued that he had acquired a quasi-domicile in the city. But, continues the writer: ‘The theologians, however, on the contrary, would say that this man has not a quasi-domicile in Dublin.’

“I may be allowed to interpose here, and to say that, as far as I know, the theologians would say nothing of the kind; and certainly Ballerini does not say it in the passage about to be quoted from him. ‘Ballerini,’ he says, ‘for example writes:—“Quando deest animus figendi alicubi domicilium [aut quasi-domicilium, nihil refert brevisne an longa ibi mora trahatur; ita v.g. si peregrinus in quapiam consistas urbe opperiens . . . litis alicujus exitum . . . quae reditum in patriam retardat . . . Etsi enim etiam quinquennio immo vel decennio moram in dies precariam ibi trahens permanear, nunquam illud domicilii jus acquires, quod ad matrimonium coram paracho, quasi tuo valide contrahendum sufficiat.”’ (Gury-Ball., Pars. ii., n. 847, note a.) ‘Ballerini,’ continues the same writer, ‘does, not, indeed, use the words *absolute* and *conditional* intention; but if we penetrate a little under the surface we shall see that he recognises the *principle* that conditional intention is of no avail, and that an absolute intention of residence is indispensably necessary to originate a domicile or quasi-domicile. For, in the example he gives, and in our example, the person commences to reside in a parish; he intends to reside there as long as his business requires, but no longer; he *intends* to reside there *ad majorem anni partem*, or for several years, *if necessary*, for his business; and yet he *does not* acquire a domicile or quasi-domicile.’

“In justice to the memory of Ballerini, I must say this teaching is none of his. Ballerini does not say that the person intended

to reside in the place for *seven months*, or for the *majorem anni partem*, or for several years, and yet does not acquire a domicile or quasi-domicile. He says nothing of the sort. So far from doing so, he speaks of a case where there is no intention whatsoever of remaining so long in the place as is manifest from the forms of expression he uses:—‘Quando deest animus figendi alicubi domicilium aut quasi-domicilium . . . si peregrinus in quapiam consistas urbe . . . moram in dies precariam ibi trahens permanes.’ All forms of expression which indicate a want or absence of an intention of remaining in the place permanently, or for the greater part of a year; that is, for the space of time requisite to acquire a domicile or quasi-domicile. And if the writer of the criticism would penetrate a little further under the surface, and would, moreover, collate this note with note (a) Num. 839 by the same author, he would, perhaps, discover that it is precisely because of this want of an intention that Ballerini considers the person of whom he is writing devoid of a domicile or quasi-domicile; and not because ‘he recognises the *principle* that conditional intention is of no avail, and that an absolute intention of residence is indispensably necessary to originate a domicile or quasi-domicile.’

“This, at least, was Dr. Murray’s view of the case, as is evident from the following passage in which he interprets the mind of Ballerini. Dr. Murray, Num. 380, writes:—‘Si quis autem v.g. Dublinium adeat ad negotium aliquod agendum, putans id intra unum aut alterum mensem absolvendum esse.’ He does not extend the time to the *majorem anni partem*, or for several years, ‘et intendens statim, negotio absoluto, ad suos redire, etsi negotii compositio de mense in mensem usque ad annum aut biennium aut decennium producat, nullo tempore Dublinii quasi-domicilium habet: *nullo enim tempore animum habuit ibidem per majorem aut etiam per magnam anni partem habitandi.* Ballerini, n. 847.’

“Case B.—Under this heading the writer having laid down the theological axiom: ‘Quibus mediis domicilium vel quasi-domicilium contrahitur, iisdem etiam solvitur,’ proceeds to show, that as a conditional intention of *abandoning* a domicile or quasi-domicile already established is not sufficient to destroy it, so neither is it sufficient to *originate* it. I have no objection to the axiom here enunciated; I freely admit it. But it seems to me that its application is not faultless. To deduce an argument from the

case here given, it should have been first shown that the cases were perfectly parallel. In other words, it should have been shown that the conditions and circumstances under which the servants originated their domicile in St. Peter's, and the ladies coming to Dublin to get married lost theirs, were in all respects similar, save in the fact that in the one case there was question of beginning, in the other of terminating, a domicile. This was not done, nor to my mind could it be easily done. Waiving, however, this point for the present, let us see how his argument proceeds. 'Ladies,' he says, 'from the provinces not unfrequently come to Dublin to be married. The parish priest or curate of their native parish assists at their marriage. They then go on their wedding tour, and afterwards repair directly to the houses of their husbands, and continue to reside there. . . Can they be married in Dublin by the parish priest of their native parish? Did not their domicile cease when they left their native home? We can imagine our correspondent answering that the domicile ceased on their departure from home, because the *factum habitationis* ceased, and there was some intention of not returning; "and theologians, as far as he is aware, do not trouble themselves much about the question of absolute and conditional intentions." ' The answer, which he imagines I would give to this case, is purely fictitious. I can assure him that my solution of it would not be opposed to universal practice. It is surprising that it did not occur to him that I might have argued this:—the *factum habitationis* ceased, that is true; 'there was some intention of not returning,'—yes; but there was also some intention of returning; *i.e.*, in case the marriage was not celebrated. Again: 'these ladies have only a conditional intention of leaving their parental homes; therefore, I say, they have some intention of *not* leaving them; and these intentions of theirs of not severing their connection with their native homes, except by and through the celebration of their marriages, prevent the fulfilment of the second condition by which a domicile once acquired is lost. I shall here add (though it does not come within the scope of this controversy), that if these ladies, when leaving their homes to come to be married in Dublin, had declared their intention of abandoning their parental domiciles, by an act as formal as that by which John and Mary manifested their intention of acquiring a domicile in St. Peter's, I should hold their marriage, celebrated in Dublin in presence of the parish priest of their native parish only—without the

presence of the Dublin parish priest—to be very doubtful as to validity.

“The theologians whom he quotes in support of his contention, ‘that an absolute intention is indispensably necessary to *originate* a domicile or quasi-domicile,’ are, Dr. Murray (N. 376, 2°), and Zitelli (page 421, N. 3). Dr. Murray, in treating of the quasi-domicile of servants and certain other classes of persons, writes :—‘*Si alibi domicilium habeant, tunc aut intendunt locum ubi nunc sunt deserere, vel sciunt se ex eo amovendos esse ante majorem anni partem completam, aut intendunt in loco ubi nunc sunt per majorem anni partem habitare, moralem habentes certitudinem se ex eo ante id tempus completum non esse amovendos.* In primo casu, non possunt contrahere nisi coram parochio domicilii. In casu secundo contrahere possunt coram parochio aut domicilii aut loci ubi nunc sunt, utpote hic quasi-domicilium habentes.’

“With regard to this passage from Dr. Murray’s work, *De Mat.*, I may say, that the words here given in italics are not found in this context in the Resp. S. C. Inq. ad Postul. Syn. Pl. Manut.; neither have I seen them used in this sense by any other theologian; and therefore, if pressed, I should deny the necessity of the condition which they seem to imply. But, even accepting the authority of Dr. Murray, I fail to see that he ‘recognises the principle that an *absolute* intention of residence is necessary to originate a quasi-domicile.’ He does not, it is granted, ‘introduce the words *absolute* and *conditional* intention;’ he does require a moral certainty on the part of the persons, that they will continue to reside in the place for the greater part of a year; and I see no reason why John and Mary when taking the house in St. Peter’s could not have had a moral certainty, that they would reside in that parish, not only for the greater part of a year, but even for many years. In order to have this certainty, all that would be required would be, that at the time of taking the house they foresaw nothing that would be likely to prevent their intended marriage. Of course, such is the uncertainty of human affairs, something might afterwards happen that would prevent their marriage; something might occur which would prevent them from taking up their abode in the house they had taken; the ‘*nisi quid avocet*’ of theologians might be verified in their case—something might happen to call them away from the place; but, until that thing did actually

occur, and they had abandoned their intention of residing in St. Peter's, they would not cease to have their domicile in it. For, as Dr. Murray says elsewhere, to have a domicile in any place it is only necessary 'Ut quis habeat sedem (domum, conclave, quaecumque habitationem) in eo loco, cum intentione ibidem perpetuo habitandi,' &c. And 'quibus mediis domicilium contrahitur, iisdem etiam dissolvitur.'

"When introducing the authority of Zitelli he says:—'Our correspondent, too, quotes Zitelli. But how did the following passage escape his notice?—'Ad domicilium duo simul requiruntur, scil. habitatio et animus semper manendi, qui animus, nisi aut verbis expressus sit aut actis quae illum significant, ex decennali habitatione praesumitur. Cum autem praesumptio veritati cedat, omnino cessat, si constet aliquem ob accidentalem causam aliculi habitare, qua deficiente discessurus est; quod ei cessante tali conditione vel officio, quis ita habitare perseveret, ut ex circumstantiis erui debeat animus perpetuo manendi, domicilium contractum censebitur.'" Does not Zitelli here recognise the principle that conditional intention is insufficient to originate a domicile; and that it is only when the condition ceases a person can begin to have the 'animus perpetuo manendi'?

"I can assure him that the passage now quoted did not escape my notice; but I refrained from quoting it, because I thought it was quite sufficient to have quoted the authority of Konings and Schmalgrueber in support of the opinion I was advocating. Perhaps if I had quoted it, it would have been treated 'as an example of the loose and inaccurate forms of expression we sometimes meet even in our classical authors.' But when he asks: 'Does not Zitelli here recognise the principle that conditional intention is sufficient to originate a domicile; and that it is only when the condition ceases a person can begin to save the "animus perpetuo manendi"?' I must answer, negative, *ad utramque partem quaesiti*. Zitelli is in perfect accord on this point with the theologians whom I quoted. 'Two things,' he says, 'are simultaneously required to constitute a domicile, viz., *habitatio et animus semper manendi*, which intention (*animus*) if it be not expressed by word or mouth, or manifested by acts which declare it, is to be presumed (a legal presumption) from a residence of ten years in the place.' Here I may stay to remark, that John and Mary having taken a house in which they intend to reside in St. Peter's parish, have thereby manifested their

intention of residing there permanently ; and, consequently, there is no necessity for having recourse to a legal presumption in their case to determine the *animus semper manendi*. 'But,' continues Zitelli, 'as a presumption must give way to truth, this legal presumption ceases, if it be evident that a person resides in a place on account of some accidental cause or business, on the termination of which he purposes to leave ; but if, on the termination of such business, he does not leave, but continues to live on there, in such a way that from the circumstances of the case his intention of remaining there permanently can be inferred, he will then be considered to have acquired a domicile. To lose a domicile neither actual departure from the place, nor long absence is sufficient : it is necessary that the intention of not returning to it be made known by words or by acts.' Thus far Zitelli ; and it is quite manifest from his own words, that he does not recognise the principle that conditional intention—to which he does not even allude—is insufficient to originate a domicile. Neither does he say that it is only when the condition ceases, a person can begin to have the '*animus perpetuo manendi*.' It may not be out of place here to remark, that in the second part of the passage quoted, Zitelli is dealing principally with a case of '*simplex habitatio*,' as distinguished from domicile or quasi-domicile ; and this remark applies also to the passage quoted from Ballerini without any restriction. Having said so much about the teaching of the theologians on the point at issue, I shall conclude this point by saying that John and Mary fulfilled the only two conditions necessary to acquire a domicile, viz. (a) *habitatio*, et (b) *animus (expressus) semper manendi*. The Decree of the S. Rota says expressly that when these conditions are verified, we are not to inquire into the causes or reasons why the domicile was acquired. '*Non est, sane inquirendum ex qua causa vel in cujus domo habitaverit quis.*' And theologians, too, when they find that the two conditions above mentioned exist, do not trouble themselves about the question of absolute and conditional intentions on this point ; or about the causes determining such intentions, but act on the good old principle : '*ubi lex non distinguit nec nos distinguere debemus.*' I am, therefore, still of opinion, that the marriage which had been contracted between John and Mary was either an invalid marriage, or, at least, a doubtfully valid one ; especially as it has not been shown that they retained their parental domicile, after they took the house in St. Peter's parish.

II.

"Had John and Mary lost their *parental domicile* before marriage ?

"Writing on this part of the controversy, he says : ' We argued in the January number of this periodical that even if John and Mary had acquired a domicile in St. Peter's prior to their marriage, it might be contended that they also retained their parental domicile, as, according to the teaching of theologians, a person can have two domiciles at the same time.'

"As I wrote in your last issue, doubtless a person might have two domiciles—such cases are contemplated by theologians ; but the question here is, not whether any person can have two domiciles at the same time, but whether these servants, in their peculiar circumstances, could have had two domiciles. I quoted the authority of Feije and Pope Benedict XIV., in order to show what conditions were necessary that a person might have at the same time two domiciles. Having done this, I said : ' that John and Mary did not fulfil these conditions, and had no intention of fulfilling them, does not, I think, require proof.' Theologians say that it is very difficult for any person to have two domiciles in the technical sense of the word. And, surely, anybody that remembers the conditions that are necessary to constitute a true domicile will be readily convinced of this. The conditions are of such a nature that a person judging the matter *a priori* would say, it is scarcely possible for anybody to have two domiciles ; for, he would say, how can the '*habitatio*' and the '*animus ibi perpetuo manendi*,' which are required for each domicile, be verified in two places at the same time ?

"However, as according to the voice of the Church, and the teaching of theologians, by which alone we are to be guided in these matters, a person may have two domiciles ; I quote the authorities above mentioned to show what conditions they required to be fulfilled in order to have them. It was for him to prove that the requisite conditions were verified in the case of John and Mary. The *onus probandi* certainly rested with him ; for, though theologians frequently speak of servants as belonging to that class of persons who may at the same time have a domicile and a quasi-domicile, I do not remember that they ever rank them among those who may have two domiciles.

"When commenting on these authorities he wrote :—' Our correspondent undoubtedly quotes some standard authorities in

support of his views on this as well as on the preceding question ; but we cannot help suspecting that he did not allow himself sufficient time to digest and assimilate their teaching.' I shall again repeat the words of one of them, and leave him to do what he thinks I failed to accomplish. 'Tunc *solum* duobus domiciliis instructum aliquem *jure* appellari, cum in utroque aequaliter collocatus prudentium virorum judicio existimatur ; quod etiam *Juris Pontificii* auctoritate probatur . . . viris prudentibus placuit, in duobus locis posse aliquem habere domicilium, si utrobique ita se instruxit ut non ideo minus apud alteros locasse videatur.' (Ben. XIV., *loc. cit.*)

"Though he did not try to prove that these servants fulfilled the conditions requisite to acquire two domiciles, he did attempt to explain the teaching of the theologians as applied to their case. In Ans. (a) he says:—'We must remember that a person can retain two acquired domiciles, even if he spends years away from both.' I answer, most certainly, *if* he has acquired them ; but that is the point at issue in this case. Therefore, *nego suppositum*. In Ans. (b) he writes:—'Our correspondent's doctrine is true of the *originating* of two domiciles, and it indicates, moreover, the *normal* way in which they are retained and continued.' I say, (a) the doctrine given was not mine ; I merely quoted the doctrine of Pope Benedict XIV. and Feije ; and only added of my own that it seemed to me that John and Mary had neither fulfilled nor intended to fulfil the conditions laid down by them. And I ask, (b) is it not of the *origination* of the two domiciles that we are treating? Under Ans. (c) in support of his contention that it is not necessary for the *continuance* of two domiciles that a person shall be prepared at *each moment* to dwell in, or even retain, his two homes for equal terms of succeeding years, he quotes the example of a gentleman who has a domicile in Dublin and another in Kingstown ; and who retains his domicile in each place, though for some unforeseen cause he may be compelled to leave the country.

In reply, I say, all this may be very true ; but, *quid ad rem*. It is not denied that the gentleman in question might have the two domiciles ; it is denied that the servants could have them. And when he draws a conclusion of which he says, 'How very absurd !' I am sure most people will agree with him that it is ; but, then, it is his own exclusively. In concluding this portion of his argument he writes:—'Now,

the servants of whom we are writing retained their parental domicile with the quasi-domicile of their place of service.' I am not disposed to deny this assertion. Servants oftentimes retain, and, perhaps, not unfrequently too lose, their parental domicile when they go to service. Whether in an individual case they retain or lose it, is a question of fact which can be best determined by asking themselves what their intentions were when leaving home to go to service. And I have no doubt that all this was most carefully done by the parish priest or priests interested in the case. As Dr. Murray has it: '*Difficultates ex quaestionibus facti (v. g. utrum Caius Miles, Titia famula, alibi domicilium habeat), non ad theologiam solvendae pertinent sed in singulis casibus occurrentibus, ad industriam et prudentiam parochi.*' 'And,' he continues, 'even if this quasi-domicile had become a domicile, their parental domicile would not cease from the mere fact that they had still only a few days or a few hours residence in their parental homes.' Not, I reply, from the fact that they had only a few days, &c., to reside in their parental homes; but from the fact that they having acquired a new domicile, and not being in a position to acquire or to retain two domiciles, the acquisition of the new domicile was a renunciation of the old one. '*Quibus enim mediis acquiritur domicilium iisdem dissolvitur.*'

"Replying to this argument, which I made use of in my last communication also, he writes:—'We have already shown in our reply to the first question that the taking of the house in St. Peter's in no way whatsoever effected the parental domicile prior to the marriage.' If he has shown this, as he says he has, then I admit my argument is answered. But, with all due respect, I submit he has not shown it, and I shall leave the readers of the I. E. RECORD, and those interested, to judge for themselves. 'If John and Mary,' he continues, 'went home and got married during their period of service, during their quasi-domicile in St. Peter's, no one would seriously question the validity of their marriage.' Granted. 'And similarly there would be no doubt about the validity of their marriage, even after they had completed the period of their service.' Granted also. 'The purchase of the house in the circumstances did not indicate the renunciation of the parental domicile, but merely an intention of renouncing it soon; of renouncing it after their marriage.' I must deny this. The house was taken *intuitu futuri matrimonii*,

if you will ; but it was taken before the marriage took place. The taking of it was of itself an external expression of the intention of residing permanently in the place where they were—it was a manifestation of the intention of acquiring a domicile. And the moment these two conditions were placed—actual residence and intentional permanency of abode—no matter why or for what cause they were placed ; yea, even if they were placed in *fraudem legis et parochi*, that very moment the new domicile was acquired, and the old one was renounced. For these reasons I am of opinion, that there is still room for doubting the validity of the marriage of John and Mary celebrated in their native parish. Hoping the importance of the subject will be sufficient excuse for the length of this communication,—Faithfully yours,

“ ALTER SACERDOS.”

Documents.

LETTER FROM THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF THE S. CONGREGATION “DE NEGOTIIS EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM,” IN WHICH HE ANNOUNCES THE ORDER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING DECREE TO THE BISHOPS.

Perillustris ac Rñe Domine uti Frater.

De mandato SSñi D. N. Leonis PP. XIII. praesentibus litteris adnexum transmitto Amplitudini Tuae Decretum, iussu eiusdem Sanctitatis Suae ab hac Sacra Congregatione Negotiis et Consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita nuper latum, quo manifestatio conscientiae, quocumque nomine veniat, omnino prohibetur, tum pro Monasteriis Monialium, etiam Votorum solemnum, tum pro Institutis Votorum Simplicium utriusque Sexus, iis dumtaxat virorum Institutis exceptis natura ac regimine prorsus Ecclesiasticis.

Declarationes insuper et dispositiones dantur de moderatione communionum, et de confessariis extraordinariis facilius concedendis.

Ad hoc autem Sanctitas Sua Mihi commisit Amplitudini

Tuae, uti Metropolitae, praefatum Decretum transmittendum, ut illius exemplaria cum Episcopis ab eadem Amplitudine Tua dependentibus communicare curet; qui vicissim cum singulis Superioribus ac Superiorissis Monasteriorum piarumque Dommorum respectivorum Dioecesium, eiusdem Decreti exemplaria communicent.

Praecipit denique Sanctitas Sua omnibus Locorum Ordinariis ut enunciati Decreti plenam exequutionem sedulo diligenterque vigilare et procurare non intermittant, etiam vi specialis Apostolicae Sedis delegationis.

Haec erant a Me significanda atque declaranda Amplitudini Tuae, cui omnia fausta deprecor a Domino.

Romae die 20 Januarii 1891.

Amplitudinis Tuae
Addictissimus uti frater

I. CARDINALIS VERGA, *Praefectus*.

✠ FR. ALOISIUS EPISCOPUS CALLINIGEN, *Secretarius*.

Archiepiscopo.

LITTERAE SSMI. D. N. LEONIS PP. XIII. QUIBUS MANIFESTATIO CONSCIENTIAE PROHIBETUR TUM PRO MONASTERIIS MONIALIUM, ETIAM VOTORUM SOLEMNIUM, TUM PRO INSTITUTIS VOLORUM SIMPLICIUM UTRIUSQUE SEXUS, IIS DUNTAXAT VIROBUM INSTITUTIS EXCEPTIS NATURA AC REGIMINE PRORSUS ECCLESIASTICIS.

DECLARATIONES INSUPER ET DISPOSITIONES DANTUR DE MODERATIONE COMMUNIONUM, ET DE CONFESSARIIS EXTRAORDINARIIS FACILIVS CONCEDENDIS.

DECRETUM.

Quemadmodum omnium rerum humanarum quantumvis honestae sanctaeque in se sint; ita et legum sapienter conditarum ea conditio est, ut ab hominibus ad impropria et aliena ex abusu traduci ac pertrahi valeant; ac propterea quandoque fit, ut intentum a legislatoribus finem haud amplius assequantur; imo et aliquando, ut contrarium sortiantur effectum.

Idque dolendum vel maxime est obtigisse quoad leges plurium Congregationum, Societatum aut Institutorum sive mulierum quae vota simplicia aut solemnia nuncupant, sive virorum pro-

fessione ac regimine penitus laicorum; quandoquidem aliquoties in illorum Constitutionibus conscientiae manifestatio permessa fuerat, ut facilius alumni arduam perfectionis viam ab expertis Superioribus [in dubiis addiscerent; e contra a nonnullis ex his intima conscientiae scrutatio, quae unice Sacramento Poenitentiae reservata est, inducta fuit. Itidem in Constitutionibus ad tramitem SS. Canonum praescriptum fuit, ut Sacramentalis Confessio in huiusmodi Communitatibus fieret respectivis Confessariis ordinariis et extraordinariis; aliunde Superiorum arbitrium eo usque devenit, ut subditis aliquem extraordinarium Confessarium denegaverint, etiam in casu quo, ut propriae conscientiae consulerent, eo valde indigebant. Indita denique eis fuit discretionis ac prudentiae norma ut suos subditos rite recteque quoad peculiare poenitentias ac alia pietatis opera dirigerent; sed et haec per abusionem extensa in id etiam extitit, ut eis ad Sacram Synaxim accedere vel pro lubitu permiserint, vel omnino interdum prohibuerint. Hinc factum est, ut huiusmodi dispositiones, quae ad spirituales alumnorum profectum et ad unitatis pacem et concordiam in Communitatibus servandam fovendamque salutariter ac sapienter constitutae iam fuerant, haud raro in animarum discrimen, in conscientiarum anxietatem, ac insuper in externae pacis turbationem versae fuerint, ceu subditorum recursus et querimoniae passim ad S. Sedem interiectae evidentissime comprobant.

Quare SS^{mus} D. N. Leo divina providentia Papa XIII, pro ea qua praestat erga lectissimam hanc sui gregis portionem peculiari sollicitudine, in Audientia habita a me Cardinali Praefecto S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis et consultationibus praepositae die decimaquarta Decembris 1890 omnibus sedulo diligenterque perpensis, haec quae sequuntur voluit, constituit atque decrevit.

I. Sanctitas Sua irritat, abrogat, et nullius in posterum roboris declarat quascumque dispositiones Constitutionum, piarum Societatum, Institutorum mulierum sive votorum simplicium sive solemnium, nec non virorum omnimode laicorum, etsi dictae Constitutiones approbationem ab Apostolica Sede retulerint in forma quacumque etiam quam aiunt specialissimam, in eo scilicet, quod cordis et conscientiae intimam manifestationem quovis modo ac nomine respiciunt. Ita propterea serio iniungi Moderatoribus ac Moderatricibus huiusmodi Institutorum, Congregationum ac Societatum ut ex propriis Constitutionibus,

Directorii ac Manualibus praefatae dispositiones omnino delectantur penitusque expungantur. Irritat pariter ac delet quoslibet ea de re usus et consuetudines etiam immemorabiles.

II. Districte insuper prohibet memoratis Superioribus ac Superiorissis cuiuscumque gradus et. praeeminentiae sint ne personas sibi subditas inducere pertentent directe aut indirecte, praecepto, consilio, timore, minis, aut blanditiis ad huiusmodi manifestationem conscientiae sibi peragendam; subditisque e converso praecipit, ut Superioribus maioribus denuncient Superiores minores, qui eos ad id inducere audeant; et si agatur de Moderatore vel Moderatrice Generali denunciatio huic S. Congregationi ab iis fieri debeat.

III. Hoc autem minime impedit quominus subditi libere ac ultro aperire suum animum Superioribus valeant ad effectum ab illorum prudentia in dubiis ac anxietatibus consilium et directionem obtinendi pro virtutum acquisitione ac perfectionis progressu.

IV. Praeterea firmo remanente quoad Confessarios ordinarios et extraordinarios Communitatum quod a Sacrosancto Concilio Tridentino praescribitur in *Sess. 25 Cap. 10 de Regul. et a S. M. Benedicti XIV* statuitur in Constitutione quae incipit "Pastoralis curae" Sanctitas Sua Praesules Superioresque admonet ne extraordinarium denegent subditis Confessarium quoties ut propriae conscientiae consulant ad id subditi adiguatur, quin iidem superiores ullo modo petitionis rationem inquirent, aut aegre id ferre demonstrent. Ac ne evanida tam provida dispositio fiat, Ordinarios exhortatur, ut in locis propriae Dioeceseos, in quibus Mulierum Communitates existunt, idoneos Sacerdotes facultatibus instructos designent, ad quos pro Sacramento poenitentiae recurrere eae facile queant.

V. Quod vero attinet ad permissionem vel prohibitionem ad sacram Synaxim accedendi Eadem Sanctitas Sua decernit, huiusmodi permissiones vel prohibitiones dumtaxat ad Confessarium ordinarium vel extraordinarium spectare, quin Superiores ullam habeant auctoritatem hac in re sese ingerendi, excepto casu quo aliquis ex eorum subditis post ultimam Sacramentalem Confessionem Communitati scandalo fuerit, aut gravem externam culpam petraverit, donec ad Poenitentiae sacramentum denuo accesserit.

VI. Monentur hinc omnes, ut ad Sacram Synaxim curent diligenter se praeparare et accedere diebus in propriis regulis statutis; et quoties ob fervorem et spiritualem alicuius profectum

Confessarius expedire iudicaverit ut frequentius accedat, id ei ab ipso Confessario permitti poterit. Verum qui licentiam a Confessario obtinuerit frequentioris ac etiam quotidianae Communionis, de hoc certiore reddere Superiorem teneatur; quod si hic iustas gravesque causas se habere reputet contra frequentiores huiusmodi Communiones, eas Confessario manifestare teneatur, cuius iudicio acquiescendum omnino erit.

VII. Eadem Sanctitas Sua insuper mandat omnibus et singulis Superioribus Generalibus, Provincialibus et Localibus Institutorum de quibus supra sive virorum sive mulierum ut studiose accurateque huius Decreti dispositiones observent sub poenis contra Superiores Apostolicae Sedis mandata violantes ipso facto incurrendis.

VIII. Denique mandat, ut praesentis Decreti exemplaria in vernaculum sermonem versa inserantur Constitutionibus praedictorum piorum Institutorum, et saltem semel in anno, stato tempore in unaquaque Domo, sive in publica mensa, sive in Capitulo ad hoc specialiter convocato alta et intelligibili voce legantur.

Et ita Sanctitas Sua constituit atque decrevit, contrariis quibuscumque etiam speciali et individua mentione dignis minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria memoratae S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium die 17 Decembris 1890.

I. CARDINALIS VERGA, *Praefectus*.

✠ FR. ALOISIUS EPISCOPUS CALLINICEN, *Secretarius*.

Notices of Books.

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGY. By Paul Schantz, D.D., D.Ph., Professor of Theology in the University of Tübingen. Translated by Rev. Michael F. Glancey, Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Birmingham, and Rev. Victor J. Schobel, D.D., Professor of Theology at St. Mary's, Oscott. In Three Vols. Vol. I., "God and Nature." Dublin, 1891.

THIS is a most opportune and useful work. A quarter of a century ago, the work of the Catholic theologian mainly con-

sisted in battling with the *progenies superarum* bequeathed to us by the so-called Reformation—the Rule of Faith, Justification, Fundamental Articles, Real Presence, Transubstantiation—these were the subject-matter of controversy. Now, however, nearly all this is changed. Protestantism, as a disputant, is completely paralyzed; has disappeared from the field; and a new enemy, a formidable one, a hydra-headed monster, has arisen to test the prowess of the defenders of revealed truth. The new enemy gets the name of Modern Science—an aggregate of *isms* sought out in every department of science, and of *nescience*, to be used against divine revelation. Some of the theories advanced under the name of science are, no doubt, too absurd to need serious refutation. But others of them present grave difficulties, which the Catholic theologian must be prepared to meet, if he would avert serious spiritual danger from those who look to him for guidance. A great part of our current literature is devoted to discussions on the relations of faith and science, and learned men who have no faith, as well as ignorant men who want to pass for scholars, conduct the discussions in a spirit decidedly hostile to revelation. Hence the danger to faith is everywhere present, and must in the interest of souls be effectually met. In such circumstances, as the translators of the above-named work truly say, “there is needed a standard work of reference dealing systematically with scientific questions from a Catholic standpoint.” We fully agree with the translators, Dr. Schobel and Father Glancey, that in translating this work, they have met “a pressing need;” and, in doing so, they have done signal service to all English-speaking Catholics. And they have done their work admirably; in fact, so well, that no one reading the book would take it to be a translation at all. An awkward translation is easily detected, and is always heavy reading. But here we have all the freshness of an original work; here we have expressed, with scrupulous accuracy, the sense of the original, in pure, idiomatic English, in a style that is lucid and forcible, showing that the author is specially fortunate in his translators, who are perfect masters of the languages with which they had to deal.

The author, Dr. Schantz, is Professor of Theology at Tübingen, a theologian of European fame, and of unquestioned orthodoxy. That he is a profound scholar and an accurate close reasoner, is abundantly proved by the work before us. The work is to be in

three volumes. The first one refers to the natural sciences. The translators tell us that the second volume deals "with the comparative science of religion, and with the main issues raised by Biblical criticism. The third is an apologetic treatise on the Church." This is an extensive and most important programme; and the first volume, now before us, shows the style in which the programme is carried out. In the second chapter we have a most interesting sketch of the vagaries of error from the first age of Christianity down to our time. From the Gnostics and Manicheans, the foes of revelation, are traced along down to Strauss, and Voght, and Rénan, and Darwin. And so, too, from St. Justin to the present day, are the names and works of the defenders of revelation sketched. The chapters contain an interesting amount of information.

Within the limits of a notice like this, it would be impossible to give, and unfair to attempt to give, a fair idea of the worth of a work like this. We can do little more than indicate the principal chapters, and record our conviction that one and all they will amply repay careful perusal. In the chapter on "Religion and History" the author deals effectually with Sir John Lubbock's assertion, that the religious feeling is not universal, and he adduces a chain of most interesting facts to prove his own contention. In the chapter on "Life," and "The Various Forms of Life," the different theories, ancient and modern, on the subject are discussed. Evidently the author feels—as indeed any intelligent defender of revelation must feel—that Darwinism, in some shape or other, is the real enemy; and, accordingly, he gives a searching and able criticism of that theory. Here he shows a master knowledge of his subject, and a logical acumen that entitles him to a place in the front rank among Catholic apologists.

In the chapter on "Man and the Soul," the author has to meet the whole force of modern rationalism, and he does so in a manner that must satisfy any unprejudiced reader that reason and logic are on his side. The chapters on "Creation," "The System of the Universe," "The Unity of the Human Race," "The Deluge," are, like all the rest of the volume, excellent and most interesting; and, throughout, the reader cannot fail to be struck by the vast amount of knowledge displayed by the author, as well as by the closeness and accuracy of his reasoning. In treating of modern scientific facts and theories, he is quite at home. He is

invariably kindly disposed—liberal towards science. Some, we venture to say, will think that he is too liberal to science in his treatment of those concluding chapters. Into these chapters Scripture interpretation very largely enters, and extreme caution is necessary in applying the principles he lays down. It would, however, be unfair to the author to pronounce upon the principles of "Biblical Criticism" until the publication of the second volume, in which, as we see from the preface, that subject is to be treated. But, we think, no one can quarrel with the following, which seems to be the key to his system of dealing with the relations of Scripture and science, and which we give from the note of the translators as preferable to the text:—"Only those results of natural science which are *undoubted* and *certain*, are a canon for interpreting Scripture. They *alone* justify a departure from the obvious, literal, and traditional meaning." This volume is, on the whole, a powerful defence of Theism; and the cosmological argument which is continued through the consecutive chapters acquires irresistible force as it proceeds. The book is a mine of useful, and for our time, necessary information; and English-speaking Catholics have cause to be grateful to the translators for presenting it to them in so attractive an English dress.

J. M.

SUMMA APOLOGETICA DE ECCLESIA CATHOLICA AD MENTEM
AND THOMAE AQUINATIS. Auctore: Fr. J. V. Groot,
Ord. Praed.

It would be unreasonable to expect that a work of two small volumes should have much additional light to shed on a subject so old as the Church Tract, and already so exhaustively treated by our theologians; judicious condensation of matter; orderly, lucid, and scientific exposition, is as much as we can fairly look for. In this respect Fr. Groot's *Summa Apologetica* will cause neither surprise nor disappointment. It is not a profound or elaborate work; but it is a good book, and useful, sound, scientific, written in lucid, condensed style, and for practical purposes sufficiently comprehensive in its range of matter. We would prefer, however, a fuller exposition of Catholic doctrine in some instances, and also of the opposite heresies. The author has little, for instance, about the views of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*, and his discussion of arguments and difficulties drawn from Scripture, though solid and clear, is wanting in that completeness and

force which distinguish Dr. Murray's treatment of the same questions.

In addition to the ordinary questions of the Church Tract, the author has some very good chapters on Scripture, tradition, the authority of theologians, the relations of faith and reason, &c. In all these questions, and indeed throughout, Fr. Groot has compiled his *Summa* with a judgment and clearness so as to make it a really good Church tract.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND. By the Very Rev. M. F. Howley, D.D. London: Burns & Oates. Boston: Doyle & Whittle, Publishers.

DR. HOWLEY has rendered good service to students of Church history in general, and to the members of the Church of Newfoundland in particular, by the compilation of this volume of ecclesiastical history. The Catholic Church, true to the spirit of her calling, has at all times displayed the active spirit of missionary enterprise; and hence, whenever we find new lands discovered, that open out their treasures in return for the blessings of civilization, we invariably find these zealous missionaries of the Gospel, bearing aloft the Cross of Christ, and preaching the saving truths of their holy religion. So has it been in the case of Newfoundland.

The period at which this history commences dates back to the end of the thirteenth century, when, as the author expresses it, "the grand transformation scene in the world's drama was enacted;" when romance gave place to utilitarianism. Glancing slightly at contemporaneous history, the author proceeds to give an interesting account of the pre-Columbian adventures, throws new light on the voyages and character of Columbus himself, and refers briefly to the achievements of his successors in the path of discovery. Though we have no explicit mention of the fact, yet we may reasonably assume that Cabot, who discovered the country in 1497, brought Catholic missionaries in his train, as the names bestowed on the places discovered sufficiently attest the religious spirit of its first visitants from the Old World. Until the year 1583 we can learn little of the religious condition of the country; but in this year the English Protestant colonists arrived, bringing with them the spirit of civil and religious intolerance which characterised their relations with the natives and with the Catholics of the island for many subsequent centuries. In describing the course of events, the author is enabled

to repel many of the calumnies most frequently uttered against the Catholic Church, and to retort with effect on the total neglect of English Protestant governments to provide for the spiritual wants of the aboriginal inhabitants. The gradual rise, spread and development of the infant Church of Newfoundland is clearly set before us, and Ireland has here, indeed, cause for rejoicing, as having most largely contributed by the number, zeal, and energy of her missionaries, towards raising the Church in this remote island to its present high position ; for it was owing to the faith and numbers of Irish exiles that religion was here kept alive in the dark epochs of relentless persecution.

From the appointment of Dr. O'Donel, first Vicar-Apostolic and Bishop of Newfoundland, in 1784, the Church of this country has taken her place among the Churches of Christianity, and her history has become comparatively modern. The chief events of importance since then, such as the introduction of the Presentation Nuns in 1833, and of the Mercy Nuns in 1842, the erection of the Cathedral, and the grant of a local legislature, with the other facts of history down to the year 1850, are set before us in a manner that cannot fail to please and interest us.

To set about the compilation of such a work was no easy task : it was necessary to collect an immense amount of matter, documentary and otherwise ; while the exercise of prudent judgment was required, to select or reject what was relevant or irrelevant to the author's purpose. Such a book cannot fail to be interesting to the Catholics of Newfoundland—cannot fail to inspire them with even higher hopes for the future of their Church. We congratulate the very reverend author on the success which has attended his praiseworthy efforts ; and while we believe that his work must prove to be of absorbing interest to his countrymen, we commend it to all who wish to see the rise and development of the Catholic Church under the most trying circumstances, and her capacity of self-adaptation to the exigencies and conditions of every race and clime.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MAZDAYASNIAN RELIGION UNDER THE SASSANIDS. Translated from the French of L. C. Casartelli. By Firoz Jamaspji Dastur Jamasp Asa. Bombay : Jehanger Bejanji Karani. 1889.

From the time of Alexander the Great, the Persians had been kept in bondage, but they revolted about 226 A.D., and re-

established their kingdom under Artaxerxes, whose descendants, called the Sassanidae, ruled over Persia for more than four hundred years. Mazdeism, which had decayed under Alexander, became now the State religion. Attention was directed anew to the Avesta. The heresies of Mani and Mazdak sprung up and had to be combated; and, as a result, the Mazdayasnian philosophy, unlike any Oriental system at an earlier date, commenced to receive a scientific form. There were many works written during this epoch, but the writer of this review abstains from citing them out of compassion for these readers who may think that their patience has already been sufficiently taxed with unpronounceable proper names.

Dr. Casartelli, the author of *La Philosophie Religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, was eminently fitted for his task. He studied the Iranian languages in the University of Lourani, under the famous Professor de Hartz. In 1884 he obtained from the University the degree of Doctor in Oriental Literature. Besides the works under review, he is the author of many learned Essays on kindred subjects in *Le Miseur* and the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*. The translator has received Dr. Casartelli's warmest commendations, and is in every way worthy of the original.

T. E. J.

PLAIN SERMONS ON THE FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By the Rev. R. D. Browne. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

To be obliged to speak unfavourably of any work written by a Catholic priest would be painful to us, no matter in what language the author might write, or what might be the subject of his work. But doubly painful does this duty become when the author writes in our own language, and addresses himself to a subject of which the Continental divines have been hitherto supposed to possess a monopoly. Of sermons originally written in English we have but a small collection when compared with our goodly store of volumes translated from the chief European languages, and with the immeasurably greater number of volumes in these languages still untranslated. If we must have sermon-books at all, it is much better they should be written for us in English, and by men who are conversant with our peculiar characteristics, and

our most pressing wants. Hence we should be anxious to encourage such of our priests—especially of our missionary priests—who possess abilities for the undertaking, to assist their less gifted brethren by putting into their hands solid, practical instructions composed with a view to the requirements of our people. Hence, too, the pain we feel at being obliged to animadvert severely on what we must regard as, at least, a well-intentioned effort to supply the want we mentioned. But, on the other hand, the duty we owe to the clerical readers of the *I. E. RECORD* forbids us to recommend these *Plain Sermons* as a treasury whence they may draw “new things and old” for the instruction of their people, whereas they are at best but an empty chest, in the crevices of which a poisonous rust has gathered.

To justify the latter part of this metaphor it is sufficient to point out that the quotations from Sacred Scripture throughout this book, whether as texts at the beginning or as illustrations and proofs in the body of the sermons, are almost invariably from the Protestant Authorised Version. The first explanation that occurred to us of this unparalleled audacity on the part of one writing presumably for Catholic priests, or, it may be, speaking to Catholic laymen, was, that the author of these sermons was unaware of the existence of any other English version of the Bible. But, on closer examination, we found it impossible to give him the benefit of even this motive. For when citing those Deutero-Canonical books, which the Protestants reject as uninspired, he does so according to the Catholic version known as *the Douay*, which he also honours by giving its words in certain texts in which the framer of the Authorised Version twisted the meaning of the original to suit their own peculiar errors. Either, then, the Author is acquainted with the discipline of the Church regarding the reading of the Scriptures *in lingua vulgari*, or he is not. If he is not, what right has he to pose as a teacher of the “fundamental truths of the Catholic Church”? And if, being aware of it, he not only violates it himself, but by his action publicly recommends others to violate it, then the fewer his followers the better for the interests of the Church.

In his defence it may be urged that he does not regard the fourth rule of the Index as imposing a strict obligation in these countries, or that he had the required dispensation for using

versions of Sacred Scripture made by heretics. To these arguments we reply that it is no concern of ours how he justifies his own private use of a prohibited version. Had he confined himself to the comparatively harmless exercise of reading his favourite version in private, he might have continued undisturbed to the end of his life to enjoy the pleasures he finds in it. But when through the medium of the pulpit and the press he implicitly teaches others that a version of the Bible condemned by the Church is to be preferred to one at least tacitly approved by the Church, then he must be made to give a stronger reason for his action than an ill-founded private opinion, or a dispensation that does not even touch the case. The only possible reason that can be urged in favour of the Authorised over the Douay version of the Bible is that the language of the former is more idiomatic and more polished than that of the latter. But a glance at our author's own style must convince anyone that this reason could not have influenced his selection.

Apart from this fatal defect, what is to be said of the sermons themselves? Our reply to this question may be expressed briefly thus: the bulk of them are not sermons at all. "Scripture Lessons" would be a more appropriate title for many of them than "Sermons." One would search in vain, we think, among the homilies of the Fathers, or the sermons of our great modern preachers, for a continuous extract from the Bible extending to twenty verses and upwards. Yet such extracts are not uncommon in these "Sermons." One of them, which we have taken the trouble of examining, consists in all of eight pages, and of these fully *five* are made up of extracts from the Bible, one of which covers two whole pages! Now, let us not be taken as objecting to the plentiful use of Scripture in sermons. On the contrary, we know that an appropriate text of Scripture, or an apt illustration borrowed from sacred history, is more appreciated by our people than the most eloquent words or expressive figures drawn from any other source. But then the preacher must *apply* Scripture, must point out its true meaning, and its bearing on the particular subject in hand, and not weary his hearers' minds by treating them to a quotation which takes five minutes to repeat, and which from the very nature of the case cannot all have a direct bearing on the subject of the discourse.

There are many other things about these "Sermons" to which we might legitimately take exception, such as the repetition

again and again in different sermons of the same idea clothed in almost the same words. But we shall pass them over in silence, having already, we think, more than justified the severity with which we have felt obliged to speak of this extraordinary production.

Orde Clainne Tuireann. THE FATE OF THE CHILDREN OF TUIREANN. Edited by R. J. O'Duffy. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Two Shillings.

THE Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language should get every credit for its practical endeavours to justify its title by publishing at a low cost so many of our old Gaelic classics. Its patriotic labours will confer a priceless boon on the many young scholars now learning Irish; for without such handy texts an acquaintance with the works of our past poets and sages would be impossible, except to the few fortunate enough to have access to the rare and costly prints in which alone they could hitherto be found. Even scholars reading our middle Irish remains with ease will find the pleasure of perusal vastly enhanced by a change from the time-discoloured and tattered folios of a MS., with its cramped writing and arbitrary contractions, to the bright page and cheery type of our modern printed books. The *Orde Clainne Tuireann* is a volume added to our increasing stock of available Irish books brought out in the effective plan of the Society's other publications, with text, translation, editorial annotations, and a vocabulary. Unfortunately, however, many of the faults apparent in them are represented in this volume also; faults trivial enough in themselves, it may be urged, but of the very gravest concern when there is question of stamping wrong ideas on a material so tenacious of first impressions, and so helplessly passive in our hands, as the minds of young children.

These faults, being errors and oversights on delicate points of textual and grammatical criticism, we shall pass over here, because as the text itself is practically accurate (thanks to the labours of Eugene O'Curry), a tedious discussion of the results of defective editing would seem to impart to them a degree of importance beyond their real magnitude, but especially because they have been treated already and corrected by a more competent authority. It is, indeed, to be regretted that, by its priority of publication, it was impossible that this book could feel the influence of Mr. R. Atkinson's masterly unravelment of familiar

Irish grammar, cruxes as lucidly set forth in those precious appendices of his to Dr. Geoffrey Keating's *Uí bíon-ḡaiste an báiṛ*. A fact, too, that surprised us was the statement made in the editor's preface, to the effect that he had made an 1820 MS. the basis of his recension, and that the extensive treasures of the Academy library contained no more trustworthy exemplar of one of that great triad of national tales, "the three sorrows of story-telling," than those provided by Casey and O'Langan. In the last days of Irish literature our scribes, possessed only of a certain mechanical dexterity in the matter of copying, and but imperfectly understanding the texts from which they wrote, considered it quite within the limits of decorum to tamper unreservedly with their originals in order to reduce their redactions to the vernacular normal of their own day. They preferred that rhetoricians should chide rather than that the people should not understand. In those pre-critical times the scribes were to themselves irresponsible legislators in things grammatical; they were able to read, and if anybody else presumed to question their proficiency, a high-sounding alliterative "run," taken cheaply from Keating or anywhere, and flippantly delivered, satisfied his unlettered auditory of the genuineness of the scribe's claims to a profound knowledge of very hard Irish, indeed. Hence, while disdaining all intention of disparaging the conscientious labours of our late scribes, prosecuted as they were under a set of circumstances and distresses the most hopeless, we still feel bound to say that in the preparation of an exact text for school use we should diligently collate all the copies or fragments of copies made before the national language and literature fell exclusively under the care of such incompetent custodians; or, failing such, to treat yields from MSS. less than—say a hundred and fifty years old, with a judicious amount of salutary prejudice.

R. H.

MARY IN THE EPISTLES; OR THE IMPLICIT TEACHING OF THE APOSTLES CONCERNING THE BLESSED VIRGIN, CONTAINED IN THEIR WRITINGS.—Illustrated from the Fathers and other authors, with introductory Chapters by Rev. Thomas Livius, C.SS.R. London: Burns & Oates; New York: Catholic Publication Society Company.

WE have no hesitation in saying at once that we welcome this little work. It is calculated to do much good. Any fair-minded

Protestant who reads it, must, we think, be convinced that the comparative silence of Sacred Scripture regarding devotion to the Blessed Virgin is no indication that the devotion was unknown to the Apostles, still less that it is forbidden to us.

Father Livius points out briefly and clearly the true nature of the divine economy in the propagation of the doctrines of faith. "The sacred writers of the books of the New Testament," he says, "had no intention of giving, in their several writings, a full account of all the doctrines that belong to the Christian revelation, nor even a summary of the whole faith. This faith was supposed to be already known, at least in its primary and most essential points, by the Christians whom the Apostles addressed in their Epistles. It had been delivered to them by oral teaching. Having thus prepared the reader not to be scandalized at the silence of the Sacred Scriptures on this or any other point of Christian faith or practice, the author proceeds to show that even in the Epistles the silence regarding the Mother of God is by no means absolute, and that even in that portion of Scripture there is much implicit teaching concerning the Blessed Virgin.

Some will, think this portion of the work strained, and we confess that we ourselves like Father Livius better when reconciling us to Mary's absence than when proving her presence in the Epistles. We ought, however, to bear in mind that he speaks only of implicit testimony, and that he goes no further than great authorities have gone before him.

The work contains nearly 300 pages, printed on good paper, and in clear type. We hope it will have a large circulation.

M. R.

CURSUS VITAE SPIRITUALIS. Auctore R. P. D. Carolo Josepho Morotio. Pustet, Ratisbonae.

THERE is no need to insist on the importance of the branch of ascetic theology for priests, to whom is committed the care of souls. Not merely in the cloister or convent, but in the world, too, are to be found very many highly-favoured souls, and it is the duty of the confessor to guide and help such along the way to perfection. Moreover, the confessor has to prescribe for other classes of penitents remedies to heal now this fault, and again that. Indeed all this is necessarily included in *Ars artium regimen animarum*, which the priest is called on to practise.

It will then be a welcome announcement to many a priest that a really good book—methodical and solid—on the science of directing souls, is the *Cursus Vitae Spiritualis*, by Rev. Charles Joseph Morotio. This new edition has been revived and brought out by a learned Redemptorist priest.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS. (Editio Sexta.) Auctore Augustino Lehmkuhl, S.J. Herder: Friburgi Brisgoviae.

THE *Moral Theology* of Father Lehmkuhl has been so often noticed in the I. E. RECORD, and is so widely known to theological students, that it is hardly necessary to write of its merits. This is a new and *sixth* edition of the famous manual. Though this latest edition has been submitted to most careful revision by the author, very few changes have been made. There are, however, some, and chiefly in Nos. 474, 843, 848, 852, 924, 925, 999, 1,148 of the first volume; and in Nos. 231, 399, 701, 752, 788, 798b, 818, and 838 of the second volume.

RITUALE ROMANUM. Pustet, Ratisbon.

THIS is a new edition, which has appeared within the year, of Pustet's *Editio Typica* of the Roman Ritual. This typical edition of the Ritual should be on the book-shelf of every priest. It is, indeed, too large to be carried about conveniently by the priest attending sick calls; but it contains so many approved forms of blessing various objects as to make it a valuable book of reference.

DE INSIGNIBUS EPISCOPORUM COMMENTARIA. Pustet, Ratisbon.

THE history and symbolism of the different vestments worn by a bishop are fully explained in this work, by Dr. Peter Joseph Rinaldi-Bucci.

THESAURUS SACERDOTUM. By Father Sebastian, Passionist. Duffy & Co., Dublin.

FATHER SEBASTIAN has done good work for his brother priests in putting into their hands this very useful compilation of prayers and devotions specially suited to them.

This little book contains, for instance, prayers before and after mass; short meditations specially suited to priests; an immense number of litanies, prayers, &c.; documents and formulæ relating to the reception of a convert to the Church, and the many formulæ also for enrolling in the different scapulars and associations. The book is, indeed, true to its title—a *thesaurus sacerdotum valde utilis*.

BOOKS OF PIETY.

Little Gems from Thomas à Kempis (Gill & Son, Dublin) are admirably selected and arranged by Miss Sarah O'Brien for every day in the year. The little book itself is also a perfect gem in the style of its bringing out, and is so small that it can be carried in a waistcoat pocket without inconvenience.

The Maxims of St. Philip Neri (Gill & Son, Dublin) will be welcome to all who have read the life of the genial and lovable saint.

The Virgin Mother of Good Counsel (Gill & Son, Dublin) is a compilation from the large work of Monsignor George F. Dillon, and contains, in a small neat volume, the chief facts that are likely to have most interest for the clients of the Virgin Mother of Good Counsel.

The First Communicant's Manual, by Father Gallery, S.J. (Gill & Son, Dublin), was prepared by him for his class of young communicants in Clongowes Wood College, and this fact alone is sufficient to recommend it to every household where children are preparing for the great act of religion which makes the day of First Communion the greatest day of life. We feel assured, moreover, that those who use this little book in preparing for First Communion are likely to continue to use it as a Communion manual through life.

Golden Sands (Benziger Bros., New York).—Very many are deeply indebted to the talent and zeal of Miss Ella M'Mahon. We have before us three of her useful books. *Golden Sands or Little Counsels for the Sanctification and Happiness of Daily Life*, which is from her pen, is the little book of which Pope Pius IX. is reported to have said that he loved these little messengers of God; that one of them sometimes did more for him than a missionary. This is what everyone feels who is in the habit of using daily the collection of *Golden Sands*.

The Art of Profiting by our Faults (Benziger Bros., New York) is another translation from the French, by the same author. The original treatise is by a missionary of St. Francis de Sales, and is in full accord with the spirit of the saint. The book is one which most of us are sure to like, for it is consoling, encouraging, and practical.

The third volume of *The Book of the Professed* (Benziger Bros., New York) is also the fruit of Miss M'Mahon's zeal. This volume

deals very fully with the obligation and character of obedience in religious institutions and of prayer, and certainly contains many useful hints and helps to make the yoke of Christ, to which religious submit themselves, sweet, and His burden light.

The Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher, for mothers, instructors, and all charged with the education of girls, by Rev. Pattiser, S.J. (Benziger Bros., New York), contains many useful suggestions for all connected with the teaching of children.

Not only teachers, but the public generally would find much enlightenment, as to the respective rights and duties of the State and the Church, and of parents in regard to the education of children from a perusal of another book on education, namely, *Rights of our Little Ones, or First Principles on Education*, by Rev. James Conway, S.J. (Benziger Bros.)

The Crown of Thorns, or the Little Breviary of the Holy Face, is a complete manual of devotion and reparation to the holy face of our Divine Lord. The work appears most suitably at the present time, when we see a widespread devotion towards our blessed Saviour, under the form of devotion to the Holy Face growing up in every country, and particularly in Ireland.

We should wish to see the little book entitled *The Catholic Young of the Present Day*, widely circulated among our young men's associations of all kinds. It is a word of important advice, in the form of a series of letters addressed by the Bishop of St. Gall to the young men of his diocese. He reveals in these beautiful letters the dangers and difficulties before them ; instructs them as to the way of avoiding or overcoming these obstacles ; and finally, points out how easy it is to practise virtue, which is shown to be the only sure way to happiness.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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SOME CAUSES OF ANGLICAN SECESSION.

THE reasons which influence members of the Establishment, who, one by one, are led to submit themselves to the authority and teaching of the Catholic Church, are various and dissimilar. They are nearly as dissimilar and various from each other as the individuality of those persons of independent thought, of strong will, and of consistent action, who elect to make their humble submission. The submission of each Anglican, in turn, has been preceded by a period, more or less prolonged, and by a conflict, more or less severe, of religious doubt. By the term "religious doubt" is meant that mental position, of partial ignorance, and of partial knowledge in divine things, which, once fully realized, almost of necessity leads to secession from the Church of England. And the same law which obtains at the present day, has been observed to hold good in the noteworthy and numerous conversions that have continued to flow in a perennial stream, during the last fifty years, from Protestantism to Catholicity. Indeed, the like may be said of the stream of dissentients, or separatists, which has emerged from the Anglican body with a variable volume, in every succeeding year of the same period. In the matter of personal conversion, whether on theoretical or on practical grounds, there is a range of opinion divergent from the Established Religion, as well as a range of belief converging to the Church of Rome, which, to say the least, is wide and

far-reaching. There are—account for them as you may—difficulties and uncertainties repellant from the one, as well as certitudes and privileges—minimize them as you will—attractive towards the other, which are self-contained, adequate for their purpose, and beyond the range of controversy or of disproof. Hence, it is almost impossible to find any two converts, being educated and intelligent Anglicans, at the same date, and still more, any two converts at different dates, who, acting without concert with each other—and such confidences are seldom at the time reciprocated—concur in the details of their reasons for making the all-important change of religion. It is quite impossible to find them, supposing that, at a given date, no public or specially disturbing influence, ecclesiastical or secular, has arisen—euphemistically called in the Establishment “a grave crisis”—which shakes the trembling allegiance of Anglicans in their own system. It is impossible to find them, if no such crisis exists, which drives men and women headlong by units, be they in tens or in hundreds; or which affects them to any extent gregariously, in larger or smaller numbers, to follow their leaders out of the bare wastes of the “Anglican paddock” into the fertile and pleasant pastures of the Roman fold.

At such, or at the like times of more than ordinary religious excitement—for minor Anglican crises recur, or used to recur, and probably still recur, about every other year—it is true, that common dangers and evils are suggestive of common arguments; and that common hopes and fears produce common action. At these times, indeed, there will be found embedded deep in the minds of all who live under the present influence of Protestant doubt, a general and hearty disagreement with their actual past; and a general, but intense predilection for a possible, anticipated future in store for an enfranchised conscience. But, the variety of valid causes which lead different simple-minded, faithful and bold souls from the same starting-point to the same goal, is only equalled by the variety of conditions in the existing theological surroundings of every individual convert. The indirect influences, or accessories of doubt, in

each one's life must be reckoned with and accounted for in the case of each separate conversion to Rome. His early story and later career ; his family connections and position in society ; his intellectual power, or want of power, and his physical temperament, be it strong or weak ; his very sympathies, interests and affections—these are further elements to be noted, which should be carefully weighed. Indeed, these personal details must be estimated, if any rational sequence of cause and effect has to be assigned, which opponents cannot deny, for the only not endless and really unnumbered cases of Catholic recusancy of both sexes and all ages, from every grade and rank of English-speaking persons, during the last half century. Nor must the primary or immediate influences of conversion be taken for granted, or be overlooked, as if these were, or as if these, argumentatively, ought to be similar. As a fact, they are far otherwise. And it is the object of the following pages to indicate, however briefly, some miscellaneous causes of Anglican secession. The mere enumeration of them in outline will indicate not only how various are the objections which may justly be urged against the permanent abiding of any intelligent, thoughtful and pious Anglican in the communion of the Church of England ; but also, how large, and almost innumerable, is the number of such valid objections. And their number will afford evidence of a cumulative character, which proves how great, and even overpowering, is the weight of testimony which can be rightly brought against the Established Religion. All these reasons may be attributed, more or less exactly, to that result of partial ignorance and partial knowledge of the principles and practice of our holy faith, which alone the Protestant Church of England can impart, and which we call doubt. One, or other, or more of them—in spite of Anglican answers, which either deliberately or accidentally miss the mark ; or of Ritualistic “plain reasons,” which inquiry proves to be anything but “good reasons”—practically, and it may be said logically, have led countless souls out of the Establishment, and still do lead them, where all theological roads lead, to Rome.

I. The first of these reasons for legitimate doubt in Anglicanism, which may be named, is the world-wide question of authority. And the utter absence of all real authority, or even of all pretended authority, for Anglican belief and practice, if not the formally-acknowledged sufficiency of private judgment, as the rule of faith amongst members of the Establishment, is a fertile source of doubt. Numberless instances of this lack of authority might be quoted and discussed. But two widely different cases may suffice. The first of these is the attitude which the Anglican body, in her Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, assumes towards the three ancient creeds of the Catholic Church. That the Establishment is content still to offer these symbols unreformed and intact in spite of a growing dislike to one of them, is a matter of gratulation to Anglicans; but the more logical among them can hardly feel grateful for the principle upon which their spiritual mother offers these symbols for the acceptance of her children. The creeds of Christendom are to be received, says the Church of England, because their several statements may be intellectually proved, necessarily by the disciple himself, to be in accordance with his own personal interpretation of Holy Scripture. Can there be a more explicit appeal to the principle of private judgment, short of employing these terms in a set form of words? The inference is undeniable; if the articles of the creed cannot be proved, in accordance with the stated principle, the Anglican disciple may, *i.e.*, is at liberty, not to accept them. How different is the tone and temper with which the Church Catholic deals with her children. "O my God," she teaches them to pray, in an Act of Faith, "I firmly believe all that Thou hast revealed, and which the Holy Catholic Church proposes to me to be believed, because Thou art truth itself, which can neither deceive, nor be deceived: in this faith I desire to live and die." Can any two systems of belief be more opposed than those which produce the Anglican article of belief and the Catholic form of prayer? The opposition will become the more apparent if a Catholic would attempt to accept the Anglican theory; or, on the other hand, if an Anglican could venture

to use the Catholic devotion. No Catholic would dare to balance his faith on his own proofs of the creeds from the Bible. No Anglican is bold enough to approach Almighty God, and to protest before Him, "I believe all that the Church of England proposes to me to be believed . . . and in this faith I hope to . . . die."

A second reason which causes doubt in the mind of a loyal Anglican in the Catholic instinct of his communion, on the question of authority, is the specious position which Anglicanism takes towards an imaginary form of antiquity, to which it appeals. This form of primitive Christianity was evolved from the inner consciousness of the Reformers, and a theoretic model of what the ancient Church ought to be, was constructed by them in the sixteenth century. Those who rebelled, and who fought against the traditional and universally-accepted outline of the living Church, created for themselves a dead model to which they pretended to yield obedience. The aspect, the character, the proportions, the functions of the model, there is no need to discuss. But by the creation of it by themselves, the Reformers implicitly asserted a right; and in virtue of that right they explicitly claimed a power of appeal from the existing Church to something centuries outside itself. They appealed from a living, visible, tangible organism, with a continuous historical career of sixteen centuries, to the supposititious result of a struggling and embryonic and undeveloped form of Christianity. They appealed to a religious system, the faith and practice of which, on most modern contentious topics, we possess the vaguest information. Indeed, they appealed to that of which, apart from the records of the Church of a thousand years, we historically know next to nothing. And it is these very thousand years of mediæval Christianity which Protestants incontinently, as well as inconsistently, ignore. In the appeal, however, itself, is contained an element of doubt. By looking without its own boundaries; by looking backward from its own era, for ten or twelve centuries; by creating an authority, be it never so shadowy, beyond a presumably God-given power; by pretending submission to a power, itself of questionable reality,

which could neither hear evidence for an appeal, nor decide the merits of an appeal, nor enforce the result of an appeal—the Anglican Reformers, even if unintentionally, yet actually, declared the principle of private judgment in religion. There is no logical escape from this conclusion. And the fact that the Anglican Church so little realizes the notes, characteristics and duties, as well as the privileges of a Church, as voluntarily to abdicate its authority, nominally God-bestowed, in favour of an unreal abstraction, self-created, of thirty generations before—this fact is sufficient to raise, and raising to confirm, a doubt in Anglican minds of the genuineness and authenticity of the claims of the Protestant Church of England.

II. The purely human origin, human history, human existence, and human modes and methods of the communion by courtesy styled the “Church of England,” is another cause of doubt—a cause which, when led to its legitimate result, ends in the assurance of doubtlessness. For instance, to refer only here and now to the legal position at the present moment of the Anglican body. The following may be affirmed to be stern matters of fact, and not matters of opinion. The existence of the Established Religion is dependent solely upon the consent of the English nation, a consent which is dependent, in its turn, on the votes of the English democracy. At the present moment, without question, in continuation of a national tradition of three and a-half centuries, the democracy wills the continuation of the Anglican ecclesiastical anomaly: wills it, inasmuch as no general and serious demand by the constituencies has yet been made for its determination. Secular politicians best know the chances that such a demand will be made, when certain other national and international questions of supreme importance, which now stop the way, have been finally settled. Meantime, the continuance and development of Anglicanism are dependent on the action of the Crown and the law of the land, exercised in endless ways, which are expressive of the consent of the nation. Its government, again, for so long a time as it remains a national religion, is dependent on the will and pleasure of a non-Christian

parliament; it may almost be said, of a parliament that is anti-Christian. And its government is fatally conscious of inconsistencies with its claims, which are sufficient to destroy all known marks of Catholicity. The leader of a temporary majority in the House of Commons absolutely nominates to all the bishopricks of the Establishment, and directly or indirectly, the large majority of its chief clerical office-bearers; whilst the greater number of its parochial clergy are appointed by laymen who are not necessarily, and often are not even nominally, members of the Church of England.

In question of appeals, the same law is apparent—the law of lay or civil supremacy; and this law, accordingly to the party proclivities of the Anglican controversialist, who estimates this side of his position, is admitted with sorrow and humiliation, or is proclaimed with exultation and joy, or is owned with cynical indifference. And the Anglican legal appeals, Anglicans themselves being the judges, are practically decided in virtue of the jurisdiction of the Crown, by secular judges pronouncing lay judgments in civil courts of justice, which, by way of moral compensation to Anglican susceptibilities, are dignified with the titles of the old and genuine ecclesiastical courts. Again: the jurisdiction exercised by the Anglican episcopate lies in close proximity with the principle of the Anglican law of appeals, and even forms portion of it; and this question also affords grave cause for doubt. Whatsoever definition may be given of the term “jurisdiction” itself, and whether the gift or quality described by the definition be a positive or a negative quantity, there appear to be three sources only from whence authority to employ the power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction can proceed. From one of these three sources, viz., from the centre of Christendom, whence for a thousand years came the jurisdiction exercised by the Catholic bishops of the ancient Church of England, the jurisdiction of the Protestant communion certainly cannot now be derived. The jurisdiction, therefore, which the Protestant episcopate at present exercises, must arise from one of the two other sources. It must be—to speak of the last-made English Protestant bishop in terms which are applicable to the English

Protestant bishop who was first made—either self-evolved from the possession, or by the possessor, of the Anglican See; or it must be simply delegated by the English State. Whether of the two sources are the least un-Catholic, it is needless to discuss. Both lie on one level. History points to the State as the source of Anglican jurisdiction; and the nature of things forbids the idea that the first Anglican bishop could convey what himself did not possess, namely, ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It is unnecessary to find an escape from the horns of the dilemma. But, it may not be useless to remark, in passing, that the difficulty touching Anglican jurisdiction is entirely distinct from, and is severed by an impassible gulf from, that of Anglican orders. Even if the Protestant Church could prove by documentary evidence, what it is powerless to prove, viz., the Apostolic succession of its ministers from pre-Reformation times, the absence of jurisdiction coming from without (saving that of a civil and secular character, proceeding from the Crown), or the presence of a subjective and self-evolved jurisdiction, created to meet the lack of Catholic power and authority, would justify a doubt of the real position of the religion established by law in England.

III. Another valid and rational cause of doubt in Anglicanism, of primary importance, may be found in the religious position of the Establishment, as distinct both from its legal position, and from all questions of order or of jurisdiction. Doubt clusters around the interpretation of the formularies of the Anglican Communion; and the extent to which this side of doubt reaches is almost co-terminous with the extent of the formularies themselves. There exist, and always have existed in the Established Religion, since its origin in the sixteenth century, a body of newly-created formularies, both within and without the covers of the Book of Common Prayer. These official documents bear the titles of Article, or Homily, or Canon, or Office, or Order, or Catechism. Their contents are multifarious, and almost defy classification, still more enumeration. Suffice it to say, that they deal with public worship; with the administration of sacred rites; with the teaching of

children; with the instruction of the clergy and laity; with the government of the Anglican Church, and with points of faith against which protest is made, as well as with certain dogmas of religion on behalf of which belief is required. The ground covered by these many-sided documents, it is hardly an exaggeration to describe, within their own limits, as universal. History, sacred and profane; theology, dogmatic and moral; the science of liturgiology, in text and rubric; exegesis and translation of both the Old and the New Testaments; canon law, in various branches; controversy, in almost every conceivable aspect—these form but a portion of the miscellaneous contents of the newly-composed formularies of the Anglican Church at its inception. These documents, apart from the Holy Bible, extending over hundreds and hundreds of pages, bristle with thousands of statements more or less truthful, more or less false, more or less a combination of both truth and falsehood, and thus are infected with doubt. Every one of them is supposed to be accepted by the laity, who are loyal to the Anglican Church; and the larger part of them are either imposed upon, or are received upon oath by, the Protestant clergy of the Establishment.

And yet, what is the view which average Anglican laymen and clergymen take of these formularies severally composed for their benefit, or edification, or guidance, or government by their ecclesiastical superiors and teachers at the date of the Reformation? Anglican laymen, as a body, decline to be held responsible for, and simply ignore, large tracts of the Reformation Church literature, and hold themselves free to consider the residue in the light in which their spiritual guides view these documents. And Anglican clergymen view the same, both in the gross and in detail, according to the teaching of the sect or school of thought to which they respectively belong, or to which they yield a temporary obedience. The various statements in the documentary literature of the Church of England, which lend themselves to a variety of interpretations are thus diversely, and in turn, estimated by each of the three dominant parties within the Establishment which vainly strives for the mastery

over the other two. It is useless to indicate any individual statement out of the numberless debatable questions, contained in one formulary alone of the Establishment. But, of almost endless doctrinal positions enunciated in the Articles of Religion, the three several parties take the three following views:—the selected dogma, or fact, or mystery of Christianity is held to be true by the more Catholic-minded Anglican; is pronounced to be false by the more Protestant-minded Evangelical; and is looked upon with supreme indifference by the more Latitudinarian-minded of the Broad Church cleric, or by their lay followers in each case. All Anglican ministers, notwithstanding, more or less *ex animo*, accept and pledge themselves to all and to each of these formularies, as the authorised teaching, and mode of government of their Communion. And their acceptance and solemn pledge constitute the sole legal condition for their receiving the emoluments of the Establishment, for acting the part of its legal representative, and for exercising the privilege of ministering to the nation in its name. Two results come from this laxity in subscribing to, and this facility of escape from, the bondage of the Anglican formularies of belief and conduct. The spirit of *anomia* and disorder, in thought and action, pervades every portion of the Establishment, including the three great parties into which the Church of England is split, and the large minority of nominal Anglicans who subscribe to the peculiar tenets of no recognised party. This discord finds expression in each order, sacred or secular; and, consciously or unconsciously, affects every member from the Anglican bishop downwards, or from the Anglican layman upwards. Whilst, in consequence of this widespread lay and clerical licence, the principles of the Anglican Reformation, by which all members alike are nominally bound, and which all are, or ought to be, equally concerned to hold sacred and to keep supreme, are treated one by one with studied contempt, or with ostentatious disregard, or with ill-placed levity, by each section in turn of the Church of England. These circumstances, and much that may be derived from them by logical inference, furnish fresh cause for honest

doubt in the minds of the more thoughtful adherents of Anglicanism.

IV. But, perhaps the most potent cause of doubt of primary importance to the Anglican, who is neither a Latitudinarian in practice, nor an Evangelical in belief, is found in none of the difficulties already named. To such an one, doubt, *i.e.*, doubt sufficiently strong for conversion, adheres neither in the laxity of themselves or of their neighbours in the matter of subscription to the Articles; nor in the question, half historical, half theological, of Anglican order and of Catholic jurisdiction; nor in the legal and constitutional aspect of the Establishment; nor in its human origin and source; nor in its undeniable want of all legitimate authority. Rather, and so far as each of these conditions of Anglican life can be severed from what really includes them all—namely, Anglican separation from the centre of the Christian religion—the High Churchman becomes consciously shaken in his allegiance when he takes another view of the position of his communion. When he calmly and seriously contemplates the corporate position of the religion established by law in relation to Christianity as a whole, then the mental vision becomes to his soul almost instinct with divine and personal revelation. The position of the Church of England is then seen to be not only insular and peculiar, which it ever appeared to all outsiders; but also, as it then seems to an Anglican when he can take himself out of himself, and see things as they actually are, isolated and abnormal. The isolation is felt to be almost unprecedented; for, not only does Western Christianity, to adopt the insular language of Anglicans, ordain every convert clergyman who aspires to the priesthood in the Catholic Church; but the Eastern Church insists on baptizing any convert layman who seeks to be reconciled with the Communion of the Orthodox Church. In short, the isolation is absolutely unparalleled—unless, indeed, Anglicans are content to be compared with members of a Church avowedly heretical, or of one whose candlestick has been entirely removed, and whose place in the Christian family has vanished from off the face of the earth.

For instance: the Church of England stands outside the recognised pale of organic, traditional, historic Christianity, and of the One Universal Church—whether the Anglican looks for unity in the East or in the West—founded by Christ, and extended by His Apostles. It is disowned by every single body of professing Christians, orthodox or heretical, Catholic or Uniat, which can boast of an historical record of more than three centuries. It is unchurched, in every essential which constitutes a Church, by the main bulk of Christendom—by the residue, if it so pleases the Anglicans to speak of the mighty Mother of all Churches, of the Latin Communion—of which it once formed a portion, perhaps the fairest portion. Neither does the Anglican, saving under the influence of strong mental convictions fully realize the meaning of this universal and absolute repudiation of himself as a member, and of his communion as a branch of Christ's Church. For it means that whether in life or death he has neither part nor lot spiritually with the countless multitude of faithful souls on earth, estimated at some three hundred millions; of faithful priests, who number about three hundred thousand; of faithful bishops, upwards of twelve hundred in number. It means even more than this, with regard to the Church Triumphant: for the Church of England has deliberately severed itself from the whole company of apostles and saints who have evangelized the nations; of the martyrs and confessors, who have suffered for the faith; of the doctors and theologians, who have taught the elect; of the religious, of both sexes, who have sanctified themselves and have become the salt of the earth.

Nor does this isolation of the English Church from both the centre and the circumference of Catholic Christendom exhaust the story of its abnormal existence. Anglicanism, as a system, is unacknowledged by the great Eastern Churches, whether orthodox or heretical, by the Russian Imperial patriarchate, and by schismatical bodies, which had become hoar and venerable in their separation ages and ages before the advent in the kingdom of Christ of that monstrosity in religion—Protestant Christianity. The

modern Church of England, again, is viewed with just suspicion, as being neither wholly Catholic, nor purely Evangelical, but as being a hybrid between two antagonistic and incompatible religions, by the three great Protestant bodies on the Continent—Lutheran, Evangelical, and Calvinistic; and by the three great denominations in England—the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Independents, whose numerical aggregate bears a considerable proportion to the population of the Church of England. It is in full communion only outside the ranks of its own descendants, legitimate or illegitimate, in the Colonies or elsewhere, as the recently-held and so-called Pan-Anglican Synods bear witness—with but a single tiny body of Christians, who can be counted only by tens of thousands, across the Atlantic. And it is not unworthy of remark, that this community, the only body claiming, however unreal, the status and style of a Church with which the Establishment declares itself to hold communion, bears on its title-deeds the honest avowal of being a “Protestant” Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

Lastly, as evidence of the isolated and exceptional condition of the Established Church, another fact may be added. Instead of having increased and multiplied in a healthy, natural, and normal manner, under the influence of every adventitious aid and support from the English State, the Anglican body has dwindled, proportionately to its original exclusiveness, or its after-supremacy over the Nonconformist population, to a faint shadow of its former self. It has dwindled from the form and dimensions it assumed, as created by Henry, as re-created by Elizabeth, as restored under Charles, and as once and for long exercising undisputed authority over the entire English nation, over members of the old faith alone excepted. It has dwindled, in spite of, or, more probably, in consequence of, having been the Established and State-protected and civilly-governed religion of the nation; and consequently, of being still patronized by the titled orders, and being still able to command the purse of the wealthy classes, whether upper or middle. And it may well be termed a faint shadow,

inasmuch as, instead of being the spiritual mother of the English people as a whole, whom it had once led or rather forced, into corporate apostacy, it has become the legal ancestress, in direct descent, one or two degrees removed, during nine or ten generations of unrivalled supremacy, of upwards of two hundred different sects of Protestants of more consistent action than itself. Nor does this represent the full decline of the diminished proportions of the Establishment. The Church of England has probably lost the spiritual adherence of from one-half to two-thirds of the adult population of *bonâ fide* Church people of to-day. Indeed, if published statistics be trustworthy, the proportions would be really more in the disfavour of the Established Church. Whilst, if an effort were made to estimate the numbers of those Anglicans who are infected even slightly with Catholic tendencies, and who seek to re-introduce by a side wind to the Establishment, Catholic truth and Catholic worship, the result would prove to be exceedingly small. Perhaps the so-called Ritualists may number about two thousand ministers, or a thirteenth part of the Anglican clergy; and five hundred disciples to each clergyman of this denomination would probably be a very high estimate to allow—a million of followers all told, out of twenty-nine or thirty millions of Englishmen. Those who, after their light and according to their opportunities are more rather than less consistently Catholic in temper, even in their Protestant inconsistency, can be numbered only by, perhaps, a decimal part of these figures—possibly, a couple of hundred of the clergy, and a hundred thousand of their more or less obedient disciples, men and women.

The above causes of legitimate doubt in the position of the Anglican Church, as a claimant to the honour of being a branch of the Church Catholic, are elements, all and severally, in generating the motive power which eventually impels each unit in turn, who is personally called from without the Church to acknowledge the supreme authority of the Holy See. Each cause, as it commends itself to the individual conscience, acts the part of yeast to leaven the whole intelligence of the inquirer. Each cause, as it is accepted with

frankness, and is argued to its legitimate end with honesty, predisposes the soul to accept some other and further cause of doubt. The order and sequence in which each cause commends itself, varies with the temperament, capacity, and circumstances of the victim of doubt. It matters not at all which cause first strikes the conscience, or which cause is the last perceived by the intellect. Neither does it matter which cause may be selected as a foundation upon which to build, or as a point of departure from which to attack afresh, the pretensions of Anglicanism. Where all equally, though by different routes, and at different times, lead the inquirer out of Protestantism into the Church, a positive and direct argument may commend itself to one mind, and a negative and indirect argument may appeal to another, on which to rest the entire case for or against conversion. For instance, the lack of any recognised authority in the Church of England may prove suggestive of the depth and reality of its legal and secular disabilities from a Catholic standpoint. Historical difficulties once substantiated may clear the way for perceiving the want of order and the lack of jurisdiction, or the internal dissensions and differences which convulse the religion established by law. Whilst the absolute isolation in Christendom, and the unique and abnormal position of the Church of England therein, together with its gradual disintegration and yearly-increasing spiritual decrepitude as an organic whole, may bring conviction to the enlightened conscience, that the body presumptuously assuming the characteristics of a Church, of which even this alone may be affirmed, cannot be verily and indeed the immaculate spouse of Christ. Whatever result, however, each cause in its order may tend to produce on the individual soul, they all find a legitimate place in an apology for doubt, which everyone is forced to make, willingly or unwillingly, publicly or in private, to itself or to its God—an apology which is also occasionally offered in self-defence to former friends, or as a suggestive plea for imitation to fellow-workers—before individual submission is made to, and personal admission is humbly sought in, the one true home for all weary, perplexed, and opinion-tossed souls—the holy Roman Church.

These four groups of subjects are specimens of many more. The facts and circumstances they include, here mentioned in general terms only, are suggestive of doubt, more or less perfect, in questions of primary importance, in the Anglican communion. Some of them, perhaps all of them, would bear a more exhaustive discussion and a more detailed treatment; and the larger portion deserve to be pressed upon the consciences and the intellects of Anglicans. It may be inquired, however, wherefore and for what purpose and to what end are they stated anew, or at all, at the present moment. Are they not old, old objections to abiding within the borders of the Anglican Establishment—ask those to whom these arguments are more than familiar? Undoubtedly, it may be replied, they are as old as the Establishment itself: they have a history of three and a-half centuries of chequered life. Have they not been made and answered over and over and over again, in favour of not submitting to the Catholic Church—it may be more reasonably and pertinently asked? Yes, certainly: numberless answers have been given, time out of mind, to these and to similar objections against a frank and loyal adherence to the Protestant Communion. Do not these old answers to old objections suffice to restrain Anglicans for secession to Rome—continues the Protestant inquirer? As certainly and as decidedly—it must be contended by the Catholic apologist, who may now justly join issue on the argument—they do not. These old answers are insufficient to restrain the flow of conversions from the Church of England into the Catholic Church. That they mar the fate of some is undeniable; for, all that are called are not chosen. But conversions to the true faith continue to multiply in spite of them. For there are answers and answers to valid objections. Some answers only raise fresh and stronger objections, and many an answer contains no genuine removal of the objection to which it is a nominal reply. Whilst, so far from age in itself being fatal to the force and completeness of a real objection to Protestantism, the fact that an objection dates contemporaneously with the falsity against which it is

levied, forms a powerful element in its favour. The poison and its antidote have thus marched side by side together; and the latter certainly is not more weak now than formerly. Indeed, a valid objection to a novelty in religion coeval with the novelty itself improves with age, like sound wine, and years and centuries only increase its potency and flavour. No doubt, the repetition of flat and stale objections is irksome to faithful Catholics, and is displeasing to Protestants unhappily crystalized into schism or heresy. Both, however, have an obvious remedy in their own hands. But, to earnest Catholic minds, and to consistent Protestants, they are not all matters of indifference; and to some minds old facts with new faces are positively attractive. Indeed, contact with the world, and the friction of every-day life, gradually but surely wears away the surface of controversial truth; and should any one be able to rehabilitate afresh an ancient valid objection which in its day has done yeoman's service, and to thrust home the argument to the soul of the honest doubter in Protestantism, he will become, after his power, a polemical benefactor.

In any case, it is beneficial for the great cause of the conversion of Protestant England, that old arguments with new illustrations, or with new modes of address, should be reproduced in each succeeding generation. They may at last, by the mere weight of the persevering reiteration of truth, catch some persons who never before were attracted, and convert some who previously had declined to listen to the voice of the divine charmer, charmed he never so wisely. They may, at least, instil a doubt—one honest doubt, honestly followed to its legitimate conclusion, is enough—a doubt into the hearts of those who have never yet been blessed with the rational hope, or even, in some cases, with the intellectual idea, of freedom from the intollerable bonds of private opinion without a governing principle, and of public teaching not based upon divine authority. Neither is such an effort on the one hand, nor is such a result on the other, out of harmony with the genius of Protestantism, whose main note is one of part knowledge and of part ignorance combined. Nay, both are in strict conformity

with its traditions, with its developments, and even with its methods. It is competent, therefore, for a Catholic to walk in such footsteps. And if the effort be made, and the course be followed in good faith, temperately and without a shade of bitterness, in charity withal, and not without a prayer for a measure of success with immortal souls, a certain amount of feebleness of execution may be forgiven for the sake of a good and a pure intention.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

DANTE'S IDEAL OF CHURCH AND EMPIRE.

THE development of Italian national life during the past twenty years is a spectacle which attracts attention, not alone on account of its actual living interest, but also, and to a great extent, on account of its relations to the past. Whilst certain phases of its modern aspect have almost wholly engrossed the minds of Catholics in other parts of the world, the Liberals of Italy have not been backward in endeavouring to justify what is called the "*fait accompli*" by traditional and historic arguments¹ drawn from sources which require to be carefully examined and tested before they can be admitted as legitimate. The *Revolution* was never overburdened with scruples in manufacturing a position for itself any more in the domain of history than in the region of facts. The chief thing with it is once to get a grasp of power, and when that is done all else follows in natural sequence. So far, its adepts hold the upper hand in Italy. For the time being might and violence prevail against right. The work that was plotted in dark places, and fomented by invisible powers, is there upheld by a combination which, from its very nature, is destined to be broken. Human conspiracies founded on a basis of mutual hatred and distrust cannot last; they fall of their own weight, and, as a rule,

¹ *La Tradizione Unitaria in Italia*, by Signor Giuseppe, Fontana.

crush their designers. But, in the interval of momentary triumph, the architects of the new order profess themselves satisfied with their work. According to them the edifice is firmly established. "Italy," they say, "is at last *one, free, independent*; her people are satisfied; her security is assured." Those amongst them who are concerned for the respectability of their position protest that by despoiling the Sovereign Pontiff and appropriating his territory they mean no injury to religion. They simply regard the temporal dominion of the Popes as a danger to their country, and an element of corruption in the Church. This, they maintain, was the life-long belief of some of the greatest of their countrymen. In their efforts to create a decent genealogy for themselves they have ransacked the national annals from end to end, and have grasped at every phantom of approval which their fancy discovered in past ages. In this eager search they respected no memories, were deterred by no methods, however dishonest or unworthy. Not satisfied with the paternity of the boldest speculators of the middle ages, and of the most independent spirits of modern times, they have questioned the memory of some of the noblest and most Christian of their race, and have claimed the approbation of names and of authorities which only recklessness could invoke. The patronage of men like Arnold of Brescia and Giordano Bruno, which nobody will deny them, is not sufficient. These are too unpopular, too repulsive, even for the Liberal taste. Machiavelli is, indeed, brought into requisition, and made to do duty for all he is worth. The keynote of his service is to be found in that last chapter of the *Prince* in which he bewails the sad condition of Italy—"beaten, lacerated, despoiled, a prey to every sort of depredation and rapine," and calls aloud for "some other Moses to redeem the Israelites, for another Cyrus to crush the Medes, another Theseus to recall the dispersed Athenians." But the cunning Florentine is too well known, his name too closely associated with the wiles of statecraft, and with the theory so generally adopted nowadays of "means to an end," to be of much authority when there is merely question of right and justice. It is a principle of expediency to turn

principle to account when it suits the occasion; hence recourse is had to those who were remarkable for their uprightness and integrity that their character may supply for the deficiency of others, and that what stands out most prominently in their lives may be made to shield their own mistakes, or lend somewhat of its splendour to the opinions that are falsely attributed to them. And thus it is that the recent biographers and commentators of Dante have made such desperate efforts to write down one great name, at least, among the patrons of modern Italy.

If these are to be credited, the leading aim and dominant thought of Allighieri was nothing short of the complete destruction of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes. This was the object for which he worked and strove and yearned many a year, and for the final accomplishment of which he composed the immortal trilogy to which "heaven and earth contributed." We are not, of course, placed under any obligation or necessity to exaggerate the opinions of Dante one way or another. Our veneration for him falls very far short of that almost unqualified worship in which some of his admirers indulge. As a practical statesman he was a failure. He was not incapable of weakness, of error, or of sin. He was a victim to the miseries and passions of life, like other mortals, and his ardent nature often led him, in details, at least, beyond the bounds of charity and justice. But much can be forgiven to genius and to faith; and whilst duly noting the prominent shortcomings of his character, we should never leave out of sight his imposing titles to honour and to fame. His poem is a monument of Christianity and of Catholicity that will never die; "a great, supernatural world-cathedral," as Carlyle calls it,¹ "piled up there; stern, solemn; awful." As the chanter of the sublimest truths of morality and of faith that were ever wedded to poetry, we admire and love him; and when his authority is now invoked to shield the despoilers of the Church and to sanction the triumphs of modern revolution, we refuse to take it on the simple saying of those in whom the "wish is father to the thought." We

¹ *Lectures on Heroes.—Dante.*

prefer to examine for ourselves his political plan for the adjustment of the world, and to inquire from him, and from him alone, in what sense, if any, he is opposed to the temporal dominion of the successors of St. Peter.

With the out-and-out disciples of the Foscolos and the Rosettis, who look upon the *Divine Comedy* as the composition of a sectary, having for its aim the total destruction of Catholicism, we have nothing here to do. "*Non ragionam di lor.*" The modern invention of the Shakespearean cryptogram is a much more ingenious discovery than that of the so-called key to the mysterious "gergo" of the fourteenth century. On the candid admission of Dean Church,¹ the effort to rank Dante as the precursor of Wickliffe and Luther has turned out an abject failure. It was chiefly made by some interested Italians who were anxious to truckle to the bigotry of England, but whose nobility of purpose was quickly seen through, and duly discounted.

And, first of all, it will be admitted that the fundamental principle which has been, as it were, the mainspring of the Italian Revolution is diametrically opposed to the principle on which Dante based the whole fabric of his monarchy. For the ground on which Italian Liberals have taken their stand is this—that the final judge of political right and the one source from which civil authority flows, is—the multitude. Those who exercise power directly, do so only as the delegates of the people; these are the real rulers, and to them alone belongs the right to determine, to change, or to modify the structure of their civil institutions and the form of government under which they choose to live. Now, it is plain that this principle, from which Liberals seek to deduce the legitimacy of their political innovations, whatever may be thought of its soundness or truth, is not the principle from which Dante derived the legitimacy of his monarchy. Quite the contrary. Dante believes that the *subject* in which authority essentially resides is by a natural necessity different from the people, and he employs one whole book of the *De Monarchia* to prove the

¹ *Dante and other Essays*, by R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's, pp. 128, 129, &c.

divine origin of civil power and to establish the claims of his Emperor on an independent basis of natural and eternal right. We are not called upon here to discuss the merits of these opposing systems. We have merely to note the fact of their opposition. According to the liberal principle, government is the reflection of the sovereign will of the people; the king reigns, but does not govern; the people are the judges in the last resort of right and wrong, of what is true or false, moral or immoral; they are the real rulers, and their verdict is supreme. According to Dante, human government should be the reflection of the heavenly order; his monarchy would have the greatest possible splendour; his emperor would have jurisdiction over the whole world: he would be an absolute prince, the image of God ruling all with undisputed power; the aristocracy of this world-wide ruler, supreme in temporals as the Pope is in spirituals, would be composed of the sovereigns of the various nations and principalities, who should remain real sovereigns, but, at the same time, dependent on him in matters civil, as vassals on their lord. He would compose their difficulties, heal their quarrels, check their covetousness, and keep them all on a footing of peace and justice; whilst they and their people should retain their traditional privileges and enjoy absolute autonomy in all that concerns their domestic affairs; subject, of course, to the condition of forming part of one vast empire. In this way, as M. Ozanam says, "*Le Pontife serait le vassal temporel de César et l'Empereur l'ouaille spirituelle de Saint Pierre.*"¹ The priesthood and the empire would be independent of one another in their respective spheres, but mutually subordinate in their transverse relations.

By what concurrence of circumstances the Popes came to occupy the position of mediators, and to hold, besides their temporal dominion, a sort of civil primacy in the world in these times, is known to all who are acquainted with the early history and formation of European nations. Now it was at this primacy that Dante took umbrage, and not at

¹ Ozanam, *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au XIII^{ème}. Siècle*, p. 380.

the temporal power understood in its restricted and formal sense. This was the very fundamental test-point between Guelphs and Ghibellines—whether the Pope or the Emperor was to be supreme in civil matters. Dante would allow the Pope no control whatever over the Emperor in matters of civil government. It was, indeed, to this authority, frequently exercised in favour of the people against their feudal lords; frequently wielded in defence of Italian freedom and independence against German encroachments; frequently employed to save the Church from the cupidity of kings and rulers, that Dante attributed the political and social ruin from which the world suffered in his day. In such a judgment he was unjust and indefensible. He was led to it by passion and by a sense of personal grievance. The bitterness of exile to so sensitive a nature was not easily overcome. But, even supposing all that is attributed to him of this nature were in reality written and held by him, it would still be wide of the mark, and would not affect the Pope's temporal sovereignty at all in the sense that is sought to be made out of it. The Papal supremacy in temporals to which Dante objects differs *toto cælo* from the Papal principedom which modern Italians have set themselves to annihilate. Whenever he accuses ecclesiastical government of cupidity, or excess, or of being the cause of social strife and disorder, he has always in his mind, not the temporal sovereignty of the Pontiff in a small state, but his real or fancied temporal supremacy in the whole world. Keeping this distinction well before us we shall now adduce the most striking passages in Dante's works which bear out our contention, and reply to those which are so frequently quoted in an opposite sense.

1. In the second canto of the *Inferno* Dante calls attention to the admirable providence of God by which Rome and its empire were prepared in the eternal design to be the centre of the spiritual world and the temporal seat of Christ's Vicar on earth.

“La quale e il quale, a voler dir vero.
 Fur stabiliti per lo loco santo .
 U' siede il successor del maggior Piero.”

This was an idea which has been eloquently developed by St. Augustine¹ in the "City of God" and by St. Leo the Great, in a famous sermon.² Rome and its empire were pre-ordained for the foundation of the Church and the propagation of Christianity. The temporal here is inseparably bound with the spiritual.

"For he* of our dear Rome and its great might
Was chosen sire in heaven empyreal.
But *this* and *that* to speak truth definite
Were fixed and 'stablished for the Holy See
In which great Peter's Vicar sits of right."*

It cost Dante the Ghibelline something to make this admission: hence "a voler dir vero;" "to tell the truth." Even such prejudiced writers as Orlandini⁵ are obliged to admit that the evident sense of this passage as it is found in the readings of the best editions, is, that "if we wish to speak in good faith we must confess that Rome and its empire, founded when Æneas visited Elysium, were providentially established for the Chair of Peter, who alone was to rule in the City of the Seven Hills, and to hold there both spiritual and temporal sway." At the time that Dante wrote these lines the Popes were sitting in the Chair of Peter wielding in Rome the double sceptre which they had received by right. If he considered the temporal principedom which they then held as an evil and a calamity, he was not the man to shrink from saying so, and he would surely not have set it down as having been fixed and established for the "Holy See," by a special dispensation of the loving providence of God.

2. Dante describes in one of his visions in purgatory the soul of Manfred, son of the Emperor Frederick II., who during his lifetime had made several efforts to conquer the kingdom of Puglia, which was then held by the Sovereign Pontiff, and transfer it to the Imperial Crown. For this the prince was excommunicated by several Popes, and the poet fully recognises the binding force of that Papal sentence; for he

¹ *De Civitate Dei*, vii.

⁴ Canto ii.

² *Serm. ii. in Epiphani.*

⁵ *Giornale del Centenario di Dante*, page 6.

³ Æneas.

makes Manfred himself confess to its effects in the future world.

“ Dreadful and dire the sins that wrapt me round,
But such wide arms hath goodness infinite
That room for each returning soul is found.

Nor by their malediction lost, I deem
Is love eternal beyond power of change
So long as hope's young buds with verdure gleam.
True is it he whom burdened sins estrange
From Holy Church, though he repent at last,
Must needs upon this bank an exile range.

3. In the last cantos of *Purgatorio* we notice amidst the illustrious personages who follow the chariot of the Pontiff, the fair figure of a lady, Countess Matilda, who has access like Beatrice to this region of Purgatory from her home in Paradise, and who during her lifetime not only defended the patrimony of St. Peter against Henry IV., but strengthened and augmented it by generous donations of her own. We are aware that Costa, Bianchi, and other modern commentators deny the fact that Matilda is meant here by

“ The lady all alone who as she went
Sang evermore, and gathered flower on flower,
With whose bright hues her path was all bespented.”

But all the old commentators—Buti, Jacopo della Lana, Benvenuto da Imola, Pietro di Dante—agree that it is she who is honoured here. Even amongst modern commentators, Blanc and Tommaseo will not be suspected of partiality towards the Papacy, yet they admit that Matilda and no other is here described.

4. Amid the ruins of the Roman Empire the kings and dukes of Lombardy, towards the end of the eighth century advanced certain pretensions over the rest of Italy, not at all unlike those which Victor Emmanuel, Cavour, and Garibaldi have asserted in our own day with a greater show of success. Had the former kept themselves within the bounds of reason and justice they would in all likelihood have then established an union of interests in Italy which would have protected it from many a subsequent invasion ; but, like their

modern imitators, they laid impious hands on the property of the Holy See, coveted the States of the Church, and made war on the Papacy. As a natural result their influence was blasted and their power completely overthrown. The strong hand of Charlemagne reduced them to impotence, and confirmed the Pope more securely than ever in his temporal dominion. And this action of the Emperor is made by Dante a special title of glory for him in Paradise :

“ And when the Lombard tooth began to bite
The Holy Church, beneath its sheltering wing
Came Charlemagne to help with conquering might.”

And in company with Orlando and Godfrey, and Robert Guiscard, and many other well-known patrons and upholders of the Papal power, the great Emperor takes his high place in heaven foremost among

“ The blessed spirits who, ere yet they rose
To heaven, were of such renowned fame
As on each Muse abundant store bestows.”¹

5. In the sixteenth paragraph of the first book of the *Monarchia*, Dante when developing his system explains :—

“ It is to be remembered that when we speak of the human race being governed by one single prince it is not intended that every minor jurisdiction should be exercised by that one ; what we mean is, that nations, kingdoms, and cities, having all their special characteristics, which require different laws to govern them, the whole race should be ruled and regulated by the monarchy only in these things which are common to all, and that particular princes should receive these common laws from the Emperor and see to their execution.”

Again in the *Convito Tratt.*, iv., chap. iv. :—

“ In order to put an end to these wars and their causes, the whole world should become a monarchy—that is to say, there should be one empire with one prince, who, possessing all and wanting nothing, should hold kings satisfied within the limits of their realms, that peace might reign amongst them, and citizens should enjoy tranquillity and peace.”

It did not, therefore, enter into Dante's project that particular kings and princes should be reduced to the

¹ Pars. Can. iv.

condition of ordinary subjects or deprived of their traditional jurisdiction; a curb was merely to be applied to their greed, and the strong hand of restraint to be wielded over their passions. But inasmuch as the Popes, who with very few exceptions were men of the purest lives and of the most lofty and disinterested aims, were much less liable to become the victims of cupidity than other princes, we should not take it that Dante wished to make special exception of them, *stripping* them of all temporal authority whilst leaving it to others, unless we had overwhelming proofs to the contrary. The proofs, however, are as we have seen, all in the other direction.

6. On the death of Pope Clement V., in 1314, the Conclave had assembled at Carpentras, in the south of France, for the election of his successor. Dante wrote to the four Italian Cardinals who have gone thither for the election, urging upon them the sad condition of Rome without its Pontiff and ruler: "How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people? How does she become as a widow that was mistress of the nations?" In the most suppliant language he begs of Cardinal Orsini to bring back the Pope to Rome, and, if possible, to bring about the election of an Italian Cardinal. If Dante had been the enemy that he is represented of Papal power in temporals, and had held the earthly principedom of the Pope to be the greatest obstacle to Italian unity and freedom, is it likely that he would have thus ardently desired the Pope's return to the Eternal City, and entreated his Holiness to restore order, peace, and harmony to his suffering country? Is it not more probable that he would have endeavoured to keep the Pontiff at a distance until Italy should have been constituted in all her provinces, and in every element of her political life totally independent of his control?

The general intent of the poet's mind, the reverence with which he invariably speaks of "Holy Church;" his profound and unalterable faith in her supernatural mission, his oft-repeated distinction between the sanctity of the office and the frailty of its holder; his frequent allusions to the temporal aids that Providence destined for her support,

the whole drift of his purpose and current of his thoughts sustain the theory, which the passages above quoted make clear enough. It is almost unnecessary to add that the poet himself supplies us with many other proofs of his recognition not only of the fact, but also of the right and necessity of Papal sovereignty in Rome and its neighbourhood. But we are satisfied that those we have given are quite sufficient.

We shall now examine the passages on which the revolutionists rely when they claim the patronage of Dante. The first and most important of these is to be found in the nineteenth canto of the *Inferno*, when the poet in one of the pits of "Male Bolge," witnessing the writhing torture of the Simoniacs, exclaims:—

"Ah, Constantine, to how much ill gave birth,
Not thy conversion, but that plenteous dower
Which the first wealthy father gained from thee."

Again, in *Paradiso*, canto xx., when the poet noticed Constantine amongst the *righteous kings*, he says, referring once more to the Emperor's supposed donation to Pope Sylvester I.:

"Now knows he how the harm, whereof the cause
Was found in his good deed, works him no ill,
Though on the world much hurt and harm it draws."

Nor should we seek to keep in the background the startling words of the second book of the *Monarchia*. "Oh, happy people! oh, glorious Italy! if the author of thy infirmity (*infirmator imperii tui*) had but never existed, or if his intention had never been belied."¹

These difficulties are not at all insurmountable, for it has to be remembered that not long before the period in which Dante lived the Popes were much more powerful and respected than they were in his day, and the poet himself

¹ "O felicem populum, O Ausoniam te gloriosam, si vel nunquam infirmator ille imperii tui natus fuisset vel nunquam sua pia intentio ipsum fefellisset."

draws a vivid picture of the happiness that reigned when that Papal influence was at its full:—

“Florence then within her ancient towers, from which even to this day she hears the call to terce and none, lived still in peace, sober and chaste. She had yet no necklace, no crown, no women decked, no girdle fairer to behold than the figure that bore it. Sardinapalus had not yet arrived to show what indoor vice might reign. Montemalo was not yet surpassed by your Uccellatoio.”

It was the later excesses of the Guelphs for which Dante held the Popes responsible, but which the Popes were not always able effectually to restrain. Hence in temporal matters he would have them subject to the Emperor, like other kings. Whilst he undoubtedly gives expression to the belief that Constantine, *though acting well (dal suo bene operar)* and with good intent (*sotto buono intenzion*), by making the Pope a temporal prince, and removing the seat of his own empire to Bysantium, is in some sort the remote cause of the many evils which, he imagines, are the result of the development of this first donation, this is surely very far from saying that the Pope should now be dethroned, and his possessions confiscated, and that the work of European civilization carried out under the ægis of his protection and authority should be undone. The empire had gone to pieces, and the Papacy had fallen into its place, and (as Dante the Ghibelline and the Idealist maintained) had usurped its authority to the great detriment of mankind. His remedy for this unfortunate state of things was the restoration of the empire; but that restoration did not by any means imply the spoliation of minor sovereigns, and least of all the confiscation of the patrimony of the Church, consecrated and sanctified by its sacred use, and by the traditional prescription of more than six hundred years.¹

But then we are confronted with a passage in the *De Monarchia*² which, we are told will prove that according to Dante, the Pope not only could not hold temporal sovereignty, but that by reason of his ecclesiastical office

¹ See *Il Dominio Temporale dei Papi nel Concetto Politico di Dante Alighieri*, by Fr. P. F. Berardinelli, S.J., pp. 128, 129, and fol.

² *De Monarchia*, lib. iii., sec. 9.

and spiritual occupation as head of the Church he is *ex rei natura* incapable of accepting it, and that furthermore the Emperor who is the head of the civil world, is for that same reason going beyond his powers if he seeks to confer it upon him. Such a donation would be simply null and void, from the radical incapacity on the one side to give, and on the other to receive, no man being empowered to sacrifice what is necessary to his divinely-appointed mission or to accept what does not belong to it. We agree that there are many passages which bear this general complexion, both in the *De Monarchia* and the *Divine Comedy*; but it must ever be borne in mind that Dante was arguing against the Guelphs, and that the sort of dominion he would refuse the Popes on the above-mentioned grounds, is the supreme temporal dominion, the civil primacy and supremacy which the Guelphs, for political reasons of their own, arrogated to the Pontiffs, but which the Pontiffs themselves never for a moment claimed. It is this supremacy, or even anything that would lead to it, that the Emperor, according to Dante, is incompetent to confer, and that the Pontiff has no right or power to accept. And to put the matter beyond all doubt the poet declares in the third book of the *Monarchia*: "Nevertheless the Emperor could in support of the Church confer patrimony and other things, keeping always intact his own dominion, the unity of which will not suffer diminution; and the Vicar of Christ can receive them, not for himself, but as the steward of their fruits, for the Church and for the poor of Christ." (*Pro Ecclesia proque Christi pauperibus*): and he adds still further, that "to say the Church abuses the patrimony so conferred, is most unseemly."

But when all else fails them the anti-papal critics fall back upon the vision in *Purgatorio* of the chariot and the gryphon, the dragon and the eagle, the harlot and the giant. This is, beyond a doubt, the worst passage in all Dante—the most injurious to the Papacy, the most offensive in its elaboration to Catholic feeling, and the most hurtful to belief. It was prompted by anger and by the envenomed chagrin of the poet at the transfer of the Papal Court from Rome to Avignon.

Hence the strain:—*Modicum et non videbitis me et iterum modicum et videbitis me.* And yet, that very chariot drawn by Christ Himself as symbolized by the gryphon, surrounded by the figures of the Old and New Testament, is admitted by all critics to represent here the Roman Pontificate; and with it the Church of Christ is so far identified, that what is injurious to the Papacy is injurious to the Church. It is a blow delivered in passion—an accusation, a reproach; but it comes from one who is at heart a friend, who means well, and who, severe though he may be in denouncing corruption, and in lecturing into a sense of duty those who, in his opinion, had wandered from their high estate, yet does so from within, with no thought, hidden or avowed, of rising in revolt against the majestic office in which he had ever recognised the divine mission and the keys of authority. Others, indeed, may turn these charges to account, with a specious display of triumph, but certainly not those who argue from Dante against the temporal power. The reverse is, if anything, more patent in this vision; for it had direct reference to the time when the Popes, displeased and almost disheartened at the stiff-necked conduct of their Roman subjects, abandoned the Holy City; left the Romans to manage their temporal affairs as best they could, and took their residence in another land where they might discharge with greater freedom their duties to the Christian world. That was what roused the anger of Dante to its highest pitch, and what made him irreverently borrow the allegories of the Apocalypse in order to stigmatize their action. It has also to be observed that the feathers of the eagle, which fall into the chariot, represent not the temporal goods of the Church in general, but the imperial power supposed to have been, virtually at all events, conferred by Constantine. And even these do not effect of themselves the transformation or corruption, until the dragon from beneath undermines the spirit of poverty and humility and so removes an important part of the machinery which binds the vehicle together, and thus effectually impedes its course.¹

¹ See *Dante Allighieri Cattolico Apostolico, Romano*, by Fr. Mauro Ricci.

It, therefore, appears certain and clear to us, that if Dante regarded the right of the empire to civil pre-eminence as inalienable and indivisible, he likewise looked upon the temporal patrimony conferred upon the Church as inviolable and sacred. There is, indeed, an impressive contrast between the great Allighieri giving his last years to the solemn meditation of the Credo, of the Sacraments, of the Decalogue, of the Penitential Psalms, turning with humility and confidence to the bosom of the Eternal Father :—

“ A voi devotamente ora sospira
L' anima mia, per aquistar virtute
Al passo forte che a se la tira ;”

dying under the roof of Guido Novello, in all the fulness and simplicity of faith ; laid to rest, according to his desire, in the robes of his beloved St. Francis—a solemn contrast, it must be said, between him and the host of anti-clericals and liberals who now desire to number him amongst their own. Those who can picture to themselves the monarchy of peace and order shadowed forth in his noble but impossible ideal can answer whether modern Italy corresponds to what he dreamt of. When we recall the scathing words in which he denounced Philippe le Bel, and the hireling persecutors of Boniface VIII.—that same Boniface to whom he attributed all his political misfortunes, we can fancy what language he would find to describe the violence and the sacrileges of modern times, the relentless policy which once more holds

“ Christ in His Vicar captive to the foe.”

When the great sacrilege of our era was about to be consummated, Cardinal Newman¹ recalled the example of the Hebrews, who in the days of the prophet Samuel, threw off the yoke of God and clamoured for a king. “And we also will be like other nations, and our king shall judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles for us.” And when Samuel warned them, and told them that this king would rule them with an iron hand :—“He will take your sons, and he will put them in his chariots ; and he will make them his horsemen and his running footmen to go before

¹ *The Pope and the Revolution.*

his chariots. He will take the tenth of your corn and the revenues of your vineyards. Your flocks also will he take, and you shall be his servants." They would not hear him, but should have their king like other peoples. The Italians have got their king, and they have been put into the yoke, and their vineyards and their corn have been taken from them with a vengeance. When they come to realize once more the fertility of their dreams of earthly aggrandisement, and return to the old and true-honoured allegiance of a glorious past, it is probable that little more shall be heard, for a time, at least, of Dante's opposition to the temporal power.

J. F. HOGAN.

WHEN ENGLAND WAS "MERRIE" ENGLAND.

"They called thee "Merry England" in old time;
A happy people won for thee that name,
With envy heard in many a distant clime."

WORDSWORTH.

SOME three or four hundred years ago the whole of England, from Berwick-on-Tweed in the north to Land's End in the south, was bound together in the unity of the Catholic faith. Then master and man, the lord and labourer, worshipped at the same altar and knelt before the same shrine, and though innumerable were the churches, monasteries, and convents scattered over the land, yet one and all were dedicated to the service of the same religion. At morn, noon, and eventide, the joyous bells¹ would ring out their merry peals from a thousand turrets and spires, and the reaper would stop his busy sickle, and the housewife her humming spinning-wheel, and cross themselves devoutly as they knelt down and recited with becoming reverence the *Angelus Domini*, in honour of the Word made Flesh.

¹The bell-foundries of Salisbury, Norwich, Gloucester, London, and other of our cities, turned out bells of truer and sweeter tone than bell-founders with all the aids of modern appliances produce in these days. To their skill this country owes the honour of being known as "the ringing isle." See Denton's *England in the Fifteenth Century*.

Those were the "good old times" when England was "Merrie England," and "merrie" because there was more of the bright sunshine of God's grace and truth about it than it has ever enjoyed since. Indeed we love to linger upon the thought of those thrice-blessed days, and to picture to ourselves the peaceful condition of our country before it was rent and spoiled by religious strife, and torn by conflicting factions. Nor could we easily forget that period, even if we would: there is too much to keep the memory of it fresh and green. Hundreds of chapels, churches, cathedrals, and monasteries—some in ruins, some yet standing—are still to be seen in our midst, bearing a silent but eloquent testimony to the historical fact that Great Britain was once Catholic to the very core.¹

Indeed, it is an indisputable fact, that among the many vast ecclesiastical structures now studding this land, the most superb and majestic² are just precisely those that have come down to us from Catholic times. All admit that the finest of England's cathedrals and churches are those which were designed by Catholic architects, raised by Catholic hands, and paid for with Catholic gold. The adorable Sacrifice of the Altar was once offered up in them; to their hallowed precincts the sinner wended his way when sinking under the burden of his iniquities; and old and young, rich and poor, knelt side by side to feast upon the Sacred Body of Christ within their walls.

Had you, gentle reader, been passing the spacious entrance to Westminster Abbey four hundred years ago, your ears would have caught the solemn chant of the black-robed monks, and the measured notes of the choristers, as they re-echoed through the sacred fane.

¹In the year 1497 the Secretary to the Venetian Embassy gave the following report (printed by the Camden Society) of the religious state of England:—"They all hear mass every day, and say many paternosters [rosaries] in public . . . and who ever is at all able to read carries with him the Office of Our Lady, and they recite it in church with some companion in a low voice, verse by verse, after the manner of religious."

²It was during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that Gothic architecture may be said to have attained the highest pitch of graceful proportion and luxuriant beauty. See Denton's *England in the Fifteenth Century*. Introduction, page 52.

Let us push back the massive oaken door, and take our stand within the ancient pile. There, in the dim religious light we see the priest at the altar, vested in alb and stole and chasuble, with the deacon and sub-deacon on either side; candles are burning near the tabernacle, flowers are scattering their sweet fragrance around; the censer is swinging, and clouds of incense are rising, like a symbolized prayer, to heaven, just as we may see it in any Catholic church at the present day. Then, as the mass proceeds, the sanctuary bells ring out their silvery warning; the voices in the choir are hushed; the music sinks to a whisper; and every knee is reverently bent and every head is bowed as Jesus Christ, true God and true Man, descends upon the altar at the words of consecration pronounced by the celebrant. All this might have been witnessed within Westminster Abbey itself a few hundred years ago.

Now, alas! what a change has come o'er the scene. What do we see? Why, "the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place." To-day Westminster Abbey lies desecrated. It has been converted into a heretical temple, and now serves the purpose of a kind of mortuary or immense sarcophagus;¹ a receptacle, in a word, for dead men's bones—for the bones of the poet, the patriot, and the politician; while Jesus Christ, in His sacramental presence, has been turned adrift to seek an asylum in the little iron chapel on the hill side, or in the poverty-stricken oratory in some crowded mews or dingy alley of our vast metropolis.

What we have said of the origin of Westminster Abbey may be said with equal truth of the splendid cathedrals of Bath and Wells, of Canterbury and Durham, of Gloucester and Hereford, of York and Ely, and Worcester, Lincoln, Salisbury, Winchester, and Norwich, as also of Fountains Abbey, Furness Abbey, Tintern Abbey, and of many more of lesser fame. These remain as memorials of the past. They stand stolidly while the ages sweep by, and

¹ Even men of no certain faith find a resting-place within its walls. One of the most recent examples is that of Charles Darwin, who, in his declining years, described himself, not as a Christian, but now as a Deist and now as an Agnostic. Vide *Darwin's Life and Correspondence*.

dynasties change, and generations slowly come and go; yea, stand like silent sentinels, bearing an indisputable and an eloquent testimony to the grand old faith of our Catholic forefathers which once knit the English people together so that like the early Christians they were all of one heart and one mind. And while, on the one hand, they tell of a happier age, so on the other hand they indicate in no uncertain manner the modern origin of the present English Church, and show to all who have eyes to see that Protestantism is but a thing of yesterday—the fungus growth of disobedience and rebellion. Indeed, when other witnesses were being banished the kingdom; when the axe and the hangman's rope were silencing many a loyal and fearless tongue, they still continued to speak and bear witness. Even in days of greatest tyranny, when blood flowed like water, and when none dared speak above their breath, these great and noble cathedrals still gave evidence, and kept the truth before the public mind, as if in fulfilment of the promise and prophecy of Christ, who declared that "when all others hold their peace, the very stones should cry out" in testimony of Him.

For over a thousand years this unity of faith had lasted. Then came evil times. The moral atmosphere grew dark and menacing. A wild storm of error swept with pitiless violence over the whole country, and laid waste one of the fairest portions of the vineyard of the Church. Unprincipled men rose into power, who knew not how to wield power. They trampled on the rights and liberties of the Church, and were guided in all their acts, not by the love of truth and of justice, but by greed and lust, and vanity and ambition. Unity of creed soon disappeared, because unity became impossible, so soon as the great principle and foundation of unity was destroyed. The supreme authority of the Church was denied. The keys that Christ had committed to Peter to loose or to fasten, to open or to close, were (so far, at least, as England was concerned) wrenched from his grasp, and placed in the hands of an adulterous king; and the rock upon which Christ had built His Church was no longer suffered to support the English portion of it, so that it fell a hopeless ruin. The Bible was substituted

for the Pope, and no other infallible authority in spiritual matters was recognised. Men were released from their allegiance to a divinely-appointed and living authority, because such an authority was no longer supposed to exist; and each man, woman, and child, was set at liberty to accept as true any interpretation he saw—or, what is quite the same thing, any interpretation he *fancied* he saw—in the Sacred Scriptures. What was the result? Well, the result in the religious world was much what the result in the scientific or commercial world would have been had men been suddenly released from all allegiance to the multiplication table. In fact, the utter confusion and misunderstanding that would have resulted in the money market and on the stock-exchange, were the multiplication table arranged to suit each one's fancy and inclination, but feebly represents the deplorable confusion, disagreement and strife, that arose in the religious world, so soon as the truths of faith were left to be drawn from the Bible at each one's discretion. This is no empty opinion; it is a fact which history itself puts beyond dispute.

Every fresh heresy which arose sprang from this system of private interpretation. The selfsame texts were made to support, not only different, but often even wholly contradictory doctrines. While "*This is My Body*" meant for one that it really was the adorable Body of Christ, for his neighbour it meant that it was *not* Christ's Body, but merely a symbol or figure of it. The most shocking and nefarious acts were justified in the same easy way, and every corrupt practice found a ready sanction in the pages of Holy Writ. Thus, when Charles the First was beheaded in 1649, proofs were actually adduced from Scripture to show that monarchy was an unlawful form of government, and that the Stuart King, was "the beast of the Apocalypse."¹ So again, when it was resolved to extirpate the Irish with fire and sword, the Scriptural example of the Amalekites was, of course, convenient and ready to hand. There is nothing so foul, so immoral, or so diabolical, but

¹ Consult *Katholische Kirche und christlicher Staat*, Von Dr. Joseph Hergenröther.

private judgment will discover some verse of Scripture to recommend it. The greatest poet and most subtle judge of character of those days, does but give expression to this well-known truth when he asks in bewilderment and consternation "what damned error, but some sober brow will bless it, and approve it with a text?" Why, even the devil himself can quote Scripture for his own evil purposes, as, in fact, he actually did when he sought to tempt the Son of God to cast Himself headlong from the pinnacle of the Temple; for, in urging Him to this act of presumption, he did not hesitate to cite the authority of the Inspired Book in justification:—"Cast Thyself down, *for it is written* that He hath given His angels charge over Thee, and in their hands they shall bear Thee up, lest perchance Thou dash Thy foot against a stone." (Matt. iv. 6.)

The Holy Scriptures, when privately interpreted, have proved, not a bond of union, but just the opposite—a source of endless dissension and division. Of this, common sense might have informed us; but to common sense we may add the still more cogent testimony of history and experience. The new system was no sooner introduced than, all at once, forms of religious beliefs began to multiply and increase at an alarming rate. Unity—a vital condition of all truth, which is necessarily one and in harmony with itself—disappeared; and, one after another, myriad sects sprung into existence, as fungi about a fallen and rotten branch, the multiplicity and variety of which is as much the marvel as the scandal of modern times.

Not to speak of other countries; here, in this little island alone, we may point to some three or four hundred. A long list of several columns may be found in Whitaker's *Almanack*, commencing with the so-called "Advent Christians," and winding up with "Wesleyans," and "White Ribboned Christians" and other sects with appellations equally grotesque and fantastic. Each of these religious bodies teaches a different creed, follows a distinct practice, and leads a separate life.

What is the consequence? The consequence is, that not only the callous and indifferent man of the world, but

even the earnest and well-meaning inquirer, looking out over the country and seeing this strange sight, and watching all these religious sects and coteries, fighting, quarrelling, and squabbling among themselves; each rending the other; each jealous of the other; one asserting what the other denies; one blessing what the other anathematizes; and finding after many a sincere and earnest effort that it is quite impossible to reconcile them, or to reduce order out of chaos, comes at last to the melancholy, but surely not unnatural conclusion, that one religion is quite as good as another. "Well," we may hear him exclaim, "I suppose, after all, it matters very little *what* a man believes, or for the matter of that, whether he believes *anything* whatsoever!" Thus does one evil beget another, and abyss call upon abyss: "*abyssus abyssum invocat.*"

What is so common in these days as absolute indifference to all dogmatic truth? "Well, really," remarks the easy-going and benevolent man of the world, "it signifies little what may be a man's religious views" (observe, he speaks of the infallible utterances of divine wisdom and the definitions of revealed truths, as "*views*" and "*opinions*"). "Ah!" he continues, "it is not a man's creed, it is his conduct alone that is of any real importance! If a man be honest, sober, truthful; if he be a loyal subject, a faithful husband, and a good father, *I* shan't inquire whether he believes in indulgences, or purgatory, or the invocation of saints. No! if he serves his country, pay his debts, and is kind and neighbourly, the rest makes very little difference. Whether he believe in the Pope of Rome or in the Caliph of Bagdad; whether he pins his faith on the Archbishop of Canterbury or prefers the more martial guidance of General Booth, can surely be of no practical importance whatsoever. Why, for all the good it will do him, he may follow whomsoever he pleases, from Sikes, the town-crier, to the Grand Lama of Mongolia, or even the great Panjandrum himself! It is a man's character, disposition, conduct, and mode of life, that make him worthy or unworthy, good or bad; not his creed or religious belief. Pah! Do you imagine I would condemn a man, or think the less of him on account of his faith, or his want of faith? No! not for Hecuba."

Such is the style of reasoning that finds favour, and is in fashion now-a-days. And, strange to say, such fine-spun and extravagant nonsense passes for the highest wisdom, and is welcomed with smiles and comments of the warmest approbation. It *looks* so kind. There is something so pre-eminently tolerant and forbearing about it. "Well, really," soft lips are heard to whisper, "what a singularly amiable old gentleman! What a charming man! Isn't he a dear! How broad-minded! How unsectarian! Such sturdy common sense, don't you know. Is it not really encouraging? What a capacious soul that man must have! Why, every aching head can find a soft pillow on his ample breast. He has not a hard or an unkind word to fling at anyone," &c.

It is the very speciousness of this method of reasoning that constitutes its chief danger, and, let me add, its chief attraction. It is precisely because it wears the garb of charity and peace, and broad philanthropy, that men are so readily satisfied with it, and give it countenance. They forget that, though peace is of great value, that yet even peace may be too dearly purchased. That, however much we may desire it, we must not sacrifice truth and justice to obtain it, since truth is of incomparably more importance than peace. Further, they lose sight of the fact that Christ tells us He came to bring "*not* peace but the *sword*;" "to set a man against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." (Matt. x. 34-36.) And again He warns us that "a man's enemies shall be they of his own household;" and so forth. The great objection to the very prevalent opinion that a man's creed is of no importance, is that such a view is untrue in itself, most mischievous in its results, categorically condemned by God, anathematized by the Church, and ruinous to souls. Let us try and unmask this erroneous statement, and look upon it in its true colours.

We must begin at the beginning. God is infinite in wisdom: that is to say, He is infinitely wiser than we are. To assert that either we, or any creature whatsoever know all that God knows, is to assert that our knowledge is boundless and inexhaustible, which, besides being unspeakably

blasphemous, is also intolerably absurd. Consequently, there must be an innumerable number of truths known to God yet unknown to man. Truths, indeed, as little suspected by man as the theory of conic sections is suspected by the fly on the ceiling, and just as little within his grasp. If God so please what is to prevent His making known some of these hidden truths to us? Now, the vital question arises: if He *does* reveal them, are we, or are we not, bound to assent to them? Let us put the case fairly before us, and discuss it with candour. When the uncreated wisdom of God condescends to inform us of some sublime truth—relating, let us say, to His divine nature, such as the mystery of the Adorable Trinity; or to His dealings with men, such as the institution of the Church, or of the seven sacraments—does it impose no obligation upon us? Are we still free to accept or reject, as we choose, or to suspend our judgment? or even to say, as many do practically, "I am too busy now to go into these matters; I must defer all considerations to some other time"? Can we, considering who we are, and considering who God is, refuse for a single instant to believe, without being guilty of the grossest contempt and the most unpardonable insult? Surely, to hesitate and falter, and still more to deliberately reject any dogma, is to call in question the veracity of God, and to deny one of the greatest of all His attributes, and consequently to offer Him a marked and flagrant indignity. To refuse belief in what God reveals, is as great a crime as to refuse obedience to what He commands, and can in no sense be a matter of indifference. The thoughtless may pronounce it a question of little moment, but it is abundantly evident to all who seriously reflect, that if God takes the trouble to make known to us the secrets of His mind, we, on our part, are bound by the strictest duty to take the trouble to believe them, and to accept them with our whole hearts.

Or we may approach the question from another point of view. Thus: we are created not for time, but for eternity. Our destiny is to be for ever supremely happy with God in heaven. In a word, the final purpose of our existence, so far from being a natural one, is essentially spiritual and supernatural. Now, such being the end before us, what

shall we say of the means necessary to conduct us to that end? According to the well-recognised and time-worn axiom, "the means must be proportioned to the end." And what are we to understand by that? Obviously, that there must be, at least, some sort of equality and similarity between the means by which an end is to be obtained and the end itself. Good! Then, the end being in the case under consideration wholly supernatural, the means must be equally so; *i. e.*, must be supernatural. But, what is supernatural stands not within the range of unaided reason. The mind of man, however keen and piercing, even were it the mind of a Plato or an Aristotle, possesses no faculties of itself whereby it can discover, much less lay hold of or apply, the supernatural means by which, and by which alone, the supernatural life in all its fulness is to be secured. Without a definite knowledge of the revealed truths of God; in other words, without a real faith in God's word, we can no more wend our way along the narrow road which leads to heaven, than, without wings, a bird can soar into the sun-lit clouds.

Hence it is quite clear that we are under the strictest obligation of listening with all docility to the teaching of God, who alone can impart to us the information that is indispensably necessary. To tell a man that it matters not what he believes, is to tell one, whose treasure is securely locked up in one of Chubb's fire-and-burglar-proof safes, that it is not of the slightest consequence what kind of key he applies to the lock, but that, provided his intentions are good, and he sincerely desires to get at his treasure, one key is as good as another. No! If we wish to reach our Father's mansion, we must learn the way there—a way which our Lord warns us is narrow and strait; and if we would learn the way, we must listen to and follow the only Guide that can point it out, *viz.*, Christ and His Church; for the one authority is identical with the other: "who heareth you, heareth Me."

Further, God is supreme Lord and Master of all things visible and invisible. He alone can give us eternal life, just as He alone has given us our temporal life. But, observe, He gives it not to all indiscriminately, but to those alone

who fulfil certain conditions: in such wise that we shall have it or forfeit it, according to whether we satisfy such conditions or no. Is it not then a matter of the first importance to know without any doubt what those conditions are? Or, in other words, is not a revelation a necessity for us?

Thus reason and common sense unite to prove the fallacy and impious absurdity of modern sceptics, who openly teach that faith is a matter of indifference, and that one form of belief is as good as another.

But let us appeal, in conclusion, to that highest authority of all, viz., to God Himself addressing us through the Holy Scriptures. The Holy Ghost, speaking through St. Paul, lays it down most explicitly that: "without faith it is *impossible* to please God." Not simply "difficult," or "almost" impossible, but absolutely impossible! Yet the shallow feather-headed man about town will try and persuade me that it does not signify one iota. But, in the name of common prudence, whom am I to believe? St. Paul, inspired by God, or my friend Brown or Jones, inspired by prejudice and pride?

Again, our Lord speaking in His own person, uses still more forcible words. Words, indeed, enough to make the dullest ears tingle. On sending His Apostles to publish His doctrine to the world, He dismissed them with these words of awful portent:—"Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he *that believeth not shall be condemned.*" God, in whose hands is every soul, here distinctly warns us that wilfully to refuse belief in the special truths taught by the Apostles and their successors, is to incur the dread sentence of eternal condemnation; or, in plain English, to suffer damnation. Unless, therefore, damnation be a matter of indifference; unless it be all the same whether we pass an eternity in the excruciating agonies of hell, or amid the ecstatic delights of heaven, we fail to see how it can be at all a matter of indifference whether we believe falsehood or truth.

Again, Christ warns us that whosoever will not hear the

Church (*i.e.*, His living mouth-piece) is to be accounted as the heathen and the publican. (Matt. xviii. 17.) If, therefore, men tell us that we may follow our own devices, and be guided by our own counsel and private judgment, and close up our ears to the Church's teaching, what becomes of Christ's threats? The Eternal Son of God bids me regard such a creature as "a heathen and a publican," yet the Brown, Jones, and Robinsons of Protestantism would have me embrace him as "a man and a brother"!

The Apostle St. John puts the matter still more forcibly and emphatically. He says:—"Who believeth not, is already judged." (iii. 18.) "Judged," here means condemned, *i.e.*, judged unworthy of all claim to eternal life; sentence of eternal reprobation is already passed upon him—"nondum apparuit iudicium, et jam factum est iudicium," as St. Augustine observes. It may, of course, be revoked by repentance and a return to faith; but while his obduracy endures, the execution of the sentence awaits but the severance of the vital cord which attaches him to life.

Many further considerations might be added; but, perhaps, more than enough has already been said to impress on our indulgent readers the danger and the absolute fallacy contained in the common and stereotyped view, so often expressed and so loudly applauded, that it is not a matter of any serious importance what a man may choose to believe. We must beware of being taken in by such sophisms, now so current in the world.

God, the Infinite Truth cannot be indifferent to error, which is as opposed to Him as darkness to light. He cannot, therefore, be equally pleased whether we believe what is true or what is false. Truth must, by its own intrinsic nature be one, indivisible, and the same in all places and at all times. Therefore it follows, as night the day, that, though there may be many creeds, there can be but one *true* creed; though many Churches, but one *true* Church—*i.e.*, but one Church established and founded by Christ, who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

ULICK DE BURGO, FIRST EARL OF CLAN- RICARDE.

IN the year 1543, Ulick De Burgo, popularly known as the MacWilliam Oughter, received an invitation from Henry VIII. to present himself at the Royal Manor, at Greenwich, on the 1st of July, following. As the purpose of the invitation was to make him the recipient of certain special marks of Royal favour, it is needless to add that it was gladly accepted. Hitherto there were but few in Ireland, who either sought or accepted Henry's favours. His rule was unpopular from the beginning. It was remembered in Ireland that it was inaugurated in blood. The recollection of the cruel treatment of the Geraldines was still fresh in the memories of Irishmen; and yet the MacWilliam Oughter, saw in the favour of his Royal patron but the fulfilment of his highest aims and most cherished ambition. No doubt his claims on his Majesty had grown stronger recently. From being a man of "wylde governance in those partes where he dwelled, obeying neither the king nor his Grace's laws," he had been brought into good order and conversation with the "king's honourable counsell." He had accepted Henry's supremacy, not alone in temporal matters, but in spiritual matters also. And as he had adopted his Royal Master's religious opinions, so too he copied his profligacy, and trampled equally on the sanctity of marriage and the dictates of honour.

De Burgo's appearance at Greenwich was an occasion of much interest to the fair ladies and the titled gentlemen who formed Henry's splendid Court. They perhaps missed at Greenwich Manor the excitement and brilliant pageants of Hampton Court. But it was at least calculated to break the monotony of the place, to have an opportunity of seeing this degenerate Norman, who had long exercised the almost irresponsible authority of an Irish Chieftain. And was he not the representative of a family that was allied by the ties of kindred with the reigning sovereign—a family that had long since degenerated and forgotten its loyalty—a family

that, repudiating English habits of dress and language, had adopted those of the Irish, and became "more Irish than the Irish themselves"? Such, indeed, the De Burgos affected to be, when it was consistent with their own interests. But Ulick Burke did not come alone to Henry's Court. He was accompanied by Murrough O'Brien, of Thomond, the degenerate representative of Ireland's greatest monarch, Brian of the Tributes.

It was considered desirable to impress those chieftains with a sense of the magnificence of the English Court, as well as of the generosity of the king. The occasion was therefore availed of for a Court pageant. The Queen's closet was richly "hanged with cloth of arras, and well carpetted with the freshest rushes." And after the "King's Majesty was come into his closet to heare High Masse, those Earles in company, went into the Queen's closet aforesaid, and there after sacring of High Masse put on their robes of Estate;" for it will be remembered that the king, though he rejected the Pope, retained the Mass.

At length, when fully arrayed in their state robes, they were conducted to the Presence Chamber, where the king with his Council—the Ambassadors of Scotland—and "other noble persons of his realme, as well temporal as spiritual, to a great number," had assembled to receive them. The Earls Elect were introduced to the king, who sat in state, by the Earls of Derby and Ormond; but in this connection it should be remembered that Margaret, daughter of Ormond, was De Burgo's mother.¹ The letters patent were then handed to "the Lord Chamberlayne, and the Lord Chamberlayne delivered them to the great Chamberlayne, and the Lord great Chamberlayne to the King's Majesty," who had them openly read by his Secretary, "And when he came to 'Cincturam gladii,' the Viscount Lisle presented to the king the sword; and the king girded the sword about the said Earl bawdrickwise, the foresaid Earl kneeling, and the Lords standing that lead him." His Majesty then presented each with a chain of gold, to which was attached a

¹ *State Papers.*

valuable cross. After raising five of their attendants to the rank of baronets, they were conducted to the Council Chamber, where a rich banquet was prepared, preceded by "trumpetters and officers of arms," Lord Clanricarde was led to his place, by the Earl of Ormond and Lord Cobham—where after the "second course, he was officially saluted under his new title as—" ¹ "Tres hault et puissant Seigneur—Guillaume Bourghe, conte de Clanricckard Seigneur de Downkellyn du Royaulme de Irelande." The king also bestowed upon him his robes of state, and "payd all manner of duties belonging to the same." But this was not all. He was anxious that the new peer should maintain a state becoming his newly-acquired dignity. He conferred upon him, therefore, a mansion and lands near Dublin, for keeping his "retainers and horses," whenever State duties made his presence in the metropolis desirable or necessary. It was to him, not to the Earl of Thomond, that Henry gave what was then, at least, regarded as the harp of Brian Boroimbhe. This interesting relic is still preserved in Trinity College, and still popularly known as King Brian's harp.

But those events marked the close of a singular career. Ulick de Burgo returned to Ireland "not perfectly recovered from a fever which he had taken in England." Within the following year we find the record of his death. There were but few to congratulate him at home on his new honours, and fewer still, perhaps, to pay even a faint tribute to his memory after he had passed away. De Burgo was never a popular chief. If he was loved by few, and feared by many, he was, perhaps, hated by most. And in any case the conditions on which the royal favours were conferred upon him were certain to be received with marked disfavour in the extensive districts over which his lordship claimed authority. Amongst those conditions the following stood out prominently :—

"That the laws of England may be executed in Clanricarde, and the naughty laws and customs of that country be put away for ever."

¹ *Ibid.*

"Item that there may be sent into Ireland some well-learned Irishmen brought up in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, not infected with the poyson of the Bishop of Rome, and they be first approved by the King's Majesty, and then to be sent to preach the Word of God in Ireland."

Such conditions proclaimed apostacy from religion and country alike. And the marked and general popular disfavour in which he was held, could be only intensified by the Church plunder which he also accepted. The confiscated lands of the Abbey of Via Nova, Clonfert, better known in the district as Abbey Gormacon, were conferred on him. Hardiman informs us that the grant was only of a third of its first-fruits. But we think it more probable that the grant included the entire property of that ancient abbey. This opinion seems to be confirmed by an entry in the patent Rolls of Henry VIII., dated 1st July, 1543, recording a grant to—

"Willic Boruc, otherwise MacWilliam, of the style and dignity of Earl of Clanricarde and Baron of Dunkellen, and furthermore a grant to him of all that the Monastery of Via Nova, Clonfertenses Diocesis, with all the lands, houses, &c., appurtenant thereto."

This remarkable man, who was the recipient of so many favours at the hands of his sovereign, was the representative of the MacWilliams, who in defiance of the English crown held much of the extensive territory of Clanricarde for some generations. He was grandson of Ulick of Knockto, and son of Richard, surnamed the "Great," by the Lady Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Ormond. It may be unprofitable to inquire what were the special claims which Richard de Burgo had to be styled "great." It is, perhaps, enough to know on the authority of his distinguished kinsman, the author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, that he was so popularly designated. And in the usually-accepted account of the battle of Knockto, it is recorded that Richard, father of Ulick na Gceann, was the greatest of the Irish at that memorable battle. He was also known as Richard of Dunkellin, from having erected the fortress from which the lords of Clanricarde derive the title of Baron. It must have been a

splendid pile; for though ruined now, the extent and character of the ruins justify the opinion that it was once a residence worthy of the most powerful family in the west of Ireland.

It stood on the banks of the Kilcolgan river, and was near that group of churches to which the names of saints Colga and Foila lend an undying interest. The bay of Maree, at which the great midland highway of ancient Erin terminated, might be seen from its towers. It stood near the historic "red beech" at which the chieftains of Aidhne were inaugurated. Indeed, it is not improbable that the Mac Williams, in their ostentatious zeal for adopting Irish customs, appropriated the inauguration stone, and that transferring it to Dunkellin they had it named "Cahir an Earla," and had it reserved for the ceremony of inaugurating the MacWilliams as chiefs of Clanricarde. Its site is still marked by a low mound near the castle, where the "Cahir" was preserved within the memory of men yet living.

The district from which Ulick Burke assumed his title as earl was extensive. It included the six southern baronies of Galway, namely, Clare, Athenry, Loughrea, Dunkellin, and Kiltartan. This extensive territory derived its designation most probably from Ricard, son of the first Mac William Oughter; though many think it was derived from Richard de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, who claimed by royal grant to be lord in "demayne and service" of this and other parts of Ireland.

Early in the thirteenth century, the O'Flahertys, who were original owners of the barony of Clare, were driven out by the Burkes, and obliged to seek refuge in the wilds of Jar Connaught. The O'Clerys, too, were expelled later in the same century, from the fertile lands in the baronies, and Dunkellin and Loughrea, which are situated in the south east of the diocese of Kilmacduagh, by the younger sons of Walter de Burgo. Hubert established himself at Isser Kelly, and the castle which still remains there speaks of the power and splendour of the MacHubert Burkes, as his descendants were known. His brother Redmond took possession of a considerable portion of the adjoining territory, which was subsequently known as "Oireaght Redmond." The strong

castles erected by his descendants may still be seen in the parishes of Kilbecanty and Kiltartan. But when William de Burgo, Earl of Ulster, was murdered at Carrickfergus, in the fourteenth century, the De Burgo territories and titles became legally vested in the Duke of Clarence, through his wife Elizabeth, the Earl's only child. His kinsmen in the west, seeing that their lands were to become Crown property, resolved to hold, at least, their Connaught possessions in defiance of the Government.

The leaders under whom this daring project was successfully carried out, divided their newly-acquired possessions amongst themselves: and we hear for the first time of MacWilliams—"Eighter" and "Oughter," *i.e.*, the Lower and Upper Burkes.

Sir Edmond Burke, was recognised as the MacWilliam Eighter, *i.e.*, chief of the Burkes of Mayo; and William Burke of "Annakeen," was the MacWilliam Oughter or recognized chief of the Burkes of Galway. They were sons of William Leigh de Burgo—who founded the Franciscan Monastery of Galway, and made it his last resting place, A.D. 1324. This William Leigh de Burgo was descended by a junior line from the first Earl of Ulster.

The Duke of Clarence who was sent to Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1361, strongly urged his claims to the usurped property in the West. Owing to his remonstrances, a commission was appointed to inquire into the nature of his claims, which did tardy justice to his Grace, by deferring their report till after his death, and declaring then that Galway, and certain other important portions of the county belonged to him by right of his wife. But the Government, either through policy or weakness, made no effort to resist the usurpation. England was then weak, and occupied by greater troubles; and besides, its chief aim in Ireland was to keep the native Irish in check; and as the De Burgo's were amongst the most successful representatives of English aggression in Ireland, their revolt was easily condoned. It was under those circumstances that the De Burgos, while repudiating the authority of English law, ostentatiously adopted the language, customs, and dress of the Irish. They

became more Irish than the Irish, in order to conciliate the sympathy and secure the support of the native chiefs amongst whom they lived.

William Burke, the first MacWilliam Oughter, died in 1337, and was succeeded by his son *Ricard*, whose name was retained to designate the territory over which he sought to exercise authority. He was careful, not merely to conciliate the favour of the Irish chiefs by adopting their customs, but to secure their support by marriage alliance. It would appear that he secured Portumna Castle and estates by his marriage with the Lady More, daughter of O'Madden, who was then styled "patron of the literati of Ireland." From this Ricard we reach by three generations, Richard the "Great" of Dunkellin, father of "Ulick Na Gceann," first Earl of Clanricarde. It would be, perhaps, out of place to refer further to their history, save by adding that their marriage alliance with the O'Briens, secured for them the support of the warlike clans of Thomond.

Ulick Burke is referred to by our annalists as the "most valiant of the English of Connaught." His surname "Na Gceann"—of the Heads—by which he was usually known, seems to confirm this tribute to his valour, though we fail to find historical testimony to support it. It is probable that his valour was manifested principally in repelling the attacks of the local chiefs, and in restraining the aggressiveness of his kindred, the MacHuberts, the MacRedmonds, and others. We shall see that he had the ill-fortune of being singularly unpopular with all the native chiefs, who regarded his power amongst them as an abiding menace to their possessions and independence. Indeed, he seems not merely to be unpopular, but to be hated by the surrounding chiefs and their clansmen, as the MacWilliam Oughter was never before detested. Those relations become more sharply accentuated when, in his declining years he was confined as a cripple to the Castle of Dunkellin. So severe was the attack of paralysis from which he suffered then, that he was unable either to ride or move on foot. While his enemies availed themselves of his helplessness, he was deserted by most of his retainers and immediate

dependents. His cattle were seized and his lands plundered, even by his own kinsmen. His foster brethren alone remained true in their allegiance to him under those trying circumstance. Grown confident by impunity, his plunderers at length laid seige to Dunkellin Castle, with the purpose of making him a prisoner, and of seizing what remained of his property and possessions. In the light of such events it was but natural, perhaps, that he should regard his kindred as men who trampled on the dictates of nature, and on his faithless dependents as monsters of ingratitude.¹ His indignation, indeed, knew no bounds at seeing "that they who were bound to him by the closest ties of blood, had hearts so merciless as to deprive him, a cripple, of the necessities of life." The sense of imminent danger revived the fires that were smouldering within him, and roused his dormant energies into action. Summoning his astonished attendants to arms, he cried out for his horse, adding:² "May not the great God who took away the life of my limb, restore it again, and enable me to recover my cattle from the fangs of those merciless thieves?"

Awed by the intensity of his anger, his attendants obeyed their old chief promptly, though reluctantly. He was placed on horseback, though so feeble that he had to be supported in the saddle.³ Nothing daunted, he persisted in his efforts to sit erect, "till at length the bones emitted a sound loud enough to be distinctly heard by his attendants; and in that instant his sinews recovered their natural position and strength." This singular occurrence roused the enthusiasm of his followers, and filled his foes with dismay. Panic stricken, they were powerless to resist or escape his fierce onslaught, and were nearly all put to the sword without mercy. Glorifying in his triumph, Ulick De Burgo had the heads of his slaughtered foes made into a pile, and so vast was this gory monument of his triumph that he was afterwards popularly known as Ulick "Na Gceann" (of the Heads). With the letters patent by which he was ennobled Lord,

*Cambransis Eversus.*² *Ibid.*³ *Ibid.*

Clanricarde transmitted to his children a heritage of hate. Indeed, his titles were mainly the occasion of giving to his profligacy a notoriety which it would not otherwise secure. He was scarcely laid in the grave when three ladies, each claiming to be his wife, instituted a suit at law to decide for themselves and their children their claims to his titles and property. The Lady Grace O'Carroll represented herself as his first and only lawful wife. She was daughter of the Prince of Ely. His son by this lady was Richard Saxonagh, who afterwards succeeded as Lord Clanricarde. During the lifetime of the Lady Grace he espoused Honora De Burgo, and also a certain Maria Lynch, of Galway; and we are informed that on the occasion of his marriage with the latter, he "affirmed and swore there was no impediment to the same." In 1547 Maria Lynch petitioned the Duke of Somerset, setting forth her claims as wife of the deceased earl. In this petition she represents herself as of a "Civile and Englishe ordre of Education and manners, inhabiting within the towne of Galway," and points out that the changes in the late earl's opinions and character, which recommended him to the royal favour, were owing to her influence. "That at the time of their marriage she was a woman of great substance, and that she was entitled to and claimed a third of all his real and personal property. She referred to the marriage articles, which, she alleged, were executed between her and the late earl, and stated that she had secured by them a legal claim to the "Manor and Castle of Kilcolgan," with other stipulations, which he failed to observe. She urged that the marriage of her rival Grace O'Carroll with the late earl was invalid by reason of a prior marriage contracted with O'Melaghlin, who was then living, and, therefore, claimed for her son John his father's coveted titles.

On the 23rd January, 1547, the Lord Protector appointed a commission, with authority to inquire into and decide the subject-matter of the petition. Such an inquiry must have engaged a large share of public attention, and there can be little doubt that it became throughout Clanricarde a subject of eager and factious discussion. This may be inferred from

the record of the annalists, who tell us that "great discussions arose in Clanricarde concerning the lordship."

The Commissioners' finding was published early in the November of the same year. The result was unfavourable to the writer of the petition, though the Lord Protector had, by a private letter, expressed a deep interest in her case. They declared her marriage with the earl void, and consequently refused to recognise her claim to his estates. They left her free, however, to disprove his marriage with Lady Grace O'Carroll, should she afterwards desire to do so; and they recognised the claims of Richard to his father's titles and estates.

But, in consideration of the deception of which the petitioner was a victim, it was stipulated that she should be paid forthwith the sum of £300 by the young earl. It was probably owing to the Lord Protector's private letter that she received even this sum, and that the validity of the earl's marriage with the Lady Grace O'Carroll was left an open question, which might be again investigated whenever a favourable opportunity might occur. But, happily for the fair fame of the Countess of Clanricarde, such an opportunity could not occur. It was well known that her first husband was O'Melaghlin, but his death prior to her marriage with Clanricarde was equally well known. Despite the influence of the earl and his guides in the Reformed religion, the Countess remained true to the religion of her fathers; and whatever else may have been weak in the character of Earl Richard his son, he may, at least, justly claim the merit of fidelity to his faith under very trying circumstances.

J. A. FAHEY.

DR. WINDTHORST : HIS LIFE AND WORK.

AT the close of the Congress of Coblenz, in September of last year, Dr. Windthorst concluded his speech with these words :—

“ And now permit me at the close to express the conviction that we have during these days done a great and beautiful work, and that whenever it will be spoken of it will be said—These are also the decisions of the Congress of Coblenz. I don't know if at the next reunion we shall all meet. That is in the hands of God. But if I do not return to the Catholic Congress, keep me in affectionate memory ; and let me hope, at least, that your prayers will be united to implore peace for me when I am with you no more.”

Since these words were listened to by the assembled Catholic delegates at Coblenz, the great voice that spoke them has become silent for ever. On Saturday, the 14th March last, Herr Ludwig Windthorst, the great Catholic leader, rested after his long life of ceaseless work in that peace for which he had laboured and prayed. Like Mallinkrodt, Reichensperger, Frankenstein, and others, who were once his colleagues, he had devoted his life to the great cause that has been identified with his name ; like them too he has fallen fighting. With this difference, however : they died amidst the first evolutions of the strife ; Windthorst lived to see the battle well-nigh over and won. Otto, one of the most eloquent members of the Prussian parliament, was seized with apoplexy within the precincts of the house, and died in the arms of his colleagues. Mallinkrodt, whom Windthorst succeeded in the leadership, after a long and impassioned speech in defence of the political rights and religious liberty of the German Catholics, caught pneumonia on his way home, and died after a few days' illness. That was in 1874. Frankenstein, who was Vice-President of the Centre Party, fell ill during a sitting of parliament, and was taken home to die. Reichensperger also disappeared from the battlefield in the onset of the

strife, and, like his colleagues already named, had his sword unsheathed and grasped till death.

For some days before his death, Dr. Windthorst had been suffering from a cold ; but he was nevertheless regularly present at the sittings of the Landtag and Reichstag, and of the Education Commission. On the Tuesday morning before he died he took part in a discussion on the taxes on movable property. He never saw the Parliament House again. On the way home with one of his colleagues he complained of being ill, and when he reached his house he had to be helped in by a servant. On Wednesday afternoon he received the last Sacraments, and soon after he became delirious till the end. It was truly the death of a soldier, surrounded with the glory and the pathos of final victory secured, but not yet quite gained.

By the death of Dr. Windthorst, Germany has lost its noblest son, and Europe one of the most remarkable men who have taken a part in its public life during the present century. We cannot have better evidence of how his worth was recognised than the spontaneous expressions of sympathy which from every side poured in upon him during his illness, and consoled his family when he was gone. Wreaths were laid on his tomb in the name of Leopold of Bavaria and other princes, and in the name of every party in the legislature. His praises were pronounced in the Landtag and Reichstag by the presidents of each. A special train was granted by the State to convey his remains to Hanover. At his obsequies in the Church of St. Hedwige the Emperor and Empress were represented. The presidents, besides many ministers and members, represented the Landtag and Reichstag ; and his own faithful colleagues (who afterwards followed his body to the grave) were there in the strength and union that he gave them, to listen to the Prince Bishop of Breslau pronouncing his panegyric, and exhorting them to keep his spirit living. During his illness, the Emperor by his daily inquiries showed an anxiety about him that is rarely shown by sovereign to subject, and the best wreath that adorned his coffin was the one bearing the name of the Emperor and Empress in letters of gold. Around his bier

were gathered his countrymen of every party, creed, and class, to do him honour. The Holy Father sent telegrams of inquiry whilst it was thought that God might spare him. When all hope was over he sent his Apostolic Blessing to console the last moments of the illustrious patient, and when he was laid in the tomb he addressed a letter to his colleagues of the Centre, reminding them that, although he who united them and had been their bond of unity for twenty years was gone, his principles remain, and that the unselfish aspirations with which he had inspired them should continue to inspire them still.

He who, holding such a prominent and delicate position as Dr. Windthorst did, gains and holds so universal a popularity to the end, must have gifts of head and heart which not every generation brings. Even the Press, which has some fault to find with everyone, had none to find with Windthorst. The *Nord-Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, for so long, and especially during Bismarck's power, the implacable enemy of the Centre and of the Centre's leader, said :—

"The leader of the Centre has been called to the other life in a moment when the most signal services for the well-being of the country might have been hoped from him, and from every side a wail of sorrow comes for the death of a man who has spent more than thirty years in parliamentary life and leaves incomplete the expectations that were reposed in him. From all, even his political opponents, words of praise are due for the ability and constancy with which he has served his political purposes."

The *Daily News* said :—

"The death of Herr Windthorst removes one of the most redoubtable adversaries of Prince Bismarck. To him more than to anyone else is due the failure of the Chancellor's attempt to bend the Papacy to his will."

The *Univers* said :—

"His friends will weep for him, his enemies will lament for him also, and nobody will pronounce his name without emotion. What then are the qualities that have made of Ludwig Windthorst a leader so intelligent, a defender so effective, an adversary so feared? The same that Windthorst had found in that good man Hermann Mallinkrodt, the old leader of the Centre. In depicting, at the Twentieth Catholic Congress, held

at Aix-la-Chapelle, the character of Mallinkrodt, Windthorst depicted himself when he said :—‘ Our deeply-regretted friend has been a man of faith such as few have ; his speeches stirred up the masses, because he was the living expression of a faith still more lively.’ It is that faith inspired him to defend right and justice ; it is that gave him all his strength. And therefore, after so many years of struggle, Windthorst leaves the Catholic party of Germany in a state to be envied by all political parties. The Centre is to-day in Germany the party that decides.”

The *Berlin Tageblatt*, which has always opposed him, after having spoken of the great stroke his death is to the Centre party, says of him :—

“ Outside his own family and the Centre party, those who suffer the greatest loss are the poor. The sum of money that Windthorst used to give in charity, in spite of his modest means, was certainly surprising. It would not have been possible for him to open his hand so largely to the poor if he had not imposed on himself the greatest simplicity and austerity of life. Nevertheless, the number of postulants who besieged him often exceeded his means of giving.”

Ludwig Windthorst was born on January 17th, 1812. The place of his birth is a quiet village in the Principality of Osnabrück. Here, also, his boyhood was watched over and trained by careful Catholic parents. They were simple and pious, and they brought up their son in a simplicity and piety as deep as their own. The panorama of hill and valley, of woodland and river, shaded into one picture under the blue canopy above, was poetry to his young fancy. It was the poetry of pastoral life, ever elevating and pointing upwards. His father, besides farming at Holdenhof, practised as a solicitor at Osterkappeln, a neighbouring town, where also the family used to hear Mass, and Windthorst went to school in his childhood. The simple manners of the people, the little church where he was baptized, and the church-bell, which at morning and at eve chimed religious memories into his ear, and used to awake in him the religious instincts of childhood, left impressions on him that lived on unfading through the vicissitudes of eighty years.

It was the hope of his parents that their son Ludwig would become a priest, and with that intention he was sent

at the age of ten to the College of St. Charles at Osnabrück. He spent eight years there, and left it with the highest credentials as to proficiency, diligence, and conduct. In the College Books, "faultless and excellent" is everywhere written to his name; and in Latin, German, History, Mathematics, and the Natural Sciences, he is always "very good." Finding that he had not a vocation for the priesthood, he left St. Charles' in 1830, and went to study law at Göttingen and Heidelberg. A certain boyish wilfulness which he showed at home developed here into an unbending will, that marked him out amongst his fellows at the University as a man of independent spirit and unflinching purpose. But, though his will was unbending, he was not wilful. Honest judgment was his guide always, and he who would yield to no man for man's own sake, would yield to any man for the sake of right and truth. He was remarkable for quick perception, a practical grasp of questions, and a singular gift of "taking the measure" of men. Even at Heidelberg he never forgot his faith. The influence of associations there did not turn him from virtue, and he practised his religion with all the simple earnestness which he had learned amongst the villagers of Holdenhof. And it was so to the end.

After a University career of great distinction, he took his degrees and became a member of the bar at Osnabrück. His professional skill and engaging manners brought him an extensive practice in a short time. His way to success was short and straight. At the age of thirty-six, the King of Hanover appointed him Counsellor of the Supreme Court of Appeal in Celle. His political life began during the revolutionary movement of 1848. Through the influence of the Catholic clergy and gentry he was elected to represent Meppen in the Provincial Landtag of Osnabrück. In 1849 he became a member of the Hanoverian Diet, where he distinguished himself by his able opposition to the unionist tendencies of the national parliament of Frankfort, whose members had offered the Imperial Crown to the King of Prussia. The young parliamentarian at once stood out in the public opinion as a man of singular individuality and of great power. The King of Hanover saw this, and on

22nd November, 1851, he made Windthorst Minister of Grace and Justice. His great career and busy public life did not make him forget that he was a Catholic before all things. In his new position of power he guarded Catholic interests. He procured the erection of the diocese of Osnabrück, and had the Catholic cause represented in the Legislature and at the Court. In 1853 he merged again into the position of a simple deputy, and remained so until 1862, when he was again appointed Minister of Grace and Justice, which he held till 1865. On the 21st October, 1865, he became Attorney-General; but when, in the following year, King George was deposed, and Hanover passed under the sceptre of Prussia, he doffed the gown and led the Guelph party, first in the Constituent Diet, and then in the Reichstag of the North German Confederation. He also became a member of the Prussian Landtag.

It was at this time that he first came in contact with Bismarck. He treated with the Prussian Government as representative of his exiled king, and in his behalf made a treaty with Bismarck, which Bismarck, in the pride of power, afterwards ignored and broke. It is out of the contemptible dishonesty of Bismarck in this breach of public faith that the "reptile press" arose, which was so active in mischief twenty years ago. "It was cat after kind." The "reptile press" was generated out of corruption and shameless deceit, and it faithfully fulfilled its mission of corruption and shameless lying. Bismarck, in the face of the solemn convention entered into with Windthorst, confiscated the property of King George. The sum realised became the capital of the "reptile fund," the interest of which went to pay journalists in Germany and elsewhere, whose brief was to flatter Bismarck, to inspire distrust of the Catholics of Germany, to incense the spirit of Döllingerism, and to insult the Pope. At the close of 1870, France saw its old prestige of power disappear as swiftly and surely as the year that was passing away. Prussia left it prostrate, and Prussia in a sense was prostrate under Bismarck. But, in the plan of Bismarck's policy and purpose, it was not merely the arm of France he had tied up. He saw in France not

only a great nation which he would subdue, but also the traditional defender of the Church, whose life and influence he thought depended on human power. Having run in triumph over a Catholic nation, he thought he could chase and persecute with impunity the Catholics of Germany to death. Well, he did his worst, and failed. That is the simple story of his war against the Church, as it is of many another such war before. It is but history repeating itself—fanaticism foiled ; the persecutor perishing. The “iron Chancellor” might not be in sullen seclusion to-day if he had learned in time a lesson which all history teaches—namely, that principle, if *patient* and *persistent*, must in the long run bear down brute force, however mighty. It is so in the nature of things ; but Bismarck, like the first Napoleon, was blinded by power, and did not see it. When he designed to crush the Church, he was pitting himself against a Divine power, which he thought was human. When he undertook to fetter it in Germany, he ignored or forgot to count on the opposition of a man who brought the unifying spirit of the Church into his party, and by it welded them together, till, in the words of one of his colleagues, it became “like steel, which is hardened by hammering.”

And now those events came in the life of Windthorst, in connection with which his name has been made historic. When Austria and France were subdued and the German Empire was formed, Bismarck’s ambition looked on to the dominion of Europe. The covetous, in great things as in small, easily grow jealous of any phantom which may even seem to come between them and the object on which their heart is set. Bismarck’s scarecrow was “Vaticanism.” Like many other great men who thoughtlessly convert ridiculous stories into assumptions, he supposed that the German Catholics should, on principle, be the enemies of the Empire ; and that, therefore, they should be crushed, if the Empire was to live. He stupidly suspected that they should, on religious principle, aim at uprooting any constitution whose spirit was Protestant. He feared, also, lest their particularist politics would continue to oppose the Imperial unification which he had been carrying through. Then,

again, Bismarck's goal was European dominion; but European dominion would include Catholic countries, and he dreamt that the German Catholics would be on the side of these against the Fatherland. Moreover, Protestantism does not claim an individuality of its own. As it is the creature of the State, so must it be its slave; and if Catholicism could be wiped out, and Protestantism made the religion of Europe, Bismarck would be master of Europe and of Europe's conscience. But Catholicism has an individuality of its own; and the bugbear of Vaticanism hovered about Bismarck's brain as the phantom of universal sovereignty. So he got alarmed for the safety of the Empire; or, at any rate, he found it convenient to feign alarm.

Bismarck and Dr. Falk claimed for the State the right to inquire into and decide whether a Catholic bishop or priest was orthodox or not. They declared Reinkens and Wollmann both genuine Catholics, and so gave the former a bishopric and the latter a parish. After all, the Great Chancellor was a broad-minded man. He was not particular as to the form of religion; it might be Lutheran or Popish, or a simulacrum of either. What was essential and heaven-decreed was, that it should be cast in the living mould of Bismarck's wishes. This aggressive spirit of stateocracy showed itself in various symptoms from 1871, but it burst upon the German Catholics in the full fierceness of persecution by the Falk Laws of 1873. Religious orders were proscribed, bishops were imprisoned and banished; parishes were deprived of their pastors; church property was confiscated; ecclesiastical students were ordered into Protestant Universities to learn Catholic theology from Bismarck's professors! Politicians of every shade hailed the coming disappearance of Catholicism. Conservatives and Liberals, divided in most things, were united in this. "Herod and Pilate had again made friends," said the Catholics in derision. The author of the May Laws, in introducing them, said that they were framed in order "to prepare the way to a firm and lasting peace." "Yes, the peace of the grave," replied Mallinkrodt. "Just as the early Christians," said Windthorst, "could not submit to the unlawful demands of paganism, so the Christians of to-day are

bound to withhold submission to unjust and conscience-violating laws." "I suppose," said Baron Schorlemer, retorting on Bismarck, "*we* are also numbered amongst the Catilines of the State; but permit me to say that, in my opinion, there is one special Catiline present by whom the peace of the nation is threatened." The last words of Catholic protest spoken during the debate on the May Laws were these:—"Make, then, if you will, this new law. Decree this new Draconian code, if you will. But be sure of this, you shall never see it carried out, for we shall never yield." They were the words of Schorlemer, and his colleagues were as defiant as himself. The sequel will show that the pledge was kept.

Several States, formerly independent, were absorbed in the new German Empire. Although they had lost their independence, they had still national aspirations to foster and national interests to guard. Any of them would be powerless before the centralising influence of Bismarck. It would have been madness to rebel, and it would have been suicidal to tamely take whatever Bismarck might offer. Their only hope lay in making common cause; but then, as far as national interests went, they had so little in common. Bismarck's own policy suggested a common ground on which many of them might stand. It was quite clear that he meant to crush the Catholic Church throughout the Empire, and it became the duty of the Catholics of the different states not to let him. But a great creative power was needed to unite so many scattered elements into one. A master-mind was necessary to gather them together, and out of them to form a united force. A master-will was needed to maintain and work it when formed. But no man, however strong in purpose, however able or eloquent, would be equal to such a project, unless he were a man also whose private character was unstained, and whose public life was beyond suspicion. Such Mallinkrodt proved himself to be; such was Windthorst. He gauged the situation, and saw at once where he was. He saw that the German Catholics could not safely trust their interests to Conservatives or Liberals, nor to any off-shadings of either. They must form a party of their own. They

must, he said, stand in the *Centre*; take what they can get from either, and be independent of both.

When Windthorst and his colleagues of the *Centre* party first singled themselves out to resist the May Laws, they were detested and despised. They were detested, for they dared to champion the Catholic cause, which Bismarck had set himself to destroy. They were despised, for they were few in number, and their leader came from a conquered province, whilst Bismarck was dictator of a mighty empire; with brute force to assert his will, and a drove of place-hunting parliamentarians to do his bidding. It was a wide contrast. "His Little Excellency," as Windthorst was called by his colleagues, with size, appearance, everything against him, and the "Great Chancellor," burly and big, with everything in his favour. It is no wonder that the Bismarckians smiled at what they thought the innocent audacity of the little Hanoverian stranger dreaming of thwarting the will of their master. Could the simple man have reflected at all on the task he had set before himself, or did he know whom he had to fight? Yes, he had, it seems, reflected very much indeed, and he knew them all—the Great Empire, and the Great Chancellor, with his great crowd of boastful bullies behind him.

It was in 1872 that Bismarck began in earnest to persecute, and no sooner did he begin to attack than Windthorst began to defend. He protested against the legislation on civil marriage, and against the dictatorial government of Alsace-Lorraine, for which he claimed the right of parliamentary representation. In 1873 he began the fight against the Falk Laws, of which he left hardly a shred remaining when he died. In the same year he fought for universal suffrage in Prussia. In 1874, besides his fight against the Falk Laws, he protested against the extravagant expenditure of Secret Service money, which was under Bismarck's exclusive control. So the battle went on from year to year until Bismarck's air-castles began to crumble away piecemeal under the patient battering of the *Centre* party. Not a year passed since the formation of the *Centre* party that Windthorst was not pitted against Bismarck in one or more

questions of public interest—the *Kulturkampf* being, of course, a never-failing battleground, till towards the end hardly the ghost of it remained. One year it was the monopoly of tobacco, another year it was the monopoly of alcohol, some new development of the *Kulturkampf*, some fresh military extravagance, or the creation of some new and needless secretaryship for the convenience of Bismarck's friends. But

“Mihi res, non me rebus subjungere conor”

was an unsafe principle for anyone to practise in the face of Windthorst and his party. In the spring of 1866 Bismarck found it necessary to bring in some laws against the Socialists, who threatened to honeycomb the State. Windthorst did not lose the opportunity of showing that the evil which Bismarck was trying to combat was the natural offspring of his dictatorship in the State, and of his impeding the Catholic Church in exerting its moral influence.

The difficulty over Bismarck's Septennate Bill four years ago must be still fresh in the memory of everyone. The action of the Centre party would be decisive, and so Bismarck found himself in Windthorst's power. Bismarck so managed matters that Windthorst's opposition would make him appear opposed to the interests of the Empire, and indirectly on the side of France. On the other hand, to allow the Septennate to pass would be to secure Bismarck in power, and make him independent of the Centre party. Bismarck, to help himself out of the difficulty, had recourse to that authority whose destruction he had been doing his best to compass for nearly twenty years. Like Frederick, eight centuries before, he went to Canossa in sackcloth and ashes. A more miserable humiliation could not easily be witnessed than Bismarck appealing to the Pope, whom he was sworn to crush, to intercede in his favour with Windthorst, whom a few years before he used to despise. For it nearly came to that. The Centre party acted according to the message of Cardinal Jacobini, although with evident reluctance and much hesitation. They acceded to the wishes of the Holy Father in a matter where obedience was neither demanded nor due, and they had not to wait long

for their reward ; they returned to parliament with a party more powerful than before. The last three years has been a continued series of successes for Windthorst and his party. Almost every important measure they proposed was carried. Measures in behalf of the working-classes, which Windthorst had for a long time been forcing on the government, but in vain, were embodied into a government bill more than two years ago. The *Kulturkampf* was vanishing so fast that he left hardly a trace of it behind him. One of the most touching circumstances of his long life was the speech which he made in his delirium, a few hours before he died, for the repeal of the law against the Jesuits—almost the only trace of the *Kulturkampf* that remains.

In 1874 Windthorst, as leader of the Centre, set himself against the gigantic machinery of persecution which Bismarck had framed. Bismarck was pledged to crush him. After years of strife, Bismarck declared he was "weary unto death," and he began to let the *Kulturkampf* cave in. He appealed to the Pope to protect him from Windthorst, and he appealed to Windthorst to save him from the Socialists. He built up the German Empire, and was to extend it over the ruins of the Papacy and of the monarchies of Europe. Windthorst lived to see him deprived of power even in the empire that he had built up. Whilst he fell away into disappointed retirement, Windthorst became a growing power before the public, moving on full of hope and honour to the crown of his political career. Whilst the *Kulturkampf* has become a thing which the German people would even wish history to forget, the Church which it was designed to crush is regaining its lost rights, and the Pope is held in honour by the emperor. In a word, Bismarck's work has been all but undone; Windthorst's work has been all but perfected. Bismarck himself has been discredited by the emperor: we have already seen how he has honoured Windthorst. The last effect of his influence whilst living—for the work of his life will bear fruit for ages—was made known to him on his death-bed. Goszler, the Minister of Public Worship, and one of Windthorst's fiercest opponents, had to resign to make way for another more acceptable to the Centre party. That is a summary of Windthorst's

work—a work the like of which it has been given to few men to do.

Looking at it humanly, the secret of Windthorst's success and of Bismarck's failure is this: Windthorst fought for principle, Bismarck fought only for power. The *personnel* of a party is sure to change, but principle never changes; and Windthorst, yielding enough in minor points, would on no account loose his grasp of a point which involved a principle. He who fights for power necessarily fights for a party, and is never more than a partisan. It was so with Bismarck. The *Kulturkampf* was not a principle with him; it was only a means to an end—a lever whereby he hoped to extend his power. Hence, according as he saw his power in danger he forsook the *Kulturkampf*. He had not planned it for its sake, but for his own; and when it ceased to serve his purpose he put it aside as one would lay aside an unworkable machine. On the other hand, principle was the guide of the Centre party. Their aim was clear, and their policy was straight, because it was determined by their single purpose. They took care to master every question, and their action in each was regulated by the one great object that had brought their party into being. Their party was formed for a single purpose, and therefore it was held together with a firmness that nothing could disturb. They set about a difficult task in dismal times. Their cause, humanly speaking, was hopeless. It had everything against it—numbers, unscrupulousness, blind prejudice, and brute force. The presence of their little party only provoked a smile; their protests were drowned in derision. They saw bishops and priests imprisoned and exiled, churches and schools and church property confiscated, their children without religious instruction, their friends dying without the sacraments, yet they never once broke out into violence, nor ever once consented to swerve a hairbreadth from the law of God. Their resistance was strictly passive and strictly moral. They trusted that, as they were fighting the cause of God, His Providence would at length inspire the good sense of their countrymen to turn in their favour. And we have seen that they did not hope in vain.

Moreover, the party which Windthorst led were held fast together by the high principle that governed his policy, whilst there was nothing to keep Bismarck's followers together except Bismarck himself and the narrow spirit that he embodied. Windthorst had no hope of temporal advantage to hold out to his colleagues, nor had they any personal ambition to urge them on. They had nothing to work for except the high principle that created their party. Unless they held on to their leader for conscience' sake, there was nothing else to keep them ; and he led them as one having authority. A few years ago the writer was told by Germans that, although Windthorst was as large-minded as leader could be, his colleagues often felt his discipline severely ; but they knew he was necessary, and that without his discipline they could not have himself ; and whenever any of the " young bloods " differed from him time invariably told them that he was right.

But the spring of Windthorst's great power as a public man must be sought in his private life. Whether we consider a man in his domestic, civil, social, or religious relations, we have to go back to the individual in every case. It is the individual that acts always ; and as the individual is, so must his public and private actions be. In his mind and will and heart is to be found the measure of his worth in every sphere. It is quite true that there are spheres of duty where civil worth may be compatible with personal depravity ; but then there are many where it is not so. Some of the most important actions of public life directly flow from, and are dependent on, the principles and conduct that form the individual character. For the character of Windthorst's private life we have a witness in the fact, that, although no man in Germany had so many political enemies, he had not a single personal one. At public banquets, Bismarck always gave him the place of honour. When, owing to his weak sight, he met with an accident some time ago, Goszler was his Good Samaritan. Whenever he walked from his home to the Parliament House, the people would respectfully make way for him along the streets, and help him over the crossings. These, and a hundred other such tokens of regard,

show that he had a place in the affections of his countrymen above all party interests or political struggles. But, the best evidence of the deep impression he made is the extraordinary honour that was paid him by all classes when he was no more. He was a thorough Catholic both in faith and practice, frequenting the Sacraments, observing the precepts of the Church, following the various devotions of the year with the simple piety of the humblest around him. He fully understood the reason of the faith that was in him, and he accordingly valued the great grace of being a Catholic. With him faith was not a mere dry creed to be believed; it was also a religion to be practised: not a mere formula which his intellect accepted, it was also a precept which his will obeyed. He recognised that to keep his faith living in his soul was, above all, his own personal concern, and that the constant practice of it, without which it grows faint, is not more a duty for the humble than for the great. In this his life was a wide contrast to some ignorant creatures (better call things by their right names), who speak and act—and I suppose think—as if they were paying a compliment to the Church, and to the rest of the faithful by being Catholics at all. His life shows, too, that he clearly grasped the truth, that Catholic laymen and Catholic ecclesiastics, as Catholics, cannot have divided interests; that as Catholics, both are equally bound to labour, each in his sphere and according to his opportunity, for the Catholic good. The magnificent church that was consecrated in Hanover last April twelvemonth, is a monument of his devotion to our Blessed Lady. The day before it was consecrated he planted an oak in front of it—a symbol of enduring strength. The people call it *Windthorst's Oak*. Since he began to build that church, the testimonials he got—and they were many—were for the most part in money; for his friends well knew that he would wish it so, and how it would be spent. Every *mark* that was presented to him for the celebration of his golden wedding, two years ago, and on 17th January last, his seventy-ninth birthday, went to complete his church. “Whoever is a friend to our Lady of Hanover,” he used to say, “is a friend of mine; and whatever is done for her, is done for me.” It is hardly

necessary to say, that his body rests now within the sacred building on which his heart was set.

Like all great men, he was simple and unassuming. In Berlin, he and his daughter occupied a "flat" as their residence—an humble home for so great a man. He was good to the poor, almost beyond his means; and, like all who are forgetful of self as he was, he died poor. As single-hearted men usually are, he had a genuine sense of humour, and was always ready to take a joke as well as to make one.

Diminutive in size, his appearance far from prepossessing, he often made a useful subject for caricature in the *Punches* of Germany, especially in the early days of the *Kulturkampf*; and it is said that nobody used to be amused by the artist's wit more than he. Whenever he was put on his mettle in parliament, his speeches were barbed with satire; but it was done with such grace, and it cut so keen, that, although the wound was made, the victim little felt it. When he met with the accident mentioned above, and a report spread that he was much injured, in order to calm his wife's anxiety he wrote to her:—"Don't be at all alarmed, dear; I assure you, my beauty hasn't been in the least disfigured." The point of the joke, of course, was that it would be hard for it to be disfigured. His affable nature and sense of humour made him loved by his colleagues, as his discipline made him respected, and his ability made him admired. It was Malinkrodt first called him the "Pearl of Meppen;" and his colleagues kept it up ever after.

When wiring the news of his death, *The Times'* correspondent, referring to his patriotism, said that he was "a Catholic first and a patriot afterwards." It is quite true. He himself always avowed it; but held that he was a true patriot because he was a true Catholic. He made men feel that; it was by it he convinced them that he was in earnest. The Church and the Fatherland were not for him two divided interests running in parallel lines. As he felt that he who is a father, a citizen, or a politician, or whatever else, is the same individual who shall live beyond the grave, so he felt that the father, citizen, or politician of the present life has his responsibilities in reference to the merit of the next. In

other words, with Windthorst, faith and patriotism were inseparable. Not that he stripped faith of its supernatural character to make it fit his patriotism; for that cannot be: faith that is not supernatural is not faith. With him patriotism was not a mere instinct that nature gave him. It was that, but more: it was also a moral duty for which he was accountable to God. And quite right. It is not only true that we are religious because we are rational, it is also true that we cannot be rational without being religious; for a rational being is ever, and by nature, a moral being. Hence, to divorce one's life—personal, social, or political—from moral responsibility and from God, is as if one would divorce himself from reason. Windthorst well knew and felt this truth. It was not only in his mind; it worked in every fibre of his heart; and, therefore, whilst his faith and patriotism were inseparable, it was not that his faith was merely natural, but that his patriotism had its spring in the supernatural. That this was the ruling habit of his mind and heart is seen in two touching incidents of his deathbed—his *hoch* for the Emperor, and his defence of the Jesuits. These took place whilst he was delirious; they could be but the spontaneous outflows of feeling from his heart, where they had rested long. No motive but sincere loyalty made him rise up in his raving and toast his Emperor. Nothing but sincere devotion to the Church made him speak, as I shall let Mr. Stead describe:—"He was sinking fast, and they were wondering how soon unconsciousness would deepen into death, when the dying man roused himself and began to deliver, as if he were speaking in the Reichstag, a speech in favour of a Bill repealing the provisions of the law against the Jesuits. In silent awe the two sorrowing women listened as Herr Windthorst went on, making point after point, with the same precision and the same earnestness that distinguished him in the tribune, where he evidently imagined himself to be. At last the speech was ended. Then Herr Windthorst lay back on his pillow and never spoke again. It was the swan song of the old Ultramontane leader—the ruling passion strong in death."

Several Catholic laymen of a genius and purpose like

Windthorst's have lived during the present century, but he has only one rival. France has had Montalembert. He was more brilliant than Windthorst, and more literary; but as a statesman he never showed his tact and vigour. Spain has had Donoso Cortes; but he was rather philosophical for a statesman, and his thoughts therefore never took a firm hold of the popular feeling he wished to influence. Frederick Lucas had ability and will enough, but he lived amidst difficulties which a lifetime was too short to subdue. O'Connell is Windthorst's only rival. His personal influence over the Irish people was more than Windthorst's over the Germans; and Windthorst's name will hardly take the lasting hold of popular Catholic feeling throughout the world that O'Connell's has taken. O'Connell, too, in one sense had more uphill work. Windthorst's party at first were few, but they were able, and the Catholic body whom he led had the advantage of colleges and schools before Windthorst's work began. When O'Connell began, his party was practically *himself*. He had to face the traditional ascendancy, and the rooted bigotry of three hundred years. Moreover, whatever education the great body of the Irish people had received was imparted

“ While crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge, or stretched on mountain fern.”

The first obstacle he had to overcome was to be allowed to sit in parliament at all. He then had to form a party, and to unite a people whom a brutal persecution had left nothing more than Horace's *nos numeri sumus*. We of the present generation can but poorly realize how gigantic a work it was to put national life into a people whose history was written in blood, and whose hopes had been cast down by disappointments and betrayals. But whatever be the fittest parallel between Windthorst and O'Connell, either of them is the ideal of a Catholic leader and patriot, whom not every generation sends. It is such an ideal the Holy Father drew out in following letter which he wrote of Windthorst to the leaders of the Centre party:—

“ DILECTI FILII, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM,

“ Summa animorum conjunctio quæ vobis fuit cum egregio

viro Ludovico Windthorst, etsi Nos minime latebat, exploratio tamen Nobis extitit ex iis quae telegraphica scriptione perferri ad Nos curavistis, cumuni vestro et Collegarum Catholicorum nomine, per dilectum filium Nostrum Cardinalem a publicis negotiis administrum. Justo enimvero et acerbo dolore affectos vos esse intelligimus ex insperato ejus viri obitu, cujus religio, integritas, prudentia, aliaque animi ornamenta perspecta prae caeteris vobis fuere, qui ipsum ducem secuti in officii gravissimi perfunctione, non minus laborum et consiliorum socii quam laudis ejus participes extitistis. Vestra enim consensione et suffragiis fretus, maximis rei christianae et publicae temporibus, Ecclesiae rationes et jura strenue defendit, causamque justitiae semel susceptam magno animo tueri pernexit, donec ea se assequutum videret quae animo constanter intenderat. Merito autem partiumstrarum principem eum vos habuisse gloriamini, qui nunquam se adversantium viribus aut popularibus fluctibus gradu moveri passus est, qui ita patriam dilexit et debitam principi observantiam ostendit, ut nunquam haec officia a religionis cultu sejunxerit, atque ita rationum pondere solidaeque eloquentiae robore eos qui contra sentiebant oppugnavit, ut facile agnitu esset, eum veritatis studio ad certandum, non ulla commodi aut honoris cupiditate moveri. Equidem haec ejus merita, uti par erat probatissima habuimus; idque cum alios, oblata occasione, testati sumus, tum nuper hoc anno, cum redeunte anniversaria die coronationis Nostrae, nova honoris accessione ipsum augere voluimus, adlectum nempe inter Equites primi Ordinis Sancti Gregorii Magni insignibus ejus ornare. Quod si morte praereptus hoc amoris et existimationis Nostrae testimonio frui non potuit, certa spes Nos solatur et recreat, quae illum Nobis ostendit amplioribus praemiis a Deo ornatum, eamque adeptum incommutabilem gloriam, qua nulla illustrior ac beatior est hominibus expetenda.

“Vos interim, Dilecti Filii, virtutis memores et exemplorum tanti ducis, firmiter vestigia ejus insistite, arctam inter vos retinete concordiam, quam ipse in eo cui praefuit agmine naviter studioseque servavit, ac certum habete quod ille semper animo defixum habuit, prosperitati et gloriae communis eo consultius a vobis prospectum iri, quo impensius vos praebueritis fideles Deo et Ecclesiae Matri obsequentes. Sic vos sociosque vestros propitius Deus tueatur ac sospitet, ejusque favoris auspex sit Apostolica Benedictio, quam vobis singulis universis peramanter impertimus.

“Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xix Martii An. mdcccxc1.

“Pontificatus Nostri decimo quarto,

“LEO, PP. XIII.”

M. O’RIORDAN.

Liturgical Questions.

I.

QUESTIONS ON THE USE OF FOLDED CHASUBLES.

II.

SHOULD THE PASSION BE SUNG BY DEACONS?

"You would greatly oblige me by answering the following questions in next month's I. E. RECORD:—

"1. Why, during Advent and Lent at solemn masses *de tempore*, in cathedrals and large churches, do the deacon and sub-deacon wear chasubles in place of the dalmatic and tunic? Why are the chasubles folded before the breast? Why does the sub-deacon take off his while singing the Epistle? Why does the deacon take his off before the Gospel, and not put it on until after the Communion? Why, in small churches, do the deacon and sub-deacon not wear dalmatic and tunic, nor folded chasubles?

"2. Is it necessary that the three who sing the Passion on Palm Sunday and Good Friday should be deacons? May three clerics sing it? "B. I. R."

1. The long array of questions into which our correspondent breaks up his first inquiry may be all answered together in a very few words. The all-sufficient reason for each and everyone of the practices about which he inquires is that they are prescribed by the rubrics of the missal.¹ But if he wishes to learn the reason for the existence of this provision of the rubrics, the task of satisfying him cannot be performed quite so easily. The following, however, he may regard as a fair summary of the universally-received opinion on this point.

The dalmatic and tunic are vestments of joy, and consequently do not suit seasons of penance when the sorrow that rends "the hearts and not the garments" is supposed to actuate the faithful. But in large churches, in which the ceremonies of the Church are wont to be carried out with great solemnity and pomp, it would be unbecoming for the

¹ Part i., tit. 19, 6, 7.

deacon and sub-deacon to assist during the entire mass in alb alone. Hence, at the time of the introduction of the dalmatic and tunic, the chasuble, which up to that time had been always used by the deacon and sub-deacon in solemn mass, was still retained during the penitential seasons. Two reasons are given for the folding of the chasubles worn by the sacred ministers. First, it is said that the fold is merely intended to make the chasubles of the sacred ministers appear somewhat different from that of the celebrant. And, again, others say that the fold is the remnant of an ancient practice dating from the time when the chasuble was the proper vestment for the sacred ministers, and rendered necessary on account of the peculiar form then given to this vestment. For at that time the chasuble was made to cover the entire body from the neck to the feet, and had no aperture but the one which permitted it to pass over the head on to the shoulders. Hence, in order to give freedom to the hands, it was necessary to fold the front part of the chasuble as high as the breast. At first the sacred ministers had to go through the folding process each time they had any duty to perform that required the use of the hands; but this was so awkward and troublesome, that the practice was soon introduced of folding them, and securing the fold once for all.¹

It is not difficult to understand why the sacred ministers should lay aside the folded chasubles at certain parts of the mass. They have no longer a right to the use of the chasuble, nor is it any longer a proper vestment for their office. Accordingly, while they are performing the duties peculiar to their office they must lay it aside. For this reason the sub-deacon divests himself of it before reading the Epistle, and resumes it after discharging this function; because the reading of the Epistle, and this alone, is the special duty of the sub-deacon. The deacon's duties, however, extend from the Gospel to the Communion, both inclusive, and hence during all this part of the mass he does not wear the chasuble.

¹ See Merati, Par. iv., tit. 1, n. 4.

There is no very satisfactory explanation given of the distinction drawn in this matter between small churches and churches that are not small. It is very likely that the non-use of folded chasubles in the former is prescribed by the rubrics with a view to sparing the resources of poor churches; or, as some say, with the view merely of accentuating the distinction in importance between the two classes of churches.

2. If possible, the three who sing the Passion should be in deacon's orders, *at least*. We say "*at least*," for, of course, priests may discharge this office. But if neither deacons nor priests can be had conveniently, the celebrant, deacon, and sub-deacon of the mass may themselves sing the Passion;¹ or it may be sung by the celebrant of a private mass and two clerics, but it may not be sung by three clerics. If the celebrant sings a part he stands on the predella, as when reading the Gospel, and sings the verses marked ✠, and reads in a low tone the parts sung by the others; and if the deacon and sub-deacon of the mass sing the parts along with the celebrant the former sings the verses marked C, the latter those marked S.

III.

WHAT MASS IS TO BE SAID IN CONVENT CHAPELS?

"Kindly answer the following questions in next issue of the I. E. RECORD:—

"1. We have an *Ordo* with the prayer for our society; one of the priests is chaplain to a convent; what mass must he say? Can he follow his own *Ordo*, or must he be guided by the *Ordo* of the diocese?

"2. Can a religious at any time, saying mass transitorily in an oratory or a convent chapel, always say the mass in accordance with his office?

"It very often happens that if I am to celebrate in a convent, according to the rules *pro Ecclesia aliena*, I have to say mass twice of the same, *bis de eodem*, v. g. in this diocese St. Antoninus is fixed upon the 11th of May; in our *Ordo* his feast is on the 10th.

¹ S. R. C., Jan. 10, 1852, n. 5166, and authors.

If I celebrate on the 11th in a convent chapel, must I go by the *Ordo* of the diocese or my own?

"Your reply will be instructive to very many priests throughout the country.

"A PRIEST OF THE SOCIETY OF THE HOLY GHOST."

Before answering these questions it is necessary to distinguish between the two great classes into which nuns may be divided. Nuns are either bound by their profession to recite the entire canonical office, or they are not. In the convent chapel of a community belonging to the former class the chaplain, or any priest celebrating the community mass, *may* always celebrate the mass corresponding to the office of the nuns, although his own office be of higher rite. And he *is bound* to celebrate the mass corresponding with their office as often as he has to celebrate a solemn mass or a *missa cantata*, and also when the nuns have an office of double rite, the colour of which differs from that of his own office.¹

As nuns who are not bound to recite the canonical office have no proper office their chapels possess no privilege, and are, therefore, to be regarded as private oratories as far as the present question is concerned.² And a priest celebrating in a private oratory is always bound³ to say the mass corresponding with the office which he himself recites, whatever may be the rite or colour of the office of the particular diocese or parish in which the oratory is situated. To this there is just one exception, viz., the office of the patron of the place, the mass corresponding with which must be said, even in private oratories, by all priests celebrating within the patronal limits.

1. From these principles it is easy to infer what reply

¹ See De Herdt, *Praxis Liturgiae*, v. 1, n. 98; Wapelhorst, n. 36; Bouvry, part 2, sect. 2; and decrees S. R. C. cited by these authors.

² "In *Oratorio privato* autem *Missa* semper concordare debet cum officio Celebrantis . . . item [juxta auctores probatos *Oratorii privati* in hac re aequiparari possunt] *Oratoria publica Monialium*, quae non sunt ad chorum professae, neque recitent officium canonicum, sed, ut plurimum, officium B. M. V." Wapelhorst, l. c.

³ Unless, of course, on days which permit private votive and *requiem* masses.

should be given to our esteemed correspondent. As he mentions the diocesan *Ordo*, we may take it for granted that the convent in question belongs to the latter and not to the former class of nuns. Hence not only may he follow his own *Ordo* when celebrating in it, but he is bound to follow it, and to celebrate the mass corresponding with the office which he recites, unless in the cases above excepted.

2. The same reply is to be given to the second question. In a private oratory, or in a convent chapel, a religious, or any other priest "saying mass transitorily," ought always to say the mass corresponding with his office.

D. O'LOAN.

Documents.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.
"DE CONDITIONE OPIFICUM."

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE
XIII. LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES
ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS UNIVERSOS CATHOLICI ORBIS
GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

DE CONDITIONE OPIFICUM.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIB
ET EPISCOPIB UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COM
MUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Rerum novarum semel excitata cupidine, quae diu quidem commovet civitates, illud erat consecuturum ut commutationum studia a rationibus politicis in oeconomicarum cognatum genus aliquando defluerent. Revera nova industriae incrementa novisque euntes itineribus artes: mutatae dominorum et mercenariorum rationes mutuae: divitiarum in exiguo numero affluentia, in multitudine inopia: opificum cum de se confidentia maior, tum inter se necessitudo coniunctior, praeterea versi in deteriora mores, effecere ut certamen erumperet. In quo quanta rerum momenta

vertantur, ex hoc apparet, quod animos habet acri expectatione suspensos: idemque ingenia exercet doctorum, concilia prudentum, conciones populi, legumlatorum iudicium, consilia principum, ut iam caussa nulla reperiatur tanta, quae teneat hominum studia vehementius.

Itaque, proposita Nobis Ecclesiae caussa et salute communi, quod alias consuevimus, Venerabiles Fratres, datis ad vos Litteris de imperio politico, de libertate humana, de civitatum constitutione christiana, aliisque non dissimili genere, quae ad refutandas opinionum fallacias opportuna videbantur, idem nunc faciendum de *conditione opificum* iisdem de causis duximus. Genus hoc argumenti non semel iam per occasionem attigimus: in his tamen litteris totam data opera tractare quaestionem apostolici muneris conscientia monet, ut principia emineant, quorum ope, uti veritas atque aequitas postulant, dimicatio dirimatur. Caussa est ad expediendum difficilis, nec vacua periculo. Arduum siquidem metiri iura et officia, quibus locupletes et proletarios, eos qui rem, et eos qui operam conferant, inter se oportet contineri. Periculosa vero contentio, quippe quae ab hominibus turbulentis et callidis ad pervertendum iudicium veri concitandamque seditiose multitudinem passim detorquetur. Utcumque sit, plane videmus, quod consentiunt universi, infimae sortis hominibus celeriter esse atque opportune consulendum, cum pars maxima in misera calamitosaque fortuna indigne versentur. Nam veteribus artificum collegiis superiore saeculo deletis, nulloque in eorum locum suffecto praesidio, cum ipsa instituta legesque publicae avitam religionem exuissent, sensim factum est ut opifices inhumanitati dominorum effrenataeque competitorum cupiditati solitarios atque indefensos tempus tradiderit. Malum auxit usura vorax, quae non semel Ecclesiae iudicio damnata, tamen hominibus avidis et quaestuosis per aliam speciem exercetur eadem: huc accedunt et conductio operum et rerum omnium commercia fere in paucorum redacta potestatem, ita ut opulenti ac praedivites perpauci prope servile iugum infinitae proletariorum multitudini imposuerint.

Ad huius sanationem mali *Socialistae* quidem, sollicitata egentium in locupletes invidia, evertere privatas bonorum possessiones contendunt oportere, earumque loco communia universis singulorum bona facere, procurantibus viris qui aut municipio praesint, aut totam rempublicam gerant. Eiusmodi translatione bonorum a privatis ad commune, mederi se posse praesenti malo arbitrantur, res et commoda inter cives aequabiliter

partiundo. Sed est adeo eorum ratio ad contentionem dirimendam inepta, ut ipsum opificum genus afficiat incommodo: eademque praeterea est valde iniusta, quia vim possessoribus legitimis affert, pervertit officia reipublicae, penitusque miscet civitates.

Sane, quod facile est pervidere, ipsius operae, quam suscipiunt qui in arte aliqua quaestuosa versantur, haec per se causa est, atque hic finis quo proxime spectat artifex, rem sibi quaerere privatoque iura possidere uti suam ac propriam. Is enim si vires, si industriam suam alteri commodat, hanc ob causam commodat ut res adipiscatur ad victum cultumque necessarias: ideoque ex opera data ius verum perfectumque sibi quaerit non modo exigendae mercedis, sed et collocandae uti velit. Ergo si tenuitate sumptuum quicquam ipse comparit, fructumque parsimoniae suae, quo tutior esse custodia possit, in praedio collocavit, profecto praedium istiusmodi nihil est aliud, quam merces ipsa aliam induta speciem: proptereaque coemptus sic opifici fundus, tam est in eius potestate futurus, quam parta labore merces. Sed in hoc plane, ut facile intelligitur, rerum dominium vel moventium vel solidarum consistit. In eo igitur quod bona privatorum transferre *Socialistae* ad commune nituntur, omnium mercenariorum faciunt conditionem deteriore, quippe quos, collocandae mercedis libertate sublata, hoc ipso augendae rei familiaris utilitatumque sibi comparandarum spe et facultate despoliant.

Verum, quod maius est, remedium proponunt cum iustitia aperte pugnans, quia possidere res privatim ut suas, ut est homini a natura datum. Revera hac etiam in re maxime inter hominem et genus interest animantium ceterarum. Non enim se ipsae regunt belluae, sed reguntur gubernanturque duplici naturae instinctu: qui tum custodiunt expectant in eis facultatem agendi, viresque opportune evolvunt, tum etiam singulos earum motus exsuscitant iidem et determinant. Altero instinctu ad se vitamque tuendam, altero ad conservationem generis ducuntur sui. Utrumque vero commode assequuntur earum verum usu quae adsunt, quaeque praesentes sunt: nec sane progredi longius possent, quia solo sensu moventur rebusque singularibus sensu perceptis. Longe alia hominis natura. Inest in eo tota simul ac perfecta vis naturae animantis, ideoque tributum ex hac parte homini est, certe non minus quam generi animantium omni, ut rerum corporearum fruatur bonis. Sed natura animans quantumvis cumulate possessa, tantum abest ut naturam circumscribat

humanam, ut multo sit humana natura inferior, et ad parendum huic obediendumque nata. Quod eminet atque excellit in nobis, quod homini tribuit ut homo sit, et a belluis differat genere toto, mens seu ratio est. Et ob hanc causam quod solum hoc animal est rationis particeps, bona homini tribuere necesse est non utenda solum, quod est omnium animantium commune, sed stabili perpetuoque iure possidenda, neque ea dumtaxat quae usu consumuntur, sed etiam quae, nobis utentibus, permanent.

Quod magis etiam apparet, si hominum in se natura altius spectetur. Homo enim cum innumerabilia ratione comprehendat, rebusque praesentibus adiungat atque annectat futuras, cumque actionum suarum sit ipse dominus, propterea sub lege aeterna, sub potestate omnia providentissime gubernantis Dei, se ipse gubernat providentia consilii sui: quamobrem in eius est potestate res eligere quas ad consulendum sibi non modo in praesens, sed etiam in reliquum tempus, maxime iudicet idoneas. Ex quo consequitur, ut in homine esse non modo terrenorum fructuum, sed ipsius terrae dominatum oporteat, quia e terrae fetu sibi res suppeditari videt ad futurum tempus necessarias. Habent cuiusque hominis necessitates velut perpetuos redditus ita ut hodie expletae, in crastinum nova imperent. Igitur rem quamdam debet homini natura dedisse stabilem perpetuoque mansuram, unde perennitas subsidii expectari posset. Atque istiusmodi perennitatem nulla res praestare, nisi cum ubertatibus suis terra, potest.

Neque est, cur providentia introducatur reipublicae: est enim homo, quam respublica, senior: quocirca ius ille suum ad vitam corpusque tuendum habere natura ante debuit quam civitas ulla coisset. Quod vero terram Deus universo generi hominum utendam, fruendam dederit, id quidem non potest ullo pacto privatis possessionibus obesse. Deus enim generi hominum donavisse terram in commune dicitur, non quod eis promiscuum apud omnes dominatum voluerit, sed quia partem nullam cuique assignavit possidendam, industriae hominum institutisque populorum permissa privatarum possessionum descriptione. Ceterum utcumque inter privatos distributa, inservire communi omnium utilitati terra non cessat, quoniam nemo est mortalium, quin alatur eo, quod agri efferunt. Qui re carent, suppleant opera: ita ut vere affirmari possit, universam comparandi victus cultusque rationem in labore consistere, quem quis vel in fundo insumat suo, vel in arte aliqua operosa, cuius merces tandem non aliunde, quam a multiplici terrae fetu ducitur, cum eoque permutatur.

Qua ex re rursus efficitur, privatas possessiones plane esse secundum naturam. Res enim eas, quae ad conservandam vitam maximeque ad perficiendam requiruntur, terra quidem cum magna largitate fundit, sed fundere ex se sine hominum cultu et curatione non posset. Iamvero cum in parandis naturae bonis industriam mentis viresque corporis homo insumat, hoc ipso applicat ad sese eam naturae corporeae partem, quam ipse percoluit, in qua velut formam quamdam personae suae impressam reliquit; ut omnino rectum esse oporteat, eam partem ab eo possideri uti suam, nec ullo modo ius ipsius violare cuiquam licere.

Horum tam perspicua vis est argumentorum, ut mirabile videatur, dissentire quosdam exoletarum opinionum restitutores: qui usum quidem soli, variosque praediorum fructus homini privato concedunt: at possideri ab eo ut domino vel solum, in quo aedificavit, vel praedium quod excoluit, plane ius esse negant. Quod cum negant, fraudatum iri partis suo labore rebus hominem, non vident. Ager quippe cultoris manu atque arte subactus habitum longe mutat: e silvestri frugifer, ex infecundo ferax efficitur. Quibus autem rebus est melior factus, illae sic solo inhaerent miscenturque penitus, ut maximam partem nullo pacto sint separabiles a solo. Atqui id quemquam potiri illoque perfrui, in quo alius desudavit, utrumne iustitia patiatur? Quo modo effectae res causam sequuntur a qua effectae sunt, sic operae fructum ad eos ipsos qui operam dederint, rectum est pertinere. Merito igitur universitas generis humani, dissentientibus paucorum opinionibus nihil admodum mota, studioseque naturam intuens, in ipsius lege naturae fundamentum reperit partitionis bonorum, possessionesque privatas, ut quae cum hominum natura pacatoque et tranquillo convictu maxime congruant, omnium saeculorum usu consecravit. Leges autem civiles, quae, cum iustae sunt, virtutem suam ab ipsa naturali lege ducunt, id ius, de quo loquimur, confirmant ac vi etiam adhibenda tuentur. Idem divinarum legum sanxit auctoritas, quae vel appetere alienum gravissime vetant. *Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui: non domum, non agrum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum et universa quae illius sunt.*¹

Iura vera istiusmodi, quae in hominibus insunt singulis, multo validiora intelliguntur esse si cum officiis hominum in convictu domestico apta et connexa spectentur. In deligendo genere vitae

¹ Deut. v. 21.

non est dubium, quin in potestate sit arbitrioque singulorum alterutrum malle, aut Iesu Christi sectari de virginitate consilium, aut maritali se vincolo obligare. Ius coniugii naturale ac primigenum homini adimere, caussamve nuptiarum praecipuam, Dei auctoritate initio constitutam, quoquo modo circumscribere lex hominum nulla potest. *Crescite et multiplicamini.*¹ En igitur familia, seu societas domestica, perparva illa quidem, sed vera societas, eademque omni civitate antiquior; cui propterea sua quaedam iura officiaque esse necesse est, quae minime pendeant a republica. Quod igitur demonstravimus, ius domini personis singularibus natura tributum, id transferri in hominem, qua caput est familiae, oportet: immo tanto ius est illud validius, quanto persona humana in convictu domestico plura complectitur. Sanctissima naturae lex est, ut victu omnique cultu paterfamilias tueatur, quos ipse procrearit: idemque illuc a natura ipsa deducitur, ut velit liberis suis, quippe qui paternam referunt et quodam modo producant personam, acquirere et parare, unde se honeste possint in ancipiti vitae cursu a misera fortuna defendere. Id vero efficere non alia ratione potest, nisi fructuosarum possessione rerum, quas ad liberos hereditate transmittat. Quemadmodum civitas, eodem modo familia, ut memoravimus, veri nominis societas est, quae potestate propria, hoc est paterna, regitur. Quamobrem, servatis utique finibus quos proxima eius causa praescripserit, in deligendis adhibendisque rebus incolumitati ac iustae libertati suae necessariis, familia quidem paria saltem cum societate civili iura obtinet. Paria saltem diximus, quia cum convictus domesticus et cogitatione sit e re prior, quam civilis coniunctio, priora quoque esse magisque naturalia iura eius officiaque consequitur. Quod si cives, si familiae, convictus humani societatisque participes factae, pro adiumento offensionem, pro tutela deminutionem iuris sui in republica reperirent, fastidiendius, quam optanda societas esset.

Velle igitur ut pervadat civile imperium arbitrato suo usque ad intima domorum, magnus ac perniciosus est error. Certe si qua forte familia in summa rerum difficultate consilii inopia versetur, ut inde se ipsa expedire nullo pacto possit, rectum est subveniri publice rebus extremis: sunt enim familiae singulae pars quaedam civitatis. Ac pari modo sicuti intra domesticos parietes gravis extiterit perturbatio iurium mutuorum, suum suique ius potestas publica vindicato: neque enim hoc est ad se

rapere iura civium, sed munire atque firmare iusta debitaque tutela. Hic tamen consistant necesse est, qui praesint rebus publicis: hos excedere fines natura non patitur. Patria potestas est eiusmodi, ut nec extingui, neque absorberi a republica possit, quia idem et commune habet cum ipsa hominum vita principium. *Filii sunt aliquid patris*, et velut paternae amplificatio quaedam personae: proprieque loqui si volumus, non ipsi per se, sed per communitatem domesticam, in qua generati sunt, civilem ineunt ac participant societatem. Atque hac ipsa de caussa, quod filii sunt *naturaliter aliquid patris*. . . *antequam usum liberi arbitrii habeant, continentur sub parentum cura*.¹ Quod igitur *Socialistae*, posthabita providentia parentum, introducunt providentiam reipublicae, faciunt, *contra iustitiam naturalem*, ac domorum compaginem dissolvunt.

Ac praeter iniustitiam, nimis etiam apparet qualis esset omnium ordinum commutatio perturbatioque, quam dura et odiosa servitus civium consecutura. Aditus ad invidentiam mutuam, ad obtrectationes et discordias patefieret: ademptis ingenio singulorum sollertiaeque stimulis, ipsi divitiarum fontes necessario exarescerent: eaque, quam fingunt cogitatione, aequabilitas, aliud revera non esset nisi omnium hominum aequae misera atque ignobilis, nullo discrimine, conditio. Ex quibus omnibus perspicitur, illud *Socialismi* placitum de possessionibus in commune redigendis omnino repudiari oportere, quia iis ipsis, quibus est opitulandum, nocet; naturalibus singulorum iuribus repugnat, officia reipublicae tranquillitatemque communem perturbat. Maneat ergo, cum plebi sublevatio quaeritur, hoc in primis haberi fundamenti instar oportere, privatas possessiones inviolate servandas. Quo posito, remedium, quod exquiritur, unde petendum sit, explicabimus.

[*His verbis finem pars prima habet. Continuabitur.*]

S. CONGREGATIO CAEREMONIALIS.

THE USE OF THE TUCHETTO AT A CEREMONY.

In comitiis ad Vaticanum habitis die 20 Maii 1890 inter caeteras quaestiones Sac. Congr. Caeremoniali ad dirimendum propositas actum est etiam, an *Em̃i* et *Rm̃i* DD. Cardinales, sive *Rm̃i* Episcopi et quotquot ex Indulto Apostolico gaudent usu

¹ S. Thom. II-II., Quaest. x, art. xii.

pileoli, sacro adsistentes, sive seorsim sive collegialiter, teneantur detegere caput ad cantum Sacri Evangelii et'dum thurificantur.

Emi Patres, re matura discussa, rescipserunt *affirmative*, atque ita omnino observari mandarunt,

RAPH. MONACO LA VALLETTA, Praefectus.

Aloisius Sinistri, a Secretis.

S. RITUM CONGREGATIO.

1. THE KEEPING OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IN OUTLYING CHURCHES.

2. THE KEEPING OF THE HOLY OILS IN THE PRIEST'S HOUSE.

COMPOSTELLANA

Rm̃us Dnus. Iosephus Maria Martin de Herrera et de la Iglesia, Archiepiscopus Compostellanus a Sacra Rituum Congregatione eorum quae sequuntur, opportunam declarationem expetivet, nimirum. I. Quum in pastorali Visitatione Orator ipse deprehenderit in multis filialibus Ecclesiis, seu Oratoriis, alicuius Paroeciae SSmam. Eucharistiam asservari, ubi Missa celebratur tantummodo vel Dominicis vel quando Sacrum Viaticum ad aegrotos ferendum desumitur; reliquum vero temporis spatium nemo illuc accedit, praeter sacristam ad alendam {lampadem, ianuis clausis ceteroquin manentibus: hinc quaeritur. An SSm̃um Eucharistiae Sacramentum in iisdem Ecclesiis ita servandum permitti possit? 2. In eadem Archidioecesi mos obtinet fere apud omnes paroecias ut Sacra Olea⁷ in domo ipsius Parochi, quae rure ab Ecclesia seiuncta est ac distat, servantur: quo in promptu habeantur pro infirmis. Potestne tolerari haec praxis praesertim in civitatibus, ubi Parochi domus Ecclesiae contigua est? Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, ita rescribere rata est, videlicet. Ad I. *Negative, nisi per aliquot diei horas aditus pateat Fidelibus SSmam. Eucharistiam visitare cupientibus*:—Ad II. *Detur Decretum in una⁷ Toletana diei 31 Augusti 1872 ad V.*

Atque ita declaravit et rescripsit die 15 Novembris 1890.

✠ Caj. Card. ALOYSI MASELLA, S. Cong. Praef.

Decretum praedictum in una Toletana.

Dubium V. Possunt Parochi retinere Sanctum Oleum Infirmorum in domo sua, eo quod extra Ecclesiam Parochialem habitent, non obstantibus Sacrae Rituum Congregationis decretis?

Ad V. *Negative* et servetur Decretum die 16 Decembris 1826, in Gandavensi ad III.

Decretum diei 16 Decembris 1826 in Gandavensi.

III. Facti species : " Sacerdotes Curam animarum exercentes pro sua commoditate apud se in domibus suis retinent Sanctum Oleum Infirmorum.

An attenta consuetudine, hanc praxim licite retinere valeant ?

Ad dubium unicum Quaesiti III. " Negative, et servetur Rituale Romanum, excepto tamen casu magnae distantiae ab Ecclesia ; quo in casu omnino servetur etiam domi Rubrica quoad honestam, et decentem, tutamque custodiam."

Notices of Books.

THE MINISTRY OF THE WORD. A Manual compiled for the use of the Students of the Royal Scots College, Valladolid. By the Rev. James M'Ginnes, Professor of Scholastic Philosophy and Sacred Eloquence in same College. Glasgow: Hugh Margey, Great Clyde-street. 1891.

THIS little book is not a scientific treatise on sacred eloquence. It is not, to use the writer's own words, "a treatise on rhetoric or belles-lettres." But it is much better. It is a practical treatise on preaching the Word of God. The office of teacher, which every priest having the care of souls is most strictly bound to discharge, is admittedly the most important office of the priesthood. The words of St. Paul: "Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel," show us the light in which he regarded this primary duty of every pastor. And as Christ sent St. Paul and the other Apostles, so did He come Himself, not to baptize, *Quamquam Jesus non baptizaret sed discipuli ejus*; not primarily to work miracles, but to preach to the people, *Exinde cœpit Jesus prædicare*. This same ministry of preaching and teaching every priest has entrusted to him the day he is appointed the spiritual guide of others. And woe to him if he discharge it not. *Vae enim mihi est si non evangelizavero*. Woe also to him if he discharge it negligently, or without that careful and intelligent preparation which the nature of the duty demands,

which God looks for from His ambassadors, and which the people whom He instructs have a right to expect. This duty being of so paramount importance, one would naturally expect that preparation for the proper discharge of it should hold a foremost place in the curriculum of every ecclesiastical college. We fear, however, that this is not so with regard to all such colleges. But that it is so in the Royal Scot's College, Valladolid, this admirable little book of Father M'Ginnes's abundantly proves.

"The manual is only a compilation; as such, is mine, and is defective; the things compiled are not mine, are good things, and worthy of study and imitation." Such is the writer's modest estimate of his work, to the latter part of which, whatever may be said of the former, we give our heartiest assent. Any priest who studies, and strives to imitate, what is contained in this manual will preach frequently, and must preach intelligently, interestingly, and fruitfully. "Unless a priest is a holy man," we heard remarked lately by a priest of great wisdom and experience, "not only will he not preach well, but he will not preach at all." This seems to be the opinion of Father M'Ginnes also, who insists on sanctity of life as the most essential quality for effective preaching. Hence he quotes approvingly these remarkable words of the Abbé Dubois:—"The conditions essential for good preaching are:—First, to pray fervently; second, to pray fervently; third, to pray fervently. Prayer will enkindle your zeal, and zeal will make you eloquent."

But in striving to fit themselves in this respect for the preaching of the Gospel, Father M'Ginnes would not have his readers neglect the cultivation of the natural faculties:—

"To be learned theologians," he says, "is not enough: *we must impart our knowledge to our people*; and the student who does not honestly labour to overcome the difficulties in the way of his becoming a fluent and effective speaker, and an intelligible, distinct reader, is crippling his future usefulness on the mission."

He insists strongly on the necessity of the priest being a good reader:—

"The priest on the mission is not only a preacher, he is also by his office a public reader. He has been ordained to this office (*lector*) by the Church, and he is bound to prepare himself for the becoming discharge of its duties. Distinct, intelligible, emphatic, public reading, '*optimum sane, sed eheu! rarrissimum,*' is necessary for a priest. Yet how few can read! and everyone imagines he can!"

How are priests to become good readers? or rather how are ecclesiastical students to be made good readers? Not by a special professor, replies our author quoting from Mgr. Dupanloup, but by every professor in every class.

"Professors . . . should never suffer negligent reading, false pronunciation, or vulgarisms of any kind to pass; these faults must be corrected *from the beginning, and in every class.*"

We commend this extract to the attention of all teachers and professors, whether in schools, seminaries, or colleges, to whose care is committed any portion of the education of aspirants to the ministry of the Word. And we commend, too, most earnestly this manual to every young priest, and to every candidate for the priesthood. It is clear, concise, and well written, and contains within one hundred and fifty pages rules sufficient to guide the young preacher, together with abundant reasons to convince him that the success of his labours, if not his salvation, depends on the manner in which he discharges this duty.

D. O'L.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE.

By Rev. William Hayden, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1891. Half-a-Crown.

THIS is the preface to Fr. Dunlevy's Irish and English Catechism, published during the Author's lifetime, at Paris, in 1742. As the editors of the second edition of that work omitted the preface altogether, and as the first edition had long become very scarce, Fr. Hayden, judging that such a specimen of classic Irish might be turned to good account, published it in an attractive form with the original text, the author's quaint and vigorous English translation, a vocabulary ample enough for the needs of learners, and some explanatory notes on the more difficult idioms. Fr. Dunlevy's style wants but very little of the purity of our last correct writers, the only evidences of decay being the needless use of some particles, and an occasional looseness in the application of certain verb forms. These the editor has animadverted upon, though, considering the havoc they afterwards wrought on the beautiful simplicity and perspicuity of the ancient system of accidence, it appears to us he might have dwelt with stronger insistence on the confusion arising from careless indulgence in these misleading and repellent errors.

This little book will admirably meet the design for which it

was published, namely, to serve as a stepping-stone for beginners between the elementary primers and difficult Irish prose; and as such it deserves every success. But who is responsible for its price? Exclusive of editorial matter and the writer's translation, it contains only fourteen pages of text, and is marked at half-a-crown. If the fault lies with the editor, his readiness to put another very dear book on the market squares awkwardly enough with the passage in his preface, wherein he deplores the "prohibitive" prices at which alone standard Irish books may now be had in Dublin. If, however, as may be suspected, this excessive price was fixed by those charged with the production of the little volume, it must be said their action, in thus discouraging the formation of a reading public, shows that they well deserve the severe strictures of a recent American contemporary for their lack of business enterprise and blindness to their own interests.

10MRAMH mic Sneadóigra agus mic Ríadla, leir an Ádair
Eógan O'Spáinná. Teat an Clóda, Át-Cliait, 1891. One
Penny.

IN pleasing contrast with the above, as far as price is concerned, is this little book of Fr. O'Growney's. It forms the first of a series which the editor has in contemplation for the purpose of bringing a knowledge of Old and Middle Irish masterpieces within the reach of all, by issuing them in versions so simplified as to be intelligible to readers of the modern language, and at a price that bears a fair proportion to the rate charged for English pamphlets of the same size. In these days of advertising and popular organization it is of first importance that the public be reached at once by some cheap, easily-disseminated medium; and the present, as far as we know, is the first practical step towards experiment in that direction for the spread of the Irish language. This system which he adopts of modernizing the ancient language, is the best way to build up a popular Irish style; the diffusiveness of the later diction, when moulded on to the severe framework of the old sentence, gives results as chastely Celtic and as undefiled by influence of English thought and mannerisms as the prose of Keating. Those who have marked what Fr. O'Growney's generous labours have already achieved for the revival of Irish literature, will not need the ample earnest of his powers furnished by the present publication to assure them that he possesses both the learning and ability requisite for the performance of this task,

What that task is may best be learned from his prospectus which we here set forth.

"The editor, if encouraged by the sale of this little booklet (copies 1*d.* each ; 12 copies free, any address, 1*s.* ; 50 copies do., 4*s.* 2*d.* or 1 dollar), will continue to publish, in a similar very cheap form, modernized versions of the *Voyage of Maelduin* and of the remaining *Iomramha*, and of other masterpieces of the old Gaelic prose literature. Orders direct to Rev. E. O'Growney, Ballynacargy, Westmeath."

R. H.

A REMINISCENCE OF THE PASSION PLAY AT OBER-AMMERGAU in 1890. By P. J. O'Reilly. London: Catholic Truth Society, 18, West Square, S.E.

THE Author of this handsome booklet treats his subject at once interestingly and naturally. He obviously spared no pains in equipping himself with the available materials for his work ; he shows an extensive acquaintance with the English-written accounts of the famous decennial drama, not merely as enacted in 1890, but also as historically viewed and chronicled since its inauguration in 1633. The performance itself and all its surroundings are examined and described from a practical and thoroughly Catholic standpoint. His narrative of the journey out is of absorbing interest ; and his style, which is uniformly elegant, is in places very picturesque. The illustrations are well-selected, and lend an additional interest to the work.

We can unhesitatingly recommend the *Reminiscence* as replete with information, and eminently readable, and as being as good a shilling's worth as our readers could invest in.

SELECTED SERMONS. By the Rev. Christopher Hughes, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Fall River, Mass. New York and Cincinnati : Fr. Pustet & Co. 1891.

THE *Selected Sermons* are twenty-five in number, of average length, and of much more than average merit. The language is clear and chaste, and in many places really eloquent, and in the treatment of his subject the preacher is careful to preserve that first quality of every good sermon—unity. The sermons give unmistakable evidence that their author possesses sound theological knowledge, great familiarity with Sacred Scripture, and a wide acquaintance with the facts of history both sacred and profane. In this collection are to be found specimens of nearly every kind of sermon, and to young preachers, at least, we can safely recommend many of them as models,

THE BLESSED SACRAMENT AND THE CHURCH OF ST. MARTIN AT LIEGE. By Dean Cruls. Translated by William S. Preston. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS is a history of the institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi, and of the development of the worship of the Blessed Sacrament consequent on the spread of this feast, together with an account of the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament at present practised at Liège, the birthplace of the feast. Brief biographical sketches are given of those who were chiefly instrumental in having the feast instituted. The most interesting of these sketches are those of St. Julienne de Cornillon, to whom our Lord first vouchsafed to reveal His wish that the feast should be instituted, and of her two friends, Eve of St. Martin's, and Isabelle of Huy. Mr. Preston deserves the thanks of the Catholic public in English-speaking countries for having put within their reach a history so interesting and instructive. His motive was a highly laudable one.

"I venture to say," he writes, "that comparatively few, even of the Catholics in our country, know the history of the origin and establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi; and if the perusal of this little book shall stir up the hearts of people to a more lively devotion towards Him who dwelleth on our altars, my object will have been accomplished."

THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF ST. THOMAS OF AQUIN. By Archbishop Vaughan, O.S.B. 'Abridged and Edited with Preface, by Dom Jerome Vaughan. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Company. 1890.

THE LIFE OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS. Edited by Father Pius Cavanagh, O.P. Illustrated. Same Publishers.

THE fact that both these "Lives" of the angelical doctor come to us from the same publishers is a sufficient proof either that they have different objects, or are intended for different classes of readers. The large work by the late Archbishop of Sydney, published in 1871-72, in two portly volumes, was for students and scholars, not for the general public. But in addition to "learned disquisitions on St. Thomas's method, and philosophical expositions of some of his more abstruse writings," which could not be omitted from a work pretending to deal with the "Labours"

of the saint, it contained so much that was interesting, instructive, and edifying for all classes of readers, that the author's brother, Dom Jerome Vaughan, undertook the task of abridging it. The first edition appeared in 1875, and was so favourably received that the present edition was called for a considerable time before it appeared. The learned editor says in his preface to the first edition :—

“In reducing the two volumes of the *Life and Labours of St. Thomas* to their present size, the editor has been guided by the principle of excluding all those chapters and portions of the work which only bear on the life of St. Thomas indirectly, but of scrupulously retaining all that belongs to what may be called his life proper.”

To this principle the editor has pretty closely adhered, though, with all respect for his better judgment, we venture to think that this abridgment would not suffer as a popular life of the saint if the chapters on the “Greek Philosophers,” “St. Thomas and Reason,” and “St. Thomas and Faith,” had been either excluded entirely or considerably cut down.

Father Cavanagh's “Life” is shorter, lighter, less learned, and therefore more popular. The sources from which he drew his facts and inspirations are according to himself “the eloquent and popular life of the saint by the Dominican, Père Joyau, and the rich mines of Tournon and Tocco.” We have no doubt, however, that the learned work of Archbishop Vaughan, either in its original form, or in the abridged form in which it is at present before us, was also consulted. Yet the writers differ in several details. Father Cavanagh is very precise as to the date of the saint's birth. According to him this event happened “either at the end of 1224, or during the first two months of 1225;” while, according to the archbishop, “most reliable authorities put it at the year 1227.” Again, in the “contest of humility” between St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure on the day on which the degree of doctor of theology was conferred on them, Father Cavanagh gives the victory to St. Bonaventure, the archbishop to St. Thomas. “St. Thomas had to yield,” writes the former, “in spite of being the youngest in age, and of St. Bonaventure's rank as General of his Order.” And the latter: “What they were unable to arrange between themselves was settled for them by their friends. Since St. Bonaventure was older than the angelical it was determined that he should be the first to occupy the post

of honour." Both authors give currency to the following anecdote about St. Thomas's infancy in almost the same words:—

"On one occasion his mother took him to the baths at Naples, and a small roll of paper appeared in his hand when they were preparing to bathe him. His nurse tried to take it from him, but he held it fast, and resisted with sobs and tears. His mother at last opened his hand, but finding the words *Ave Maria* written on the scroll, instantly gave it back. The child seized it eagerly and swallowed it—some say in imitation of Ezechiel the prophet."

Without questioning the prudence of retailing stories of this kind, we may venture to ask how an infant, still in the nurse's arms, even though that infant was the future angelic doctor, could have learned that Ezechiel eat a book? For if he swallowed the scroll *in imitation* of Ezechiel, he must have known that Ezechiel had done something similar.

D. O'L.

LIFE OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST. By an Ossory Priest.

Dublin: Duffy & Co.

THE month of June, in which the Baptist's chief festival occurs, is an appropriate time to call attention to this life of the saint. It is a book that should have a wide circulation, not only among those who are specially devoted to St. John, but among others who, without having chosen the Baptist as a special patron, cannot help feeling a deep interest in the story of his life.

Even from a natural point of view the life of St. John the Baptist is a most interesting study. His time was emphatically the era of revolution, a revolution such as never shall or can come again. Geology, biology, politics, philosophy—what is it that attracts us in the history of each of them so much as the great transition periods? Religion, too, has its eras of change, of which, surely, the greatest was that which was ushered in by St. John.

The life of the Baptist connects the Old and the New Dispensations; familiarizes us with the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Jews; introduces us to the higher rites of which those of the Temple were but shadows; above all, it tells us of the country in which Christ lived, of the people among whom He spent His days, their dwellings and customs, and thus enable us to understand more fully His own life and teaching.

Again, the life of St. John, from his miraculous conception to his martyrdom, was in itself of absorbing interest. And the biographer has a distinct advantage in that he has only to collect and reduce to form the materials that are supplied in the Gospels

by the Holy Ghost Himself. After our Lord, there is no other person mentioned in the New Testament of whom we are told so much therein as of St. John. St. Paul comes next ; but then we know little of St. Paul before his conversion, and the Bible record does not include his last years ; whereas of the Baptist we have a full account.

The writer of the *Life* before us makes use of this advantage so largely that it occurs to him that some might consider it a defect in his work.

“Some may be inclined to say that our attempt to give a history of St. John the Baptist is little more than a commentary on those passages from the Gospels in which there is mention of him. We have no objection to the charge, if made. We have very little means of knowing anything of the saint apart from what is said about him in the Gospels. In them, however, we have a considerably detailed and very beautiful account of his miraculous birth, of the office for which he was destined by heaven, and of the manner in which he discharged the duties appertaining to the office thus entrusted to him. We think, therefore, that we could not better perform the task we have undertaken than by quoting at full those parts of the Scripture that bear on the subject, and giving a true and correct explanation of them.”

Anyone who reads the *Life* will acknowledge that the biographer is correct in his views, and that his explanations of the Scripture texts are lucid without any of the parade of learning that is so well calculated to warn off the ordinary devout reader.

And this brings us back to the special reason why this book must be of great advantage to the faithful—it will enable them to relish the Bible account of our Lord Himself. Is it not a pity that our people do not read the Gospels more ? It is there that we come into personal contact, as it were, with the God-man, and that we learn to know and love Him. People tell us that they cannot make out the story ; they lack the knowledge of geography, and especially of Jewish things and customs, that would enable them to understand the Gospels separately, and then connect the four into a whole. As a preparation for such a study of the Gospels we can safely recommend this *Life of St. John* ; it contains much of the desired information ; it is written in a neat, simple style, and will serve as a very useful model of what must be done by those who wish to understand our Lord's own life.

W. M'DONALD.

THE BIRTHDAY BOOK OF THE SACRED HEART. Compiled by Vincent O'Brien. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, 1891.

THIS booklet, for which we have nothing but words of praise, is "a collection of maxims of the saints and servants of God in honour of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in prose and verse." Mr. O'Brien is to be congratulated as well on the piety which induced him to undertake the labour of its compilation, as on the extensive reading and exquisite taste of which the "maxims" he has selected bears testimony. There is a short but highly instructive preface from the graceful pen of Father M. Russell, S.J., which opens with the following words :—

"This little volume has the distinctive merit of being the first attempt to consecrate to the holiest of subjects a device of literary ingenuity which has of late become very popular. There is a large variety of birthday books, but hitherto none that could, with much propriety, be laid on the table of a convent reception-parlour."

The object of the booklet is twofold. First, to give for each of the three hundred and sixty-five days of the year one or more "maxims" referring to the Sacred Heart; and second, to give space opposite each "maxim" for the name of a friend whose birth-day corresponds with the date for which the "maxim" is put down. The maxims are selected from the very best sources, and as far as we have examined them, are replete with suggestiveness. The book admirably suits its purpose, and we sincerely hope that it will be preferred by Catholics to many non-religious, if not possibly irreligious, birthday books at present in circulation.

THE HOLY FACE OF JESUS. Adapted from the French of the Abbé J. B. Fourault, by the Sisters of the Divine Compassion. New York, &c., Benziger Brothers, 1891.

THIS is a series of thirty meditations on the Litany of the Holy Face. The Abbé Fourault, author of the original and larger work, was a priest of the Holy Face, and was distinguished for his zeal in propagating this justly popular devotion. The meditations, in their present form contain a complete summary of what is to be known and practised by the devout clients of the Holy Face.

IS ONE RELIGION AS GOOD AS ANOTHER? By the Rev. John M'Laughlin. 27th thousand.

ON the first appearance of this wonderful book, just four years ago, we were able to speak of it in terms of unstinted praise, and

to wish it God speed on its errand of enlightenment. The fact that in this short time it has reached the almost incredible circulation of twenty-seven thousand is a clear proof that we did not over-estimate its merits. If the intelligent study of it is keeping pace with the sale, it must already have done a very large amount of good. We beg again to recommend it. Those who have not yet read it should do so at once. It will form an invaluable antidote to the pernicious doctrines that have been scattered broadcast within the last few months. We would specially commend it to the attention of those Catholics who are willing to remain Catholics just so long as they are permitted to believe and to practise what they please.

D. O'L.

CONSIDERATIONES PRO REFORMATIONE VITAE IN USUM
SACERDOTUM. Conscripsit G. Roder, S.J. Editio Altera,
Friburgi Brisgoviae Sumptibus Herder.

It is sufficient to say of this little volume that it offers very practical means for attaining its end. It is intended by its author specially for the time of Retreats, in giving which he spent a great part of his life.

HOLY CROSS ABBEY AND THE CISTERCIAN ORDER IN IRELAND By Rev. D. Murphy, S.J.

AN interesting publication is announced by Father Denis Murphy, S.J., whom many of our readers will know as the author of *Cromwell in Ireland*. Among the MSS. in the possession of the Most Rev. Dr. Croke there is one in Latin containing a history of Holy Cross Abbey, County Tipperary, and biographical notices of the chief Irish Cistercians up to the middle of the seventeenth century. With the Archbishop's permission, Father Murphy is editing the MS., adding a translation and notes. The book, of nearly 400 pages, 4to., will contain also an Introduction dealing with the history of the Cistercian Order in Ireland, and supplementing the author's account of Holy Cross itself. The later history and present condition of the abbey are described, and a careful account is given of the Relic of the True Cross, to which the abbey owes its name, now in the keeping of the Ursulines of Blackrock. Several illustrations accompany the text.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1891.

LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN
HENRY NEWMAN, DURING HIS LIFE IN THE
ENGLISH CHURCH.¹

ALTHOUGH we have already heard, not only from both friend and foe, but also from his own pen, much concerning Cardinal Newman and his life, we venture to say that to few of our readers have these topics yet become wearisome; and we believe that these two volumes of letters, written whilst he was still an Anglican, will be welcome reading to our co-religionists. To some of the letters, no doubt, it may be objected that they are of mere local or ephemeral interest. Still, even here it would be difficult to decide which letters to omit. Many of no apparent importance, and which detract from the continuous flow of events, and distract the mind from the main incidents of Newman's life, may yet throw a side light on an obscure incident or an action which has been misunderstood; and for every word or line which enables us more fully to understand one who was, perhaps, the most fascinating and attractive personality of the age, we feel grateful. Independently of his writings, of his preaching, and of his high position in the Church, Newman, as an individual, has attracted, has puzzled, even has repelled, more than one generation of his fellow-countrymen; and the more intimately we become acquainted with him as a man,

¹ Edited by Anne Mozley. 2 Vols. London: Longmans. 1891.
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the better can we understand how it comes to pass that, whilst viewed differently by different classes of men, and at different periods of time, nevertheless to all he has been an object of interest or of curiosity.

We have already been allowed to study, with all the light he himself could throw on the question, the commencement, the development, and at length the fulfilment of the early feelings and experiences which caused the great change which in middle life took place in Newman's position. To that change it is owing that we are able to claim as our own, England's most powerful religious thinker, and one whose whole person commands so much respect, that his very presence amongst us was sufficient, with many minds, to dispel the unreasonable prejudice with which the Catholic Church was in past times regarded. The *Apologia*, however, was concerned entirely with "the history of my religious opinions;" and although it may be difficult, in this case, to disassociate the man from his opinions—so thoroughly was Newman's religion a part of and one with himself—still we learn much from these letters that is new, and therefore gladly welcome them as giving us a clearer knowledge of Cardinal Newman from his boyhood to the year 1845, the date when the Anglican Communion suffered the severest of the many losses it has had to deplore, and the Church added a devoted servant to her ranks.

From the opening chapter we learn Cardinal Newman's opinion that a more thorough knowledge of a man was to be obtained by the study of his letters than from any other source. "Biographers varnish, they assign motives, they conjecture feelings, they interpret Lord Burleigh's nods; but contemporary letters are facts," he tells us. With the exception of a short autobiographical sketch, which, beginning with his birth, carries us no further than 1832, these volumes are entirely composed of letters, and the short editorial links which are necessary to make them intelligible to the reader. The editor is fortunate in having from Cardinal Newman's own pen a certain law by which to select amongst his letters. Many years ago, when writing to a friend on the subject of the letters in Hurrell Froude's *Remains*, he tells us that,

although many may be criticised as being out of place, and for other reasons, yet on the whole they present "a picture of a mind." By this aim—viz., to bring Cardinal Newman before us as a whole—the editor, whilst using the letters as a record of a busy life, has desired to be guided. We, therefore, have a picture of Newman in every relation—as a son and a brother, as a friend and acquaintance, as a pupil and as a tutor; in many phases of character, in his temperament, in his impetuosity, in his tenderness—in fact, in all that constitutes his distinct and marked individuality.

That Cardinal Newman was far from indifferent to the history of his life, which was to take the place of a regular biography, is manifest from the care with which he selected both the letters which were to be published and the editor to whose care they were to be confided. Nothing seems to have been left to chance. In 1884, the papers were placed in Miss Mozley's hands, and, after a suitable choice had been made, they were returned to Cardinal Newman three years later. Although since that time other and important additions have been placed at the editor's disposal, yet these also had the cardinal's approval as forming part of the history of his life. We may, therefore, conclude that in these volumes we possess the letters which he himself considered characteristic of the writer, and which gave an authentic and trustworthy view of the stirring times in which he lived, and of the events which he played so great a part in producing.

That the history of his earlier years should be compiled and annotated by a Protestant, was Newman's not unnatural desire. His main object was, that a trustworthy history of the movement with which in early life he was connected, should be given to the world; and this, with the sincerest wish to do his best, we may safely assert, no born Catholic would have been able to compile. We believe no Catholic could place himself in imagination in the position of the Tractarian leaders, nor could one easily be found who would be able to sympathise with their vain effort to Catholicise the Establishment, or with the hope that by the mere and arbitrary charge of individual teaching, the Protestant religion of England could be converted into an integral

part of the Catholic Church. History written in an unsympathetic spirit, is rarely vivid history; nor, we may add, although all conscious misrepresentation be avoided, can it be a strictly truthful one. Essential truthfulness is of so subtle a nature that the slightest failure in grasping the true meaning of a position or the accuracy of a view, the slight misunderstanding of a word or a phrase, may produce so complete a misrepresentation, that absolute mis-statement could do no worse. That a Catholic should be able clearly to distinguish between what, in the phraseology of those days, was respectively styled "Catholic" and "Roman;" that he should be able to place himself in the position of those who, whilst wishing to be Catholic, yet "abominated" Rome, the Pope, and all his works, is well-nigh impossible. No doubt the ideal editor of Newman's letters would have been one who, whilst sharing his early errors, shared also his later awakening to the truth. But, as Miss Mozley truly observes, Newman outlived nearly all his contemporaries, and we have now to pay the penalty of having been allowed to keep him so long with us, by having to-day no one amongst his co-religionists, who whilst realizing the futility of Newman's early hopes, yet once himself was enslaved with the like.

In the volumes before us, Newman's Anglican life divides itself naturally into two portions, of very unequal length, so far as years are concerned, though the interest of the twelve years the record of which fills the second volume, may be said to surpass all that is contained in the thirty-two years which preceded them. In the first volume we have the story of his school and university life—this last both as an undergraduate and as a tutor and fellow of Oriel College—together with a graphic account of his travels in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, and of the fever which prostrated him in this last-named island. From his recovery from this illness he dates the start of a new life. On his return to England the Tractarian movement commences, and the second volume is concerned mainly with this phase of Oxford thought. At first the letters are joyous and triumphant in character. Then they sober into more critical tone, and

the disapproval he meets with in high quarters leavens all with distrust. Then, later on, follow sadness, anxiety, and anguish of mind, as he slowly realizes that he has been weaving ropes out of sand, and that his ideal of Catholicising the English Church has but landed him in the necessity of leaving her communion. With his reception into the Catholic Church, the present editor's task concludes.

Before placing Newman's autobiographical memoir before us, the editor has printed a few extracts from his writings, which, as they are probably the remembrances of his own early experiences, enable us to gather some idea of Newman's mind and feelings in childhood. From his first years he seems to have exhibited many of the characteristics with which in his after-life we are familiar. Thus, although in later years thoroughly chastened by self-control, it is not difficult to recognise the strong character of the man in the wilful child, who, in answer to his mother's remark after an infantine struggle for mastery, "You see, John, you did not get your way." "No," he answered, "but I tried very hard." Again, the sensitiveness which throughout his long life never left him, is discernable in the forlorn child of seven, who, when left at school by his parents, was found crying by his master. To cheer him up he suggested that he should join his school-fellows. To this he objected—his tears having no doubt been observed, and excited derision—"O sir, they will say such things! I can't help crying." On his master making light of it, "O sir, but they will, they will say all sorts of things:" and, taking his master's hand, "come and see for yourself," John led him into the crowded room, where, of course, under the circumstances, there was no teasing.

To his sensitiveness, which by some persons has been considered excessive, we should be disposed to attribute part of Newman's influence. It surrounded him, so to say, with feelers, which, whilst acutely influenced by all that approached him, put him in touch with the feelings of others, and enabled him to sympathise with their joys and sorrows, and to realize both with an accuracy which is rare. An affectionate man, and one who is keenly alive to every

gradation of feeling, both in himself and others—and this a sensitive vision will give—is sure to be a deeply sympathetic man. The very pain he himself experiences at coldness or disapproval will sound a note of warning, and enable him to deal with others otherwise than he himself has been dealt with. Such sensitiveness is like a sixth sense, a moral and mental sense of touch. To all, and more especially to the young, few qualities are more appealing than sympathy; and this, joined to his great intellectual gifts, his power of humour, his thorough truthfulness of nature and hatred of all unreality, created the personality which drew after him with such deep affection the hearts of his followers. Not that Newman objected to criticism. So long as it was unaccompanied by misunderstanding, he both courted and accepted it, and from many of these letters we see friendly criticism freely ventured on, and taken as a matter of course. He did, however, find it hard to be misunderstood; and on the delicate ground which he occupied during the last years of his Anglican ministry, misunderstanding was inevitable. Yet, when he suffered most from its chilling influence, he seems ever to have felt confident that, with fuller knowledge, his fellow-countrymen would do him justice—an anticipation which, it is consolatory to remember, even in his lifetime, was realized. The writing of the *Apologia* may have been a trying effort, but it quickly brought its reward, and since 1864, we venture to say, Newman has stood fairly with all honest Englishmen.

The scene at school which has led us into a digression on a marked characteristic of Newman's, took place at Ealing, at Dr. Nicholas' school, where he remained over eight years, and which he only left for the University.

Even at school, Newman already was addicted to literary composition, and tells us that he took much pains with his style. To writing and to books he devoted most of his play-time, and was rarely to be seen taking part in any game. From an early age he seems to have inspired his parents and all with whom he came in contact with confidence and even with respect; and these feelings deepened as years advanced. Thus later on, when, though still a very young

man, he was established at Oriel, his family chanced to be suffering from a period of anxiety which he also shared, his mother writes that throughout she had felt sure all would end well, and that she always began and ended every conversation with his father on the matter by saying: "I have no fear; John will manage." But, although all his tastes were innocent and his behaviour decorous, at the earlier time of which we write, there is nothing to show that in his boyhood Newman was particularly religious. Indeed, he seems hardly to have wished to be so. He writes: "I recollect, in 1815, I believe, thinking that I should like to be virtuous, but not religious. There was something in the latter idea I did not like." The great change, which he calls his "conversion," came about when he was fifteen, though we hear little of its cause or the immediate events which brought it about. The banking-house with which his father was connected stopped payment in 1816, and, as one result he remained at Dr. Nicholas' school for six months longer than had been intended. Of this change he writes:—"On my conversion, how the wisdom and goodness of God is discerned! I was going from school half a year sooner than I did. My staying arose from the 8th of March. Thereby I was left at school by myself, my friends gone away." Of the reality of this event and of its effects, his estimate through life remains unaltered. In 1864, in the *Apologia*, he writes: "Of the inward change of which I speak, I am still more certain than that I have hands and feet;" and again he testifies even more strongly in advanced old age:—"Of course, I cannot myself be the judge of myself; but, speaking with this reserve, I should say that it is difficult to realize or imagine the identity of the boy before and after August, 1816. . . I can look back at the end of seventy years as if on another person." From this date his mind seems to have been engrossed with the subjects that filled his after-life. Theology occupied his mind, and such cognate subjects as the appeal to conscience, searchings of heart and motives, and all that is nearly allied to our relations with God and the unseen world, in conduct, in intellect, and in will, became his absorbing and pervading interests.

As an example of the often apparently accidental nature of many of the most eventful issues in our lives, Newman relates that even at the last moment, when the post-chaise was at the door, his father was undecided as to whether he should order the horses' heads to be turned in the direction of Oxford or of Cambridge. Had the decision been otherwise, how different might not have been the results! On reaching Oxford, Mr. Newman had hoped to place his son at Exeter College; but finding no vacancy there, Newman matriculated at Trinity, and shortly afterwards came into residence. From his earlier letters, he seems to have felt the University a somewhat uncongenial home. He had come to Oxford hoping to find a great seat of learning; and yet, at first, assistance in learning seems not to have been easily obtained. Even in so simple a matter as being directed in his reading for the vacation, he found difficulties. On his applying to the president of his college for help, he was told that such matters were left to the tutors. On turning to the tutors, in the first instance, he obtained no help, only a recommendation elsewhere to some one who might assist him. He persevered, however, and was at length rewarded by the information he wanted. To an outsider, it would appear that, in such a matter, no youth ought to have been left to take the initiative, and that, far from having to seek direction, it ought to have been offered spontaneously. Nor were Newman's earlier experiences amongst his fellow-undergraduates much happier. Neither their wine parties nor their conversation were much after his taste. An acquaintance asked him to his rooms on one occasion, to take a glass of wine with a few others, and he writes:—"And they drank and drank all the time I was there. I was very glad that prayers came half an hour after I came to them, for I am sure I was not entertained with either their drinking or their conversation." One friend, however, he made in the earlier days of his residence at Trinity, and with him acquaintance deepened into a warm and lasting friendship. This was Mr. Bowden, who for the rest of his life—he died prematurely in 1844—was a constant correspondent and associate of Newman's. He himself never

became a Catholic—perhaps owing to the early date of his death, before Newman's own conversion; yet, as the Church during the last forty years, and still to-day, is indebted to his family for more than one highly-valued priest, this early friendship is worth recording. Had it never existed, the Church might not have numbered them amongst her children.

Mr. Bowden is the only undergraduate friend of whom we hear, and Newman's life was a very lonely one. He seems to have lived in his rooms, as he expresses it, like a hermit. Even so eventful a public incident as the death of Princess Charlotte only became known to him from a question of his tailor as to his requiring mourning. As we might expect, Newman studied hard, and he quickly secured a scholarship on the foundation of his own college. This was, however, the only university distinction which he gained during his career as an undergraduate. In spite of his assiduous and excessive reading—indeed, perhaps in consequence of its very excess—he broke down completely in his final examinations, and instead of taking the highest honours for which he had worked hard and had sanguine expectations of obtaining, his name only appeared in the lower division of the second class of classical honours. This unlooked-for failure was probably as much the result of physical as of mental causes. Newman was considerably younger than the ordinary age for taking a degree; he had over-read himself; and, being called up sooner than he expected, simply lost his head. He experienced a similar attack after a severe course of reading some years later, when he himself was an examiner. It obliged him to leave Oxford, and for a while to relinquish his office.

Newman's disappointment in the schools had an important effect on his life. His father had destined him for the bar, and had already entered his name at Lincoln's Inn. The failure to obtain high honours induced the father to consent to his son's change of a profession, and in 1821 Newman decided on taking Anglican orders. Some years would still elapse before his ordination; but he had his fellowship at Trinity, and could continue to reside at Oxford and take

pupils. He soon after, however, was able to obtain a permanent status in the university. An opportunity occurring, he decided on standing for a fellowship at Oriel College. This was an ambitious—he himself calls it an audacious—attempt for one who so far had little academical success of which to boast—a fellowship at Oriel being the object of ambition of all rising men at Oxford. He, himself, however, had never gauged his intellectual merits by his failure in the schools; he knew how accidental had been its cause, and did not now despair. As it is well-known, he succeeded, and thus found himself at an unusually early age occupying a high position in Oxford.

Newman ever felt the 12th April, 1822, the date of his election—to have been the turning-point in his life, and to the end remembered the day with thankfulness. A fellowship at Oriel gave him at once a competency and a status, and enabled him to join in the higher intellectual society of Oxford as an equal. It opened out for him a theological career, by bringing him into contact with the various schools of thought, whereby the religious sentiments which were now habitual to him were further developed and enlarged. He, himself, tells us that, in these days, he never wished for anything better or higher than “to live and die a fellow of Oriel.” Little did he foresee that he would live a religious and die a Cardinal of the Catholic Church.

In Newman's earlier days at Oriel, Whately, afterwards Protestant archbishop of Dublin, was the man who obtained the greatest influence with him. It appears that the older fellows at Oriel found their latest member somewhat difficult to get on with. Newman's extreme shyness stood in the way of easy intercourse, and increased the natural diffidence which he felt at finding himself at the age of one-and-twenty placed in a position of equality with men whom he so deeply revered. They, therefore, induced Whately to take him in hand and to break through his reserve, a task for which he was well adapted. He was a great talker, and his conversation was both lively and forcible, and well calculated to put a young man at his ease. Newman soon felt great affection for and gratitude to Whately, who,

on his side, shortly after their acquaintance began, complimented him on being the clearest-headed man he knew. For four years Newman was strongly influenced by Whately in theological questions, and his intimacy with him during this period was considerable. At the end of that time other influences came into play, and gradually, as their views diverged more and more, an alienation arose between the two, till in 1854 when Newman, then a Catholic priest, was in Dublin, and proposed calling on Archbishop Whately, it was intimated to him that his visit would not be acceptable. Newman himself, indeed, writes in 1833:—"As to poor Whately, it is melancholy. Of course, to know him now is impossible." So hot was the zeal of the young tractarian, to whom the idea of the importance of an orthodox faith came with the force of novelty! When once within the Church we see it mellowed so far as to allow himself to propose a visit to Whately, one of the many examples of the larger charity of Catholics in dealing with those of another communion, compared with that of Anglicans, in their intercourse with one another.

In 1824 Newman was ordained deacon, and took a curacy at St. Clement's in Oxford. This was an old church which required re-building, and the incumbent being aged, the energy of a younger man was required to collect funds for this purpose. Here Newman worked steadily for the next two years, remodelled the services, and was active in his parochial duties. He also succeeded in raising the £5,000 or £6,000 necessary for the new church, in which, however, he never ministered, as he relinquished his curacy on being appointed public tutor of his college in 1826.

Slowly but surely during these years a great change was coming over Newman's religious opinions. Since his "conversion" when fifteen, his views had been strictly Evangelical; but by degrees, partly in consequence of the atmosphere of the common room at Oriel, partly through his friendship with Pusey, Hawkins, and Hurrell Froude, these were changed. To Pusey, who was near his own age, he became greatly attached. At first, in writing of him, he uses the somewhat patronising phraseology which is not unusual with

Evangelicals when speaking of those outside their own narrow party. He hopes "he is Thine, O Lord," yet fears "he is greatly prejudiced against God's children," and then prays that "he may be brought into the true Church." Soon, however, his tone changes into genuine admiration, and a hope that he may have grace to imitate Pusey's humility, gentleness, and love. Hawkins was considerably Newman's senior. His views were similar to Pusey's, and chance throwing him much in contact at this time with Newman, his opinions were not without their influence. More strong than all, however, was the effect of his intercourse with Hurrell Froude, who became one of his greatest, if not his very dearest friend from 1826, when he was elected Fellow of Oriel. Of him he writes:—"He is one of the acutest and clearest and deepest men in the memory of man." They soon became extremely intimate, visited each other's families; and when, latter on, Froude's health required that he should winter in the south of Europe, Newman accompanied him and his father in the journey.

Two severe domestic sorrows befell Newman during the years of which we write. In 1824 he lost his father, to whom he was deeply attached, and still more bitter grief was the death of his bright young sister, Mary, in 1827. For her Newman seems to have felt a special affection, and nowhere else is the veil more lifted from his most intimate feelings, and on no other occasion are we allowed to sound their deep tenderness so fully as when he is writing of her loss. One of her letters to her brother, written shortly before her very sudden death, is given in these volumes—a happy mixture of respect, admiration, affection, and playfulness, from which we can well picture an engaging and charming girl. Her death is the subject of the touching poem headed, "Consolations in Bereavement;" and through life her image seems never to have faded from his vision. On his return to Oxford, after her death, he writes to another sister begging her carefully to note down all that she can remember about Mary; "her general character, and all the delightful things we can now recollect concerning her. Alas! memory does not remain vivid, and we shall else

forget it." In his solitary rides, whilst enjoying the first May beauty of the country, he writes: "Mary seems embodied in every tree, and hid behind every hill;" and, again, in November, he tells us he has learnt to find a special beauty in trees and swamps and fogs: "a solemn voice seems to chant from everywhere; I know whose voice it is—her dear voice. Her form is almost nightly before me, when I have put out the light and lain down." Newman's deep affection for his family is apparent throughout his letters, and both his father and his mother's death touched him nearly; but, in neither case does his grief so overwhelm him as at the premature death of his sweet Mary.

As years went by, and Newman was fully engaged in the work of a tutor at Oriel, a certain difference in opinion arose between him and Hawkins, who by this time was Provost of Oriel. Space forbids our entering into its details. Suffice it to say, it arose from a divergence in the view which Newman took of his relation to his pupils (he considering it of a very intimate and even spiritual nature) to that taken by the provost, who considered it merely an educational arrangement. Although this did not affect their united action all at once, the difference was sufficiently grave to make compromise impossible, and it ended by the provost practically depriving Newman of his office, by refusing to put any more pupils under his care. He continued to instruct those already entrusted to him, but by the vacation of 1832 they had taken their degree, and his tutorship was at an end.

Driven from ordinary work, and yet tied to Oxford by his position of vicar of Mary's (he had succeeded to this benefice), Newman on his return home took to work of another nature, and commenced issuing the eventful "Tracts for the Times." Humanly speaking, these would never have been commenced had he not been deprived of his tutorship; and of their importance to Newman and to the body to which he then belonged, it is unnecessary to speak. With the tracts began the change in the Established Religion which enables Anglicans not untruly to speak of our Catholic cardinal as the founder of the English Church as to-day we see it.

As we stated above, it was with Hurrell Froude and his father that Newman made his first experiences of foreign travel, and his letters home, mainly to his family, give a vivid account of his journeyings. His enjoyment of fresh scenes is extreme, and his description of his early days at sea, when he coasted down the western side of Europe, gives us a bright picture of sea and land, seen through the clear medium of a southern atmosphere, which enhances the beauty of both. They sailed to Gibraltar, from thence to Malta and the Greek islands, then back to Naples, and so to Rome.

It is gratifying to find that from the first Newman is able thoroughly to appreciate Rome. On the morning after his arrival he writes that it is the first city he has been able to admire—that, like Aaron's rod, it swallowed up all the admiration which in other cases is distributed among Naples, Valetta, and other towns. It is constantly described in his letters as a wonderful place. Once, when detailing the mingled feelings which at that date it aroused in him, feelings of reverence for the place of martyrdom and burial of the Apostles, and for the city to which England owes the blessing of the Gospel, but degraded to-day, as he thought, by superstitions introduced as essential parts of Christianity—he calls it “a cruel place.” In the remains of pagan Rome he sees specimens of the exertions of our great enemy against heaven: “The Coliseum is quite a tower of Babel.” From early prejudices—it can have been from no other cause, for so far he had never been brought in contact with Catholicism—he cannot divest himself of the idea that even Christian Rome is under a special shade, though he is obliged to own that her clergy are correct and decorous, and that Sunday is well observed. Evidently he sees nothing to confirm his idea, and for this reason, perhaps, he writes to his mother:—“As to the Roman Catholic system, I have ever detested it so much that I cannot detest it more by seeing it.” Finding nothing in Rome to change unreasoning aversion into thoughtful disapproval, he falls back on early prejudices as a means of reassuring his mother. He seems, in fact, to have regarded the ecclesiastical system of

Rome from the simple point of view of the ordinary English tourist, and dogmatizes as to the amount of fasting in practice amongst the Roman clergy, with an assumption of knowledge to which, in later days, he affixed the words, "this is nonsense."

However, as Hawthorn, a man of a very different stamp of genius, has well described, after a first visit, perhaps the full charm of Rome is only felt by a Protestant when he has turned his back on the Eternal City. When Newman returns to Naples his tone is changed. "How shall I describe the sadness with which I left the tomb of the Apostles!" he writes almost in Catholic words; "Rome has a part of my heart; and, in going away from it, I am as it were tearing it in twain." "Oh that Rome were not Rome," he exclaims in another place. We already hear the first note of his despairing poem, "Oh! that thy creed were sound," and his heart and his affections and his sympathies are already stirring in the direction whither he himself is destined to move. In Rome Newman parted from the Froudes, and proceeded alone to Sicily. Here, as is well known, he was prostrated by serious illness and fever which delayed his return to England for a considerable time.

Of Newman's interest in his own sensations and experiences we have a striking example in the vivid account of his illness which he wrote some years afterwards; it is sufficiently characteristic to deserve notice, especially as he ever looked on this fever as a turning-point in his life. Throughout its course, although conscious that those around him thought differently, he always felt sure he should recover. As he sat on his bed, weakened and prostrated by the fever, he reiterated that he should not die, as God had work for him in England; and his recovery he took as a special grace from God, which obliged him to consecrate his life still more emphatically to His undivided service. In one passage of deep interest Newman details his feelings, which are evidently made acutely active by the fever working in his blood. The very fact, however, of their vividness allows of their being put into words with a definiteness which else

might have eluded him. The sensation of hollowness which great souls will sometimes experience both in themselves and in all around them oppressed him greatly. He seems to have viewed himself as not really imbued with high truth and great principles, but as merely an intellectual medium through which they could be presented to others: "as a pane of glass which transmits heat, being cold itself." Keble, he thinks, states to him his convictions, and these Newman's intellectual capacity enables him to draw out, and to present to the world with rhetorical and histrionic power. Indeed, that he takes hold of truths as he might sing a pleasing tune, but as things outside himself, "loving the truth, but not possessing it; at heart hollow, with little love and little self-denial." Yet throughout he often repeats the words, "I have not sinned against light." Then he describes all the incidents of his fever—his faintings and weakness, his wilfulness, and yet his submissiveness to his servant. After these follow the joys of convalescence. From the village where he had been stricken down he travelled to Palermo as soon as he could move. Even to an ordinary traveller the beauty of the month of May in such a country is well-nigh intoxicating. The spring luxuriance was around him and on every side, the vines and fig-trees in their fresh green robes, the scent of orange-trees in full flower, the carpet of flowers below, the distant snow-topped mountains forming a fitting background to the bright and beautiful scene—"all was in tune with my reviving life." Even from his returning appetite he derives a pleasure beyond the mere gratification of a material sense. His tea and his broth gave him a sensation of ecstatic delight, and he exclaims, "It is life from the dead."

He ends the account of his illness with prophetic words. It was written in 1840, and at that date it must have seemed an event of little importance to any beyond his own immediate friends. Many another English traveller has been struck down with malarious fever, and in all cases the illness runs its course, brings its pains and subsequent pleasure with it. Why, in Newman's case, should it need recording? He says: "The thought keeps pressing on me

while I write this, what am I writing it for?" and then he adds, "Shall I ever have spiritual children who will take an interest?"

This question carries us over a long span of time since 1840; and half a century later, we can give it no unhesitating answer. We seem to see a multitude of men and women past numbering, who, perhaps differing widely in all else, yet here agree to take an *interest*. There are men of science who have reason to pause and ponder in their materializing course before the *interest* excited by one great mind—a mind whose simple faith in a spiritual world they cannot view with the contempt they might feel for that of a lesser intellect. Then we see sceptics who are driven to acknowledge that the mere fact of so great a man having bowed before God's revelation, adds to its supposed myths, at any rate, an intelligent *interest*. Again, we have earnest-minded Christians, who by God's inscrutable ways, are permitted whilst loving their Lord to deny all grace and truth to His Church, and who are yet arrested by and *interested* in a body to whose paramount and exclusive claims Newman yielded, and in which, flying from his own home and from his own people, he found rest and peace. And, lastly, amongst his own Communion, who is there who does not take an *interest*? First, in his own cloistered abode, we see a venerable and aged form surrounded by his "spiritual children," and to these every part, act, and word of their great father and friend is of the deepest *interest*. Then beyond, if we look at our churches, convents, and schools, at the beauty of our buildings, the richness of our services, and the devotion of our people, we may remember that much of all we see and admire is due to those on whom the gift of faith was bestowed as a result of the *interest* they took in Newman. They now strive to repay their own great gain by lavishing material splendour and deep devotion on the Church into which he led them; and in this they are nobly seconded by many, who although the faith came to them as their birthright, yet owe a more intelligent and spiritual acceptance of the same to the *interest* which he aroused in them. Thus, when Newman asks: "Shall I ever have in my old age

spiritual children who will take an interest?" we may answer: "Thy children shall be as the sands by the sea . . . and they shall rise up and call thee blessed."

Of the second half of Newman's Anglican life we hope to write on another occasion.

CECIL CLAYTON.

HISTORY OF THE CEREMONIAL OF HOLY MASS.

HOLY Mass, in its essence, was celebrated by our Divine Lord "on the night before He suffered;" but that He wore vestments, such as the priest offering Holy Mass in our days does, or that He said the same prayers (excepting, of course, the sacred words of consecration), or that He used the same gestures according to the rites and rubrics which the celebrant is bound nowadays to follow, seems as foreign to our thoughts, if not more so, than to our ears. The ceremonial of Holy Mass, therefore, has undergone change and development from time to time until it has become what we find it to-day. In the early ages of the Church, no doubt, ceremonial was used in the celebration of Holy Mass; but from records and from tradition it is certain that it was not identical in all points—the one sacred moment of consecration always excepted—with what we see at our altars.

It is quite unnecessary to remark, that change of ceremonial does not imply change of doctrine. The Catholic Church of to-day teaches the very same truth that the Divine Master taught, and in the selfsame words—that the bread by the words of consecration is changed into the body of Christ, and the wine into His precious blood; so that our Divine Lord might stand on the altar, and, looking to the sacred species after consecration, declare, "This is My body, this is My blood."

The Evangelists give us no detail of ceremonial, or very little. They state the fact that this adorable mystery took place. That was all that their duty when writing the holy Gospels demanded of them. It would be very interesting, indeed, to us to take up St. Mathew, for instance, and read there a detailed description of that last evening of the mortal life of our Lord—how it was spent, how He sat, what He said, how He introduced the feast, how it passed over, and what He did after; every look, every word, every action; just as we read, He told them that one should betray Him, and they being very much troubled began to say, “Is it I, Lord?” or, “Peter answering, said to Him, Though all men be scandalized in Thee, I will never be scandalized;” or with the same minuteness of detail that he describes the sacred agony in the Garden.

St. Mark is quite as reticent as St. Mathew.

From St. Luke, who describes with such circumstance of detail the beginning of our Divine Lord's life, we might expect some amplification. But no, the mystery in the upper room is related with much the same brevity. Yet how interesting the few details he does give—“*A man carrying a pitcher of water*” through the streets of the city; “*he will show you a large dining-room furnished;*” and that beautiful saying that in all times has won so many hearts, “*With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you before I suffer.*”

The beloved disciple has, indeed, a great deal about what took place in that “large dining-room;” “*He poureth water into a basin, and began to wash the feet of the disciples, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith He was girded;*” “*When Jesus had said these things, He was troubled in spirit, and He protested and said, Amen, amen, I say to you, that one of you shall betray Me;*” but of ceremonial, no detail whatever.

Finally, in St. Paul to the Corinthians (1 Ep. xi. 23-27) we have again the one adorable fact, but no circumstance of detail.

All the knowledge we obtain from the New Testament with regard to the ceremonial used by our Divine Lord may

be summed up in the one stanza of the beautiful hymn of St. Thomas Aquinas:—

“ In supremæ nocte coenæ,
Recumbens cum fratribus,
Observata lege plene,
Cibis in legalibus,
Cibum turbæ duodenæ,
Se dat suis manibus.”

In the *Dolorous Passion* of Sister Catherine Emmerich there is a chapter which, whatever may be thought of the mystical writings of that (seemingly) holy and very mortified nun, will at any rate impress the devout mind in an edifying manner:—

“ The table was narrow, and about half a foot higher than the knees of a man. In shape it resembled a horse shoe. . . . The paschal lamb was placed on a dish in the centre of the table . . . They ate in haste,” &c.

“ There has always been a tradition in the Church [says Dr. Gasquet¹], as St. Jerome and St. Nazianzen bear witness, that the Christian Church derived its services from the Synagogue.”

It was but fitting that so wonderful a mystery as the adorable mystery of Transubstantiation should have a ceremonial.

“ Si quid est in rebus humanis plane divinum [says Pope Urban VIII. in his Letter prefixed to every copy of the Missal], quod nobis superni cives (si in eos invidia caderet) invidere possent, id certe est sacrosanctum missæ sacrificium; cujus beneficio fit, ut homines quadam anticipatione possideant in terris coelum, dum ante oculos habent, et manibus contractant ipsum coeli terræque conditorem.”

Two things we read with regard to the Deity—one in the Old Testament, and one in the New—both typical of the several dispensations: “ And behold thunders began to be heard, and lightning to flash, and a very thick cloud to cover the mount, and the noise of the trumpet sounded exceeding loud; and all Mount Sinai was in a smoke, *because the Lord*

¹ See *Dublin Review*, April, 1890.

came down on it in fire, and the smoke arose from it as out of a furnace, and all the mount was terrible." (Exod. xix. 16-18.) "And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapping him in swaddling clothes, laid Him in a manger." (Luke ii. 7.)

Adorable and terrible as God indeed is, we see by the change from the law of fear to the law of grace how He desires to be approached, and by what rites and ceremonies He is to be surrounded and served in the Christian system. It is that of sweetness and meekness; and beautifully in all ages has the bride understood the wishes of the bridegroom, and interpreted them. Different times and different circumstances have made an outward change in the rites and ceremonial, but the spirit and the essence have always remained the same.

In the first centuries there were two things that prevented the expansion of the Church's ceremonial. These were the persecutions of the emperors and their officers, in the first place; and in the second, the fear of exposing the holiest and most adorable of mysteries to the ridicule or the blasphemy of the profane. This latter is known as the "discipline of the secret," *disciplina arcani*. Between those apostolic times and our day there were two halting-places at which great and lasting changes were made in the outer formula of the Church's worship: one was in the time of Pope Gregory the Great, the other was at the Council of Trent. These regulated the ceremonial of Holy Mass, as we now have it, and as it will be to the end of time in all probability.

It is in the very nature of the Church's constitution and tradition, as well as in the instinctive clinging of man to everything holy and venerable in the past, that we should have in our present ceremonial some of the prayers and rites of the apostolic times, and that some of those ceremonies which our priests to-day perform and exercise were consecrated by the very Apostles of the Lord, if not by the Lord Jesus Himself. St. Justin says:—"We Christians have learned the divine worship through the Apostles of Jesus, from the law and the word which have gone forth from

Jerusalem." (*Dial.*, cap. 110.) St. Justin lived during the second century, and ought to have known.

"Even such a cautious scholar as Dr. Lightfoot [writes Dr. Gasquet] was satisfied that in St. Clement's time—namely, the end of the first century—there must have been already not only a definite framework, but more or less uniformity in the substance and very language of the liturgical petitions."

Before the time of Pope Gregory there were, broadly, four great rites—the Alexandrian, the Roman, the Ambrosian, and the Hispano-Gallican or Mozarabic. Scholars and antiquarians spend a good deal of time, and usefully, in distinguishing the characteristics of these several rites; but for all purposes of usefulness for the general reader it will be sufficient to point out what Mass ordinarily in those early Christian times was like; that is, in its ceremonial.

Let us take the sacred words of consecration as our reckoning point. In the times of the persecutions, and in the Church of the catacombs, the ceremonial of Holy Mass, it is believed, consisted of little more than the consecration and the canon. This was due to the stress of the times in which the Church then existed. If the small but beautiful work of Cardinal Wiseman, *Fabiola*, be read with a careful eye, one will find in it many instructive and interesting details.

After emerging from the catacombs, and before obtaining religious freedom, the Church had to adapt its ceremonial again to the special necessities of the times. It was then that the unhappy lapses of her unfaithful children came to add its effect to that which the *disciplina arcani* had already made. In the earlier part of the Mass then there were the *Catechumens*, who were prevented assisting at the consecration by the rule of the *disciplina arcani*; these were therefore ordered by the deacon to leave the Church at an early stage. Next came the *Pentitents*, when certain prayers were said over them, in the responses to which all the faithful joined; they, too, were dismissed. Then began the *Oblata*, followed by the *Preface* and the *Canon*, somewhat substantially as we have them at present.

The ceremonial of Good Friday is looked upon as a relic

of those very early times, and answers, it is said, quite closely to what took place then.

It is very instructive to run through the parts of the Mass, and appoint their history and their time.

For the first psalm of the Mass, the *Judica*, it will be necessary to picture in imagination the old monasteries of the Middle Ages with their numerous community of monks. Leaving the sacristy in procession they chanted—and beautiful and appropriate it was—"Judge me, O God, and distinguish my cause," as they proceeded to the altar. The masses for the dead allowed none of the rejoicing expressed in this psalm, and as silence became the occasion they uttered not a word as they moved "solemn-paced and slow" between the bier and the altar. The Roman missal at the time of the revision looked on this psalm as so suitable that it adopted it.

The *Judica* is found in many mediæval missals, being probably derived from the Gallican Liturgy. It was generally recited as the celebrant went from the sacristy to the altar, but was recommended by Innocent III. to be said as at present."¹ The propriety of the *Confiteor* is at once evident. It is said to come down from the tenth or eleventh century.

The *Introit*, as the name implies, was something said or sung at the entrance of the priest. At first the *Introit* was sung by the choir while the sacred ministers were approaching the altar—as, for instance, is laid down in the missal on the Feast of the Purification before the blessing of the candles, and on Ash Wednesday before the blessing of the ashes. "The principal change," writes Dr. Gasquet, "in the *Introit* was that the celebrant came to recite these parts of the service *which were at first choral*. I suppose the custom began with private masses, and extended thence to all."

Of all the very ancient parts of the Mass that have remained to us, the prayer *Kyrie eleison*, solemn and pathetic, is among the most ancient. The very language—

Dr. Gasquet.

namely, the Greek—tells us at once how very venerable it must be. This touching prayer was spoken over the catechumens in the early ages and during the ceremonial of the Holy Mass. It was likewise implored on the unfortunate persons known then as “energumeni” or “possessed,” and priests and people alternately chanted *Kyrie eleison*—“Lord have mercy.” It was spoken also over those unbaptized who had completed their term of trial and their course of instruction, and who were therefore called “competentes;” and, finally, it was prayed over all those who had in an hour of weakness denied the faith, and had returned penitent to the doors of the Church to be received back again.

Over these several groups it was spoken, and an appropriate prayer added, as may be seen by recurring again to the Good Friday ceremonial. Now, when all these things had changed, when catechumens were no longer as in the old times, and penitents no longer, then the special prayers were dropped as being without a necessity, and “the void was filled,” says Dr. Gasquet, “by the *Gloria in excelsis* and the Collects.”

It is not known who is the author of the beautiful canticle *Gloria in excelsis*; but it is much more to the matter to recognise its beauty and piety. “At the *Gloria in excelsis*,” says Cardinal Bona, “the priest, struck with wonder that a sinner in a strange land dare sing the *canticle of the angels*, should add affections of praise, adoration, thanksgiving, love, hope, zeal for the glory of God.” “The *Gloria in excelsis*” says the author of the *Explanation of the Liturgy of the Mass*, “dates from the very origin of Christianity . . . Of all the forms of praise by which we attempt to express our homages to the Almighty, it is one of the finest specimens ever composed by man.”

To understand the history of the Collects we have again to look back to the early ages. The numerous prayers of those times were collected by Popes Gregory and Gelasius, and, reduced in number, were set on the altars almost in their present form. Two things rendered this change necessary. The period of the catechumens and energumens had passed away, and the roll of the canonized saints who were hence-

forward to be honoured at the altars had greatly increased. It is not easy to say from what motive they came to be called Collects; whether from the saying of our Divine Lord, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name," &c., or because the prayer is an abridgment of all that might be asked; but, as has been seen, in their conception or idea they are of apostolic origin.

Of the Epistle and Gospel, it need not be said, that they are of most ancient date in the ceremonial of Holy Mass. The catechumens, and all who were prevented from assisting at the sacred parts of the Mass, were allowed to wait until the Epistle and Gospel were read, and the usual discourse given. Between these a psalm was generally sung, our Gradual taking the place of it; or the portion of a psalm, as we have in Sundays of Lent. Two interesting things it is well to mention with regard to the Epistle and Gospel. Cardinal Bona says:—"A certain priest was accustomed to say that he daily attended two most eloquent and efficacious discourses, the Epistle and the Gospel, and used to listen to them as if Jesus Christ and the Apostles were present delivering them." The anonymous author of the *Liturgy of the Mass* says: "In the ages of faith, at the reading of the Gospel, the Knights of Malta, as also the once gallant Polish nobility, drew their swords from the scabbards, and stood in a military attitude, thereby testifying their readiness to shed their blood in defence of Christianity."

The Creed, as it presently stands, cannot be of apostolic times. There is no doubt about its age; the Council of Nice was held A.D. 325. At what time it was introduced into the Mass, or under what circumstances, we do not exactly know. Two things are probable—first, that some kind of common form of belief had been repeated either customarily or occasionally in the early times; and secondly, that this creed on account of the prevailing Arian heresy was inserted to take its place. There is always great merit in saying an Act of Faith, or repeating one of the Creeds. "By faith God requires of us to humble our *understandings* to His word, as by our external homage we humble our bodies to do Him reverence," says the author of the *Explanation*

of the *Liturgy of the Mass*. "The Creed was first brought into the Mass in the West by the Third Council of Toledo, in 589." (Dr. Gasquet.)

At the Offertory we reach the point where the Sacrifice really and truly begins.

"This part of the Liturgy rises greatly in importance over the preceding. This is properly the commencement of the Sacrifice. This is the moment in which the Church really begins to act, and to offer the victim. This may, in some degree, be considered an essential part of the Sacrifice. The more we approach the essential act of the Sacrifice, the more interesting does the matter become." (Author of the *Liturgy of the Mass*.)

Previous to this, in the early times, the catechumens and all others who were not allowed to assist at the secret parts of the Mass, were ordered to depart. This fact must have made it exceedingly solemn in the eyes of those who remained.

The act, which the priest now performs, is as ancient as the Church; but the prayer (at least in its present form), seems to be not older than the eleventh or twelfth century. "There were no fixed prayers at the Offertory until the twelfth century, the priest, before then, making the offering in silence." (Dr. Gasquet.) Those short but beautiful prayers, which the priest says at the Offertory, are taken from the missals used in Spain and in Gaul. "The prayer *In Spiritu humilitatis*, is extracted from a longer one composed by Azarias, one of the Three Children, whilst he was in the flames of the Babylonian furnace." (Card. Bona.) "These oblations of bread and wine, the priest ought to make with all possible fervour and devotion, as if he were the only priest in the whole world, and the salvation of every soul depended on that one mass." (*Idem*.) The prayer, *Orate fratres*, seems to have been very ancient; and from the nature of the prayer, it is what we might expect. The answer given to this prayer was different in different places and at different times. In some places the answer was—*Spiritus Sanctus supervenient in te, et virtus Altissimi obumbrabit tibi*. In the early times, the priest said *Orate fratres*, and nothing more, that being deemed sufficient.

Later on, that is towards the eighth century, the remainder of the prayer was added, as if for explanation. That most likely accounts for the priest saying, now, the words *Orate fratres* aloud, and the rest in secret. The author of *The Liturgy* has some beautiful thoughts on this prayer, and the accompanying action of the priest.

"The principal motive [he says] of the prayer *Orate fratres* is, that the nearer we approach the moment of the Sacrifice, the more necessary do prayer and recollection become. The priest will not again turn round to the people . . . because he is now entering upon the more solemn part of the Mass . . . and must not henceforth be distracted by turning away from this sacred object. When, therefore, the priest turns to the people for the last time . . . you may look upon him as taking leave of you, and entering into the Holy of Holies. Hitherto he has prayed like one of yourselves, standing in the midst of you . . . but now he separates from the people . . . and like Moses, leaving them at the foot of the mount, he ascends to converse with God alone."

Prefaces are of very ancient date, and were always variable. For one of the prefaces, that of a Sunday, we have, of course, the exact date given in the missal. About the time of St. Gregory, the prefaces had become so multiplied, that almost every mass had a special preface, as it had a special Gospel, or a special prayer. That great Pope, however, seeing the confusion that was arising from this fact, reduced them to their present number. "It is not easy to determine when, and under what influences, these parts of the Mass had their origin; but many of the collects and prefaces so closely resemble the thoughts and antithetical style of St. Leo, that we can hardly be wrong in ascribing them to him." (Dr. Gasquet.)

The word *preface* itself seems not to have changed its original meaning:—

"The preface is an introduction to the Sacred Canon [says the author of *The Liturgy of the Mass*, and then he continues most beautifully]; after the *Orate fratres*, we beheld the priest quitting the people, and entering the Holy of Holies, not to return thence till the mystery of our redemption should be consummated. Accordingly, in the Greek and Oriental Churches a curtain is then let to fall, which divides the sanctuary from the body of the

church ; and in the Western Church, it was formerly the custom to close the gates of the sanctuary before the preface, in order to announce the absence and separation of the priest from the rest of the faithful, while he is wrapt in holy communion with God, and honoured with His most intimate communications."

The *Sursum Corda*, according to St. Cyprian (*De Or. Dom.*, 31), was recited in his day, and received the same answer then as now—*Habemus ad Dominum*. This marks it as being very old.

"Then follows the preface [says Cardinal Bona], which is as it were the prologue to the Sacrifice. The Trisagion contains three songs of praise, and two of petition. First, the sanctity, power, and supreme dominion of God are told in the words—*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth*. Secondly, the glory which shines forth so conspicuously in so many of His creatures in heaven and on earth—*Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua*. Third, Christ our Lord is magnified in the words—*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*. The two petitions are contained in the double repetition of the words *Hosanna in Excelsis*. This hymn therefore is placed before the canon, to remind the priest that he stands before the throne of divine Majesty."

In the Canon of the Mass, we touch upon apostolic times. The word *canon* signifies a law or rule :—

"This part of the Mass is called the *canon* [says Card. Bona], that is, the rule which is observed in the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is composed, as the Council of Trent testifies, of the words of our Lord, of the traditions of the Apostles, and of the institutions of the Soverign Pontiffs."

We have at hand two ready means of corroborating the antiquity claimed for the canon. If we look to the names of the Apostles and martyrs mentioned in the prayer before the consecration, we find no names but the names of the Apostles and the very early Popes and martyrs ; in the prayer after the elevation, that contains the names of the Apostles and martyrs, we find, again, none but those who lived in the times of the Apostles, or immediately succeeding.

In the first list we find Peter and Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Matthew, and (linked together where one would expect to find Simon and Jude, as on the feast 28th Oct.) we find Simon and Thaddeus (or Timothy) ; then

the Popes Linus, Cletus, Clement; the martyrs Xystus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian.

In the second list we read—with John (what John this is, I cannot say, whether it is St. John the Evangelist, or John Mark, or some martyr named John); with Stephen, Matthias (evidently the Apostle selected into the place of Judas, though here written after Stephen), Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter; and the virgin martyrs, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecily, Anastasia; all early saints and martyrs.

If the canon were of the fourth or fifth century, it would have the saints of the third or fourth, in all probability.

Our second means of corroborating the antiquity claimed for the canon is found in the statements made in the lives of two of the early Popes. Of St. Gregory the Great, we read:—"Multa constituit . . . ut adderetur in canone *diesque nostros in tuæ pace disponas.*" (Rom. Brev., 12th March.) Of St. Leo I.:—"Statuit, ut in actione mysterii diceretur *sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.*" (*Ibid.*, 11th April.)

The interpolation of St. Gregory is found in the prayer *Hanc igitur*, before the consecration, and refers, perhaps, to the disturbances in the Church from the heresies of those times; that of St. Leo in the prayer *Supra quæ*, after the consecration, and rounds off the prayer in the style customary with that great writer.

Now, if these two phrases have been put into these prayers, then the prayers themselves existed before the times of these two Popes; for, otherwise they could not have inserted them.

"The Canon of the Mass must have undergone changes of uncertain extent [writes Dr. Gasquet] during the first two centuries after apostolic times. By the beginning of the fourth century it must have very nearly existed in its present shape (pseudo-Ambrose), and the few alterations which St. Gregory the Great made in it, left it fourteen hundred years ago the same as we have it now."¹

¹ *Dublin Review*, October, 1896.

At times, in the very early ages, the canon itself was shortened, in order to get over the holy ceremonies more quickly, and thereby escape detection. "It is the opinion of the older liturgiologists that, under stress of persecution, the Holy Sacrifice was offered in the early ages, *with merely the words of the Institution and the Lord's Prayer*."¹ Nor is it any derogation from its unchangeableness, that we find a special *Communicantes* for Christmas, for the Feast of the Epiphany, for Easter, for the Ascension, and for Pentecost. Substantially the canon is the same, and these special prayers are only the remains of the numerous ones, that existed before Pope St. Gregory's time.

It is to be borne in mind, with regard to the two mementoes of the living and of the dead, the Roman rite is the only one that has them separated; one before, and the other after, the consecration. The other rites, that is to say, the Oriental, the Alexandrian, and the Mozarabic, have them, we are told, after the consecration.

The Pax, too, which in the early Church was instituted for a twofold purpose, to typify the charity that existed among the members of the one body; and, secondly, as a means to recognise strangers, had its place, as its second object insinuates, before the commencement of the sacred mysteries; and in all the other rites it holds that place still. In ours, it need not be said, that its place in Solemn Mass is immediately before the Holy Communion, and following on the prayer *Dona nobis pacem*.

With regard to the elevation of the sacred elements, it is to be remembered that it was only at the time of Berengarius that the *major* elevation was ordered by the Church, in order that the faithful might adore our Divine Lord, who is really, truly, and substantially present in the sacred species. In the Greek Church the earlier custom, that is, of a *minor elevation*, still prevails.

In the prayer, *Per quem haec omnia*, before the Pater Noster, the words *sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, and praestas nobis*, are supposed to have referred originally, not to the

¹ Dr. Gasquet, *ibid*.

sacred species, but to new fruits which were laid on the altar at the moment. Anyone reading over the Holy Thursday service, where the bishop leaves the adorable elements on the altar, and goes down to a table to bless the holy oils, will understand how such things may, without irreverence, be interjected into the sacred service.

"It seems from the Gelasian Sacramentary [says Dr. Gasquet], that the words, *Per quem haec omnia . . . praeestas nobis*, were originally the end of a benediction of the new fruits of the spring. Many mediæval missals, too, direct that bread, oil, and other things should be blessed at this part of the Mass ; so that the custom of doing so must have long prevailed. This appears to give the original meaning of the words *haec omnia bona creas*, though there is no doubt that [as Le Brun urges], they are now very fitly applied to the Blessed Sacrament."¹

R. O. KENNEDY.

(To be continued.)

THE ORIGIN OF PLAIN-CHANT.

THERE has never been any period throughout the whole history of the human race which has not been inspirited and enlivened, solaced and consoled, by the harmony of melodious sounds. I do not mean to say that all nations, much less all individuals, are equally alive to the pleasures of music ; but in some form or other it is acceptable and pleasing, in a greater or less degree, to almost all men ; and it can safely be said, without fear of contradiction, that there is no more potent agency, in the natural order of things, to stir the soul of man, to arouse him to actions of a noble or ignoble kind, as the case may be ; to calm his irritation or incite him to fury ; to inspire him with anger, love, pride, hatred, contempt, and so forth, than the magic power of music. Such being the case, the Church of God, perceiving it to be a most efficacious means, when rightly used, to raise

¹ *Dublin Review*, April, 1890.

men's hearts to heaven, has introduced into her sanctuaries music of all kinds, vocal and instrumental, harmonized and unisonous, according to the needs and necessities of the times. But while encircling in her wide embrace all kinds and species of melody, there is one dearly cherished child which she presents to the congregation of the faithful as her own, which she herself has tenderly nurtured and brought to perfection ; in other words, the official music of the Western liturgies, the so-called Gregorian Chant.

Some months ago I had the pleasure of addressing a few remarks to the readers of the I. E. RECORD, on the subject of Church song. I will not, therefore, weary them by again going over the same ground, but will confine myself to a single point upon which I did not then touch, namely, from whence did the Church obtain the musical idiom embodied in the melodies of St. Gregory ?

A very interesting and valuable treatise, entitled *Le Chant Grégorien sa genèse et son développement*, and one which throws a considerable light on the above question, has lately been published by the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Tournay. We will, therefore, take as our guide in the inquiry which we are about to make in the following pages, the learned author of this work, Dom Laurent Janssens, of St. Benedict's Abbey, Maredsous, that stately Gothic pile, situated on one of the oak-crowned hills overlooking the valley of Montaigle, in the province of Namur, where Christian song and Christian art has found such a congenial habitation.

Divinely invested with the mission of restoring all things in Christ ("instaurare omnia in Christo"), the Church, the lawful heir of all antique culture, appears to us, from her very origin, as setting forth, with a breadth of view and divine comprehensiveness, truly admirable, to her great work of renovation. Jealous of repelling anyone from her bosom, of losing any of the treasure accumulated by humanity, she makes her own, as much as possible, the civilization of the diverse nations by which she finds herself surrounded. She borrows from the architecture in vogue the elements of her temples ; she adapts national costumes

to the exigencies of her worship ; she preaches Christ in the language of Jerusalem, of Athens, and of Rome ; she even goes so far as to combat the superstitious rites of an idolatrous worship, by liturgical ceremonies proper to remedy the radical evil with which they are polluted, while preserving at the same time all which they contain of the beautiful and the good.

Thus, for example, were instituted the Rogations, and the processions of the 25th of March and of Candlemas, in order thereby to combat the Ambarvalia in honour of Ceres, the Robigalia in honour of Robigus, and the Lupercalia in honour of Pan.

Faithful to the same principle, the Church does not hesitate to hymn Jehovah, Christ, and His Virgin Mother, in the same musical idiom which was wont to re-echo in honour of Jupiter, Apollo, and Cybele. With words such as these Dom Janssens closes the introduction to his work—words so concise and clear, clothing sentiments so broad and true, and at the same time so apt to the present inquiry, that my readers will pardon me for translating them *in extenso*, and almost literally.

It will, perhaps, be well, before going any further, to consider what was the nature of this antique musical idiom, of which Dom Janssens speaks, at the epoch when the Church thus assimilated it to herself, and made it her own. For ages the study of ancient Greek music was neglected and despised. This apathy on the part of modern artists in respect to the musical productions of a race whose master-pieces in poetry, eloquence, architecture, sculpture, and painting have never ceased to be the admiration of the civilized world, was, doubtless, to be attributed to the dearth of matter on which to set to work, the Greek musical compositions transmitted to us being both fragmentary in character, and limited in number. Thanks, however, to the labours of Vincent, Bellermand, Hermann, Boeck, Rossbach, &c., all this is a thing of the past, and we are at length beginning to have a more just appreciation of the music of the Hellenes. Without taking count of its archaic and rudimentary period, all record of which is lost in the

mist of ages, the history of Greek music may be divided into three great epochs :—

1. The period of formation, embracing about three hundred years, and extending from the first Olympiad, 776 B.C., to the advent of popular government at Athens.

2. The period of splendour, lasting for little over a century only, and ending with Alexander.

3. The period of decay, by far the longest of the three, bringing us down to the final overthrow of Greek art under Theodosius, A.D. 394, and covering nearly seven hundred and fifty years.

We will, later on, take a rapid glance at each of these periods, but before doing so it may be convenient, to make a few general observations on the modes and metres employed by the ancient Greeks, as well as on their method of notation. With regard to modes or fundamental scales, let it suffice to call to mind, that Greek music was enriched by no less than seven, far more essentially different one from another than the major and minor modes of modern music. Each scale began on one of the notes of the octave, and was diatonic, chromatic, or enharmonic, according as the tetrachords which composed them were made up of two tones and a semi-tone, of, a tone and a-half and two semi-tones, or of an interval of two tones and two quarter tones.

The enharmonic system is said to have been invented by Olympus, and was much in vogue during several centuries. The fact that such delicately-tinted music should have remained popular for so long, shows not only the extreme sensitiveness and accuracy of the Hellenic ear, but also what skill and *finesse* the ancient Greeks must have attained in the execution of their melodies. The following table gives the names of the various tones, together with the notes on which each scale began :—

- | | |
|----------------------|----|
| 1. Lydian..... | C. |
| 2. Phrygian..... | D. |
| 3. Dorian..... | E. |
| 4. Hypolydian..... | F. |
| 5. Hypophrygian..... | G. |
| 6. Hypodorian..... | A. |
| 7. Mixolydian..... | B. |

Of these seven modes, the Dorian (the Hellenic mode *par excellence*), the Phrygian, and the Lydian, were considered fundamental. Plato, however, only admits the two former in his *Republic*. Thus much for modes and scales : now as to metre.

In the early days of Greek art, the Hellenes followed no other rhythm than that of the number of syllables, combined with metrical accent. But later on, to this popular metre, called *Δημοτικός*, and derived from the metre of the Aryan or Indo-European tongues, succeeded a more refined rhythm, called for that reason *πολιτικός*, and based on the prosodial quantity of the syllable.

Treatises on Prosody tell us how, by diverse combinations of long and short syllables, were formed what were termed feet, the Hellenic equivalent to our bars. The short syllable was taken as the unit, and may be said to correspond to the crotchet, while the long syllable was regarded as being equal to two short syllables. But whereas modern music oscillates between tetrapody or groups of four bars, and infinite melody, without any systematic grouping, the Greeks delighted in all kinds of combinations, the feet being arranged in groups or verses, the Sapphic, the Asclepiadean, the Hexameter, and so forth, and the verses thus formed, being themselves also, in their turn, grouped together in diverse different ways. Thus arose that balanced disposition of the various musical members, that "Eurythmie" to which the Greek ear was so sensible ; more so, perhaps, than it is even possible for us, in the present day, to imagine.

The few fragments of ancient music, whether Greek or Roman, which still remain to us are of a didactic nature, in the form of theoretical examples, and in these the notation employed is almost exclusively alphabetic ; but in the arrangement of the order in which the letters were placed, the Greeks seem to have had two systems. The first consisted in applying the series of their letters to the diverse strings of their instruments, in the order of their relative importance. This method was used for instrumental music. The other system, which is of more recent date, and was reserved exclusively for vocal music, consisted

in taking the letters in alphabetical order, and in thus making them represent the different diatonic degrees of the scale, while for the non-diatonic intervals their form or position was modified.¹

The first period of Greek music saw the birth, among numerous other rhythmical combinations, of the Sapphic strophe, so common in the hymns of the Church: "Ecce surgentes, Ecce jam noctis" of St. Gregory the Great, for example, "Ut queant laxis, O nimis felix," and "Antra deserti" of Paul the Deacon, "Iste confessor," and so forth: developed the art of playing stringed and wind instruments, the former for the cultus of Apollo, the latter for that of Bacchus: created various different kinds of compositions which Plato classifies as hymns (*ᾠμος*), threnes (*θρῆνος*), including nuptial and funeral songs, paeans (*παίαν*), and dithyrambes (*διθύραμβος*); and lastly, instituted those great musical contests which had such a vast influence on the music of after ages, namely, the Carneia in honour of Apollo for the lyre, and the Pythia of Delphi for wind instruments.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the great minstrels of this epoch when poetry and music, hand in hand, found in an intimate union the secret of their marvellous force. But we must not omit to mention, alongside of the great lyric poets Anacreon, Simonides, and Pindar, and those princes of tragedy Æschylus, and the divine Sophocles, as Cicero calls him, the names of two women whose surpassing merit sheds a lustre on the age in which they dwelt—Sappho of Lesbos, the rival of Alcæus, and Corinna of Tanagra, the confidential friend and adviser of Pindar. Triumphant by the might of their genius over the prejudice of the times in which their lot was cast, and breaking through the trammels imposed by a society so unjust, and sometimes so cruel, to their sex, these two musician-poetesses stand, as it were, midway between the prophetesses of Israel and those devout women of the new law whose sweet notes have from time to time re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of Christendom. On the one hand, they recall from afar off Deborah and

¹ See Dom Pothier's *Les Melodies Gregoriennes*, chapter iii.

Miriam ; while, on the other, they seem to prelude the soft accents of Elpis and the harmonious charms of Hildegard.

The second epoch—that epoch which Plato wittily qualifies as theatrocratic—opens with Euripides, the successor of Sophocles, he whom Aristotle calls the most tragic of all the poets. Alongside of him flourished Aristophanes—that prince of the old comedy, as Quintilian calls him, and the first inventor of tetrameters. These two masters may be said to form the connecting link between the first and the second period.

The music of the age which we are now considering was, so to speak, less austere than that of the preceding epoch. Art began to sacrifice something of its purity, its rhythmic delicacy, to colour, to brilliance, to passion. The tendency was to mingle together in the same composition various metres and modes, and the use of the chromatic scale became more and more common. Owing in great measure to the musical contests of the Odëum at Athens, inaugurated by Pericles, instrumental music, in the *technique* of which incontestable progress had been made, sought to enlarge its sphere of action, while laudable efforts were made—too often, however, fruitless—for the production of grander and more powerful effects.

The music of this period was diversely appreciated by the best judges of the day. Plato, Pherecrates, and Aristophanes criticize it bitterly ; the great comedian, indeed, stigmatizes the new masters as executioners and torturers of melody ; but, on the other hand, Aristotle and Aristoxenus are no less loud in its praise, speaking of it with sympathy and respect. Whichever view was correct, there can be no doubt that many of the masters of this epoch were artists of eminent talent, and among these may be cited Aristoclide, Melanippides, Phrynis, Timotheus, called the prince of citharists, Philoxenus, and Telestes of Selinontus.

We have now reached the third and last period of Greek musical art. The barren efforts made during the second epoch to enlarge its sphere of action, interrupted, as it were, its upward flight, and neither the patronage of Alexander, nor the tentatives of Aristoxenus for its rehabilitation, nor

the conservatoire of Teos, nor the powerful impulse of the Alexandrian school, could infuse into Greek music new life and vigour. Nevertheless, it lingered on in an enfeebled and semi-moribund state until the last celebration of the Olympic games, in the tenth year of the reign of Theodosius, A.D. 394, when, so far as concerns Greece itself, Greek music may be said to have died. Transplanted, however, to Rome, where one last and unsuccessful effort was made for its restoration, the ancient music, though greatly fallen from its former lofty estate, still there reigned supreme when Christianity triumphantly entered the capital of the Cæsars.

Such was the music with which the Church found herself face to face, when after three centuries of bloody warfare she took possession of Rome. In what measure did she make this antique art her own? What modifications did she introduce in order to adapt it to the exigencies of her liturgy? These are the questions to which we are now about to turn.

In order to have a just appreciation of what the Church borrowed from Greco-Roman art, it is most important to distinguish clearly two elements in her liturgy—to wit, the text in prose, and the text in verse. For the latter she adapted the measured rhythm of Greco-Roman music; nevertheless she made of this no hard-and-fast rule, as show clearly the melodies which she employed later on for the “*Salve Sancta Parens*,” the “*Alma Redemptoris*,” the “*Salve jubete Deo*,” the “*Hic vir despiciens*,” and various others, the rhythm of which is oratorical only, albeit the texts themselves are hexameters. It should be further borne in mind that Catholic hymnody largely employed for her sacred texts the use of a rhythm based on metrical accent only, that species of verse which Horace speaks of as *Horridus Saturnius*, and which still remained popular alongside the prosodial rhythm. As to the non-measured portions of the liturgical text, for them the Church knew no other than an oratorical rhythm based on accent; and if we consider the origin of Christianity, and from whence came by far the larger part of the liturgy, it seems clear that Jewish art was, to a great extent, responsible for this innovation.

The continual chanting of the psalms alone could not but have infused a predominant taste for that free rhythm so loved of the singers of Israel, and doubtless more than one melodic cadence has passed from the synagogue to the agape (*ἀγάπη*), from the agape to the catacombs, and from the catacombs to the basilica. But this was not the only change which the Church introduced in order to adapt the music of antiquity to the needs of her liturgical offices. Two other important modifications were made. The first of a temporary and disciplinary nature only, but which, nevertheless, had a marked influence on the after-development of the liturgy, as we shall see later on; the second of a more intimate and absolute character.

The first of these two changes consisted in this, that every form of instrumental music was rigidly excluded from the sanctuary, and the voice of the faithful alone—that living harp, as Cassiodorus beautifully put it—supplied the place of musical instruments. Now, it was customary with the Greeks and Romans to open and close their compositions with instrumental music without the accompaniment of the human voice; often, too, especially in hymns and choruses, little interludes would be introduced by the orchestra alone, between the various strophes and divisions into which the composition was divided, and the application of this practice to purely vocal music resulted in the introduction of those antiphons which have ever since played such an important rôle in the liturgies of the Catholic Church. Repeated before and after the psalm, and thus serving as an introduction to the tone, the antiphon represented the instrumental prelude and finale of Greco-Roman music.

When in antiphonal singing it became a sort of refrain continually recurring throughout the psalm or canticle, examples of which the Church still retains in her liturgy—notably the “Invitatorium” at Matins, and the “Lumen ad revelationem gentium” of the feast of the Purification—it took the place of those instrumental interludes in which the musicians of ancient Greece and Rome delighted to show their skill.

Do the jubilations or pneumes in which plain-chant abounds owe their origin to the same source?

But to return to our theme, the second, and perhaps the most important, of the above-mentioned modifications, was the absolute and irrevocable return to the unique use of the diatonic scale. Græek art had, as we have seen, long ago laid aside its pristine austerity, and in proportion as it receded from its former grandeur and dignity the chromatic element advanced to the fore, continually making further and further encroachments.

Long ere this Pherecrates had made music complain "Melanippides has enervated me, and made me effeminate," while Dionysius of Halicarnassus reproaches the masters of his time, not only with having mingled together all the metres and all the modes, but even the diatonic, the chromatic, and the enharmonic scales. But the Church would have nothing of this relaxed and enfeebled style of music, and again taking up the more healthy traditions of the period anterior to Melanippides returned to the exclusive use of the diatonic system. But, after all, it was not so much the changes and modifications which the Church introduced, as the new life which she breathed into the dry bones of Greco-Roman art; that "spirituality," as Dom Janssens puts it, "uniting in itself the burning zeal of the seers of the old law, and the comprehensive sweetness of her divine Founder," which enabled the Church to utter those glorious melodies, so simple and *naïve*, and at the same time so full of ardour and so entrancing, that for nearly a thousand years they held Europe spell-bound by the ravishing sweetness of their harmony.

Thus purified from the dross and corruption of centuries, ennobled by religious sentiment, revived by the life-giving breath of divine charity, the music of Pagan Rome and Athens was at length transformed into the chant of the universal Church, and so became the bond of union, the connecting link between the music of antiquity and the music of to-day, without which Greco-Roman music could never have developed into that majestic flood of harmony which is the glory of these latter ages, without which the art of Pindar, of Euripides, and Sappho could never have engendered the music of Bach, of Palestrina, of Haydn, of Mendelssohn, of Wagner and of Liszt.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH,

CHURCHES IN THE EAST.

THE history of the Eastern Church forms at once some of the most brilliant as well as the most saddening pages in the general history of Christianity. The glories which the children of that Church won for themselves by the attitude they took during those early days when the faith they professed was a new and unknown faith—a faith preached not by the “wise” and “mighty,” but by twelve poor peasants from despised Galilee, and therefore one despised and sneered at by the trained intellects of the civilized world of those days, can never be forgotten. What the martyrs did at Rome, and wherever brute force endeavoured to crush out the spirit that was breathing a new life into a decaying world, in order to show the poor and lowly, the slave as well as his master, that there had come amongst men a new religion which recognised no distinction between Greek and Roman, between the conquered and the conqueror, between the slave and his master—that the children of the new faith in the countries of the East accomplished in the very domain wherein paganism believed itself impregnable—*i.e.*, learning and science for the great and the wise of those days. The very wisdom which the trained intellects of Athens and of Alexandria believed to be the heirloom and bulwark of paganism, became in the hands of the neophytes which the East gave unto Christianity the means, the arms, which finally destroyed paganism. The sneers and misrepresentations of Celsus, of Lucian, of Samosata, of Porphyrius, and later on of Proclus, and of Julian the Apostate, are only remembered to-day by the triumphant refutations which the Eastern Church put forth in support of Christianity. The names of Clement of Alexandria, of Origen, of Justin the Martyr, of Tatian the Syrian, of Cyril of Alexandria, and numberless others, are amongst the brightest stars in the intellectual firmament of early Christianity. Western Christianity has its own great names, but their sphere of action can scarcely be said to have lain in the battle of intellect against intellect—Christian sage against the

followers of Plato, of Aristotle, of Zeno, or of Epicurus. With the close of the fifth century the glory of the Eastern Church was at an end. Whatever names appear in the pages of its history after that period are but faint reflections of those of the preceding centuries, and are scarce remembered by the historian. They seem, as it were, pigmies following in the footsteps of giants.

It is not exactly necessary for the writer to point out the causes which led to this great falling off, in order to give a brief account of the history of that same Church; nor would the task of doing so satisfactorily be an easy one for the ecclesiastical historian. The object of the writer is rather to give a brief account of Christianity as it exists at the present day in the East; how it is divided; the number of its followers; its hierarchy or hierarchies, according to the number of sects into which the Eastern Church has shivered itself in the course of ages, both by schism as well as heresy—to place all that before the readers of the *I. E. RECORD*; but the efforts which are being made by Western Christianity to bring back to unity the separated branches of the great tree of Christianity will be treated of at another time.

It is impossible at this day to trace the causes which from the very dawn of Christianity seemed to divide the Church of Christ into two great bodies, viz., “East” and “West.” What might have seemed more probable and likely was, that if division there should be—not, indeed, as regards dogma or faith, but with regard to matters of liturgy, &c.—the Church should have been divided into as many sections as there were forms of liturgy instituted and practised by the various Apostles. Indeed it seems clear that each of the Twelve more or less practised a liturgy different from that of the others. Traces of such liturgies exist even to the present day in the practices of Churches which date their primitive founding back to the apostolic age; and the liturgies which exist both within as well as without the Catholic Church, even at the present day, are ascribed by all to one or other of the Apostles. However, this apparently natural division of the Christian Church became, in the course of time, a matter of secondary

importance, compared with that great division of East and West. Notwithstanding the very great importance to be attributed to the primacy bestowed by Christ Himself upon Peter, and for that reason naturally communicated by the latter to the Church which he personally founded, *i.e.*, the Church of Rome, still it would be far easier to account for the division of the Church into these great bodies, by the distinguishing characteristics marking off the children of the West from those of all the Churches of the East. Even this is unmistakably clear in the men whom both East and West produced, during the first couple of centuries, in defence of the common faith of both. At any rate, even without those distinguishing traits of the people which both East and West gathered into each other, the increasing greatness, the vastness of the countries where the banner of Imperial Rome floated, as well as the fervent zeal of her missionaries, made the Church of Peter completely overshadow any single Church founded by a single Apostle ; hence, in course of time, she became not merely a part of the Christian Church, but the half, the more important half. Whilst the various Churches in the East were scarcely able to plant the banner of the Crucified beyond the frontier of the Roman Empire in Asia Minor, Christian missions were beginning to flourish in countries in the West, where the banner of Imperial Rome was unknown. Indeed the words of Tertullian, *sanguis Martyrum, semen Christianorum*, seems to be applicable to the missions founded by the Church of Rome. Persecution in the Eastern Churches crushed rather than helped to propagate the new faith. And a mere glance at the facts which both present, even in our day, would make the statement but the clearer. Wherever Rome's missionaries went, wherever they preached, the faith that sprang up in the hearts of their hearers was such that it crushed out for ever every trace of the old religion. The Druidism of the Celts is but a name ; its very tenets and practices being now forgotten. The exact contrary happened in the East, and to-day the traveller can come across vestiges of creeds that to European minds died out centuries ago.

This distinction of East and West can scarcely be said to have been well-defined before the middle, or rather the close, of the fourth century. Each particular Church, following its own liturgy, having its own peculiar rights and practices, was far too weak to make its influence felt as a factor in the world of Christendom, especially when in contrast with the increasing importance of the Latin or Western Church. There was no one among the several Churches¹ in the East capable of leading the others, especially as a kind of barrier against what seemed even probable in the Latinizing of all Christendom. So the moment had scarcely arrived for such a union ere the East possessed a city which should rival Rome. The founding of Constantinople decided the matter: and the historian is hardly at a loss to account for the unanimity with which the prelates of the entire East who met at the second Œcumenical Council, held in the "New Rome," decided upon raising that city to a rank that would place it on a level with that of the capital of the Western Empire, and make its patriarchs representatives of the entire Eastern Church. Notwithstanding the rejection of the fourteenth² canon of that Council, in which it was decreed that, "*the Bishop of Constantinople shall take his rank next to the Bishop of Rome*"—notwithstanding the rejection of that canon by the entire Western Church, and its formal rejection a second time when again inserted in the decrees published by the fourth Œcumenical Council, held at Chalcedon (451), by Leo the Great, to whom the decrees of that Council were brought for confirmation,³ it was quite clear to all that sooner or later the East would—at least

¹ Though the term *Eastern Church* is oftentimes used to denote the entire body of Christians living in the East, and in liturgy differing from those in the West, so used, however, it is vague. For not one "Church" alone, as the term is used in these pages—i.e., a nation or body of Christians having a liturgy peculiarly their own—but many "Churches" existed there from the beginning; though it is true that in the course of time the Patriarchate of Constantinople arrogated to itself, and to all using its liturgy, the exclusive title of the "Eastern Church."

² Canon iii., is also to the same effect. Confer. Alzog, *Church History*, vol. i., pp. 385, 427, and 465; also Harduin, i., ii.

³ Confer. Alzog, *ut supra*.

in rivalry with the West—be united under the leadership of the patriarchs of Constantinople. Events, however, were then taking place in the East which rendered the aimed-at leadership more or less nugatory. Both Arianism and semi-Arianism, though lingering in many parts of Christendom during the fifth century, may be said to have been practically swept away at the close of the fourth century. The embers, however, remained, and unfortunately, were sufficiently warm to arouse the zeal of the East in the intellectual combats that were being still thereupon held. It was, in fact, the disputes which arose out of the lingering embers of that heresy that rent the Eastern Church into these factions which it is divided into, even to the present hour, and which finally crushed out every vestige of the heresy that logically was parent to those that arose in opposition to it.

The first tokens of a real split occurring in the Eastern Church are met with during the early part of the fifth century. This was the heresy and schism of Nestorius. Educated in the famed theological school of Antioch—a school whose principles were in a great measure untrammelled with these of the Neo-Platonism of the Alexandrian—the active mind of Nestorius instantly saw in the Arian heresy the fruit of the allegorizing exegesis of the Alexandrians, as well as the utterly inadequate idea of the Incarnation or Redemption presented by that theory. He, therefore, began to construct a new one that would, as he believed, fully explain the matter; and in this attempt went to the exact opposite of the other. Arianism was *destructive*; the new theory *constructive*. Arianism defined what Christ was *not*; Nestorianism attempted to explain *what He was*. Perhaps for this reason the followers of Nestorius have been able to hold together as a Church even to the present day.

Nestorianism, as is well known, was condemned by the Council of Ephesus (431); but it did not decrease on that account. It was taken up and defended by some of the leading minds of the theological school of Antioch;² and it

² This theological school was founded by Lucian, a priest of Antioch, towards the close of the third century. Its object was to free Biblical exegesis from the allegorizing method of the Alexandrian School. Conf. Alzog, vol. i., page 270.

appears that the heresy went eastwards, and was largely embraced by the Christians in Mesopotamia, Persia, and along the confines of the Chinese Empire. It appears that, according to old traditions, St. Thomas the Apostle preached the Gospel in all these countries; hence the Christians therein called themselves Christians of St. Thomas, and had, as they have to-day, a very ancient liturgy attributed by them to the Apostle. They are also called Chaldeans, because their head-quarters have always been in Chaldea or modern Mesopotamia. At the present day they are far from being the important sect they once were. They are to be found only in small numbers, principally in Southern Armenia and along the western frontier of Persia. They are, however, to be met with in a few cities in Syria; but elsewhere, in Asia Minor and Palestine, they are nowhere numerous enough to form even a small community. Like all other ancient Churches having a particular liturgy, they are, at present, divided into two classes. Some of them have renounced their errors, and are in union with the Catholic Church. In the East these latter arrogate to themselves exclusively the title Chaldeans, and call their quondam co-religionists simply Nestorians. Both bodies are ruled by their respective patriarchs, each calling himself patriarch of Ctesiphon and Babylon. Both reside at Mosul. The Catholic, or united section, have also an archbishop at Diarbekir in Kurdistan, besides a few bishops, whose titles are rather honorary than effective. The entire number of Catholic Chaldeans can scarcely be said to surpass the number of 10,000, and of the Nestorian Chaldeans it is rather exaggeration than the opposite to put their number at 100,000.¹ Such, then, is all that now remains of a Church whose children in former times spread themselves over the entire continent of Asia, preaching the Gospel in the wilds of Tibet, and even in the interior of the Chinese Empire.

The heresy of Nestorius had scarcely sprung into existence when it found opponents equally daring, equally

¹ Confer. *Condition of the Population of Asia Minor and Syria*, published by Her Majesty's Government, 1881.

courageous in their attacks upon it, as had been Nestorius himself in his opposition to everything that had the appearance of Arianism. Throughout the length and breadth of the entire East, Nestorianism found opposition. The fight, however, was entered into in real earnest by a monk of Constantinople, named Eutyches. Equally intent upon a constructive theory as regards the nature of Christ, as was Nestorius, against whom he now led off the fight, he boldly advanced the principle, that if the teaching of Nestorius, who would deny the divine nature of the Son of Mary, be false, it necessarily follows that, as it is prohibited to admit two Christs, there can be only "one" in every sense; and, consequently, the Flesh which the Godhead assumed in the Womb of Mary became a part, so to speak, of the Divine Essence. Hence the name of Monophysites.

It is remarkable to consider the rapidity with which this theory spread throughout the East. It was quite natural that the teaching should find advocates in the theological school¹ of Alexandria; and, as a matter of fact, the patriarch Dioscorus, who succeeded St. Cyril in that see (444) became one of its most strenuous advocates, and by his influence it spread throughout the length and breadth of Egypt. It is easy to explain how this new theory should have found advocates in Alexandria. The Neo-Platonism of the Alexandrian School was always inclined to the doctrine of "Emanation"—a doctrine that was essentially pantheistic in its tendencies. And if Monophysitism may seem, at first sight, the extreme opposite of Arianism, it is, in very truth, an equally just conclusion drawn from the same equally false principle.

The heresy was likewise spread in Palestine² by agents of

¹ This celebrated school owes its origin to Pantænus (flor. 180), who had been converted from paganism. As the greater number of its first adherents, previous to their conversion, had been trained up in the principles of Neo-Platonism—especially its second master, Clemens Alexandrinus (*obit.* 217)—the whole tendency of its principles was to harmonize the philosophy of Greece with Christianity, and thus facilitate the conversion of those imbued with the principles of the philosophy of Greece. (Alzog, vol. i., page 260.)

² Confer. Leontii, *Hierosolymit. Contr. Monophysit.*, in Gallandus, tom. xii.; also Alzog, vol. i., *Universal Church History*, pp. 428, &c.

the Alexandrian School, and in a short time the whole of the country seemed to be infected with Monophysite principles. From Syria Eutychianism spread to Armenia, and so great was the torrent that the efforts of the Council of Chalcedon (451) were able to produce but little reaction. In Syria, however, as will be seen later on, a reaction did take place; but, unfortunately, to be followed by a movement that gave a stability to the Monophysites there that has enabled their Church to exist even to to-day. Such then was the field in which the Monophysite heresy had been sown during the fifth century, and ever since then it has retained its primitive limits. There were, therefore, three distinct races as well as liturgies, or rather Churches having distinct liturgies, contaminated with Monophysitism, viz., the Armenian Church, the Church of Syria, and that of old Egypt.³ The Armenians, according to their own traditions, were converted to Christianity by the preaching of St. Thaddeus, to whom they ascribe their present liturgy. This liturgy was, however, somewhat modified by St. Basil (329-379); and it is in this modified form that it is used at the present day. However, the one of all others who laboured most effectually in the conversion of Armenia was St. Gregory the Illuminator (fl. 320), and to this day the greater part of the Armenians go by the name of "Gregorians." Century after century various attempts were mutually made by the Western Church as well as by the Armenian towards a re-union; but the effects were but transient. At the Council of Lyons (1274) a union was effected with the Western Church through the influence of some of their bishops as well as their king. The kingdom of Armenia was utterly destroyed ere the close of the fourteenth century by the Tartars, and after them by the Osmanlis; and their exiled king, the last of his race, Leo de Lusignan, died at Paris, 1393.

³ Christianity was introduced into Egypt by St. Mark, who gave the Church its liturgy. This liturgy was afterwards superseded in the See of Alexandria by that of Constantinople; but the majority of the Egyptians clung to the old liturgy. They still go by the name of Copts, which was their former title.

The Eutychian Armenians number in all Asia Minor about 4,000,000. Those who are in union with the Catholic Church, or the Catholic Armenians, may number about 300,000. The number given by his Eminence the late Cardinal Hassoun, in reply to the British Government,¹ would place the number of these latter, in the vilayets of Van, Diarbekir, Kharpoot, where they number most, at 60,000. Probably, including all Asia Minor, they number near 800,000. The Eutychian Armenians are governed by three patriarchs, and two catholicos, or archbishops. The patriarchates are Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Sis in Cilicia. There are about fifty episcopal sees, the principal being in Armenia, and a few in Syria. The Catholic Armenians have but one patriarch, who continually resides at Constantinople. There is an archbishop resident at Diarbekir; and bishoprics at Yusgat, Broussa, Trebizond, Adana, Erzeroum, and a few other places, besides Aleppo, in Syria.

Another Church which had become infected with the heresy of Eutyches was that of Syria. This Church, though in a great measure separated from the Church of Christendom, ranks as one of the oldest and most venerable in history. Founded by St. James the Less, to whom, according to well-authenticated traditions, is due its liturgy, it ranked during the first few centuries as one of the most influential in Christendom. Within its confines were the famous theological schools of Cæsarea—this latter founded by Origen himself, and of Antioch. Its glory was, however, destined to fade away when the germs of Monophysitism had begun to eat into its very heart. For nigh a century after the breaking out of the Eutychian heresy, the Syrian Church presented but one continued scene of violence, both friend as well as foe of Monophysitism resolving to remain within the Catholic Church. The fifth Œcumenical Council, held at Constantinople (553), drove the Monophysites farther than ever beyond the pale of Catholicity; and it was at this

¹ Confer. *Condition of Population of Asia Minor*, published by Her Majesty's Government. London, 1881. Page 99.

very time that Jacob Baradai,¹ who, when a monk at Antioch, had been driven from there on account of his adhesion to the heresy, and at this time through intrigue had been made bishop of Edessa, left his diocese, and preaching Monophysitism in Syria, Armenia, and Egypt, sought to unite all the followers of Eutyches in one body. He succeeded, however, in establishing the apostate Syrian Church on a firm basis. From him the Syrian Eutychians are, in the East, called even now Jacobites.

As with the Armenians, attempts have been made at various times to win the Syrian Church back to unity; but the results that arose from such attempts were always transitory; and at present the great majority of the Syrians are separated from the Catholic Church. The only places outside Syria and Palestine—in fact, Asia Minor—where Jacobites are at present to be found are Malabar, alongside S.W. coast of Hindostan, and the island of Ceylon, in both of which small congregations are still in existence, though their entire number scarcely reach 20,000. These are also quite independent of the Syrian Jacobites, from whom they are descended. The entire number of Jacobites in Asia Minor scarcely reach 100,000.² The Catholic part of the Syrian Church is equally unimportant, and its numbers may *possibly* reach 30,000.³ The liturgy of both branches of the Syrian Church is the same, it being in old Syriac. As regards hierarchy or Church government, both have as their respective spiritual heads a patriarch of Antioch. The Jacobite patriarch generally resides in a monastery near Mardin, a city some miles from Diarbekir. The Jacobites, moreover, have an archbishop at Mosul, and bishops in Damascus and Diarbekir, as well as in a few other places in Asia Minor.

¹ Confer. Assemani, "Dissert. de Syris Jacobit.," in *Bibliothec. Oriental*, tom. iii.

² Vide *Condition of the Population of Asia Minor and Syria*, published by Her Majesty's Government. London, 1881. Number there given as being in vilayet of Kurdistan is 12,000. Other vilayets contain each a few thousand. By counting females, 100,000 may be found in *all* Asia Minor.

³ Vide *Ecclesiastical Gazette*. Vienna, 1853. N.B.—All statistics about population in Turkey are, at most, merely approximative.

The patriarch of the Catholic Syrians resides in Aleppo, and these latter have likewise bishoprics with small congregations in Mardin, Damascus, Diarbekir, and Mosul. There are likewise a few communities of Catholic Syrians in Malabar, and these recognise the spiritual jurisdiction of the Catholic Syrian patriarch of Asia Minor. Another section of the Monophysite Church is that of the Copts,¹ with whom on account of similarity of dogma and liturgy, as well by reason of an intermingling of the two, are classed the Abyssinian Christians.

The Copts, who appear to be the lineal descendants of the old Egyptians, owe their conversion to Christianity to St. Mark, who was the first bishop in the patriarchal See of Alexandria, and gave to the Coptic Church its liturgy. The establishment of the celebrated theological school in the City of Alexandria, in a great measure weakened the Coptic or native element there in favour of the Greek; so much so, that, upon the breaking out of the Monophysite heresy, the two divided both with regard to dogma and liturgy. St. Cyril of Alexandria (*obit.* 441) at the moment of the breaking out in his See of the new heresy, introduced there, in order to bring about a closer union of the Catholic part of the Eastern Church as opposed to the growing factions, the liturgy of the Church of Constantinople, or that of the so-called Greek Church. The same happened in the patriarchal Sees of Jerusalem and Antioch. The Monophysite Copts, however, held to the old liturgy. These Copts, even to the present day, call themselves Jacobites, after Jacob Baradai, though this title is pre-eminently given to the Monophysites of the Syrian Church. The Copts, at the present day, are by no means numerous; though, throughout all Egypt, almost every town contains a small community of them. They may number about 100,000; some, however, state that they reach 200,000. This is hardly probable, or includes many who should not be classed with the Copts. About six or eight thousand are called United Copts; these

¹ Confer. *Historia Coptor. Christian., Arabice et Latine Scripta.* Ed. Wetzer. Salzburg, 1828.

being in union with the Catholic Church, and have given up all opinions contrary to Catholic teaching. They retain, however, the old Coptic liturgy. The patriarch of the Monophysite Copts takes his title from Alexandria, yet resides near Cairo. He appoints the Abouna or Spiritual Head of the Abyssinian Church.

The Catholic Copts have but one bishopric, embracing all Egypt. The office is now vacant, and the Catholic Copts are governed by a Prefect Apostolic, the Rev. Fr. Zenebie, O.S.F., who resides at Cairo.

The only section of the Eastern Church that embraced for any length of time the heresy of Monothelism—which is really but a modified form of Monophysitism—was the Maronite. In a certain sense the Monothelite heresy caused more disturbance in the Christian Church than either Nestorianism or Eutychianism, and during its ferment the world saw the strange sight of Imperial decrees on dogma! However, before the close of the seventh century the sole adherents of Monothelism were to be found in the wilds of the Lebanon. The origin of the name Maronite is variously explained; the Maronites themselves deriving it from a St. Maro who lived in the Lebanon during the latter part of the fifth century. At the time when the Crusaders had penetrated into the plains of Syria, a movement towards unity with the Western Church took place among the Maronites. Difficulties arose at the time, and the union was not immediately effected. Latin monks from Jerusalem went amongst them from time to time, and the complete return of the Maronite Church and nation was effected at the Council of Florence. From that day to the present the Maronites have never wavered in their allegiance to Rome. Their liturgy is almost identical with that of the Syrian Church. They use azyme, however, and do not, like the Greeks, administer the chalice.

The hierarchy of the Maronite Church consists of a patriarch who lives at Kasruan in the Lebanon, and not far from Beyrout, and several bishoprics. The principal of these, besides a number of village dioceses in the Lebanon, are Beyrout, Damascus, Cyprus, and Aleppo. A peculiar feature

of the Maronite Church, is, that amongst all the sections of the Eastern Church in union with the Catholic Church of the West, it is at present the sole one where the practice of a celibate clergy is not strictly in force; however, of late, a strong tendency in that direction is quite apparent, and probably ere long a non-celebrate clergy, even among the Maronites, will be a thing of the past.

Such, then, were the Churches which had severed themselves from the Church of the East ere the close of the seventh century. The patriarchate of Constantinople, which for centuries had been aspiring to a supremacy over the East equal to that which the Church of Rome enjoyed over all Europe, at length saw that hoped-for supremacy rejected by half the East, and its authority recognised only where its liturgy had been, in the course of time, introduced.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

(*To be continued.*)

THE BLESSED EDMUND CAMPION'S "HISTORY OF IRELAND" AND ITS CRITICS.

WHILE the blessed Edmund Campion was compiling his *History of Ireland*, in 1571, he wrote a letter from Trowey, near Dublin, on the 19th March, to James Stanihurst, the worshipful Recorder of Dublin. In it he says:—

"Great is the fruit which I gather both from your affection and esteem; from your affection, that in these hard days you are as careful of me as if I had sprung, like Minerva from Jupiter, out of your head; from your esteem, because, when I was well-nigh turned out from house and home, you considered me worthy not only of your hospitality but of your love . . . It was your generosity and goodness to receive a stranger and foreigner into your house; to keep me all these months on the fat of the land; to look after my health as carefully as after that of your son Richard¹ who deserves all your love; to furnish me with all

¹ Richard was the father of two Jesuits, William and Peter Stanihurst.

conveniences of place, time, and company, as the occasion arose ; to supply me with books ; to make such provision for my time of study, that, away from my rooms at Oxford I never read more pleasantly. After this one would think there was nothing more to come. But there was more. As soon as you heard the first rustlings of the storm, which was sure to blow to a hurricane if I stayed longer in sight of the heretics at Dublin, you opened to me this secret hiding-place among your country friends. Till now I had to thank you for conveniences ; now I have to thank you for my safety and my breath. Yes, breath is the word ; for those who strive with the persecutors are commonly thrust into dismal dungeons, where they draw in filthy fogs, and are not allowed to breathe wholesome air. But now, through you and your children's kindness, I shall live, please God, more free from this peril, and, my mind tells me, most happily. First of all, your friend, Barnwall, is profuse in his promises. When he had read your letter he was sorry for the hardness of the times, but was as glad of my coming as if I had done him a great favour. As he had to go to Dublin, he commended me to his wife, who treated me most kindly. She is surely a very religious and modest woman. I was shut up in a convenient place within an inner chamber, where I was reconciled to my books. With these companions I lie concealed in my cell."

On the same day he wrote to Richard Stanihurst :—

"It is hard that, however grateful I feel, I cannot show it. But I know you neither need nor desire repayment ; so I only give you my wishes for the present ; the rest when I get back to the land of the living. Meanwhile, if these buried relics have any flavour of the old Campion, their flavour is for you ; they are at your service. I am infinitely obliged to you and your brother Walter for the pains you lately took on my behalf. Seriously, I owe you much. I have nothing to write about, unless you have time and inclination to laugh. Tell me—you say nothing. Listen, then. The day after I came here I sat down to read ; suddenly there broke into my chamber a poor old woman, who wanted to set things to rights ; she saw me on her left hand, and knowing nothing about me, she thought I was a ghost. Her hair stood on end, her colour fled, her jaw fell, she was struck dumb. 'What is the matter ?' I asked. Frightened to death she almost fainted ; she could not speak a word ; all she could do was to throw herself out of the room. She could not rest till she had told her mistress that there was some hideous thing, she thought a ghost, writing in the garret. The story was told at supper time, the old woman was sent for and made to tell her fright ; everybody died of laughing, and I proved to be alive and no ghost."¹

¹ Simpson's *Life of Edmund Campion*, page 39.

As Campion, while writing his *Irish History*, was taken for a *hideous thing* by the poor old woman, so, alas! that *History* has been held up as a hideous thing by learned and sober Irishmen from Dr. Keating,¹ in the seventeenth century, to Dr. Kelly² of Maynooth in our own times. For the last forty years I have often heard it spoken of, and always in terms of the severest censure, and during this Whitsuntide of 1891 I have heard it denounced by an Irish gentleman in presence of a learned Neapolitan who had lived a long time in America, and of an Englishman who had been educated at Oxford. It is sad that one, a blessed martyr, who should be so dear to all the children of the Catholic Church, is thus ignorantly and lightly misrepresented. Against such rash and unfounded statements I will produce the *History* to speak for itself; for as Stanihurst says, "Maister Campion did learn it to speak."

I. THE CRITICS.

Its first critic was Barnaby Rich, gent, the most bigoted and mendacious, perhaps, of all the English who have meddled with Irish history. In his descriptions of Ireland³ he says:—

"I think Ireland to be in nothing more unfortunate than in this, that her history was never undertaken to be truly set forth but by Papists such as Cambrensis, Campion, and Stanihurst. I need not describe this man, Campion, any further, for his end made trial of his honesty . . . These lying authorities engender ignorance, and nothing hath more led the Irish into error than the historiographers, chroniclers, bards and rhymers, who, at this day, do feed and delight them in speaking and writing with matter that flatters their ungracious humours."

Hence, according to Rich, Campion was a Papist and a Catholic martyr; and, therefore, a false witness who fed and delighted and flattered the ungracious humours of the Irish.

The learned Irish historian, Geoffry Keating, agrees with the Englishman in calling Campion a liar and a forger, but

¹ Preface to Keating's *History of Ireland*.

² In his edition of *Cambrensis eversus*, ii., page 364.

³ *Rare Books*, published between 1610 and 1624.

for the very opposite reason that he never praises the virtues of the Irish, but libels the whole country. Rich is "a lewd liar," beneath notice; but what are we to say of Keating, who mislaid his memory and his temper when speaking of our author? We must attribute the base and baseless statements he has written about the blessed Edmund Campion, not to malice, but to ignorance. This worthy man ends his preface¹ by saying: "Let the reader excuse me if I have chanced to go out of the way in anything I have said in this book; since, if there is anything reprehensible in it, it is not from malice it proceeds, but from ignorance (*aineolus*)."

We excuse him; but what "ignorance" he betrays in the following statements about Campion:—

"There is not an English historian who has treated of Ireland that did not endeavour to vilify and calumniate both the old English settlers and the Irish. Of this we have proof in the account of Cambrensis . . . Campion, and every other English writer who seem to imitate the beetle, which, when it raises its head in summer, flies about without stooping to the fragrant flowers or blossoms of the garden, even to the rose or lily, but bustles about, until at length it rolls and buries itself in the dung of some horse or cow, wherever it meets with it . . . They never think of the good and virtuous deeds of the old English or Irish nobility, or speak of their piety and valour; what monasteries they founded, what lands and endowments they have given to the Church, what immunities they granted to the ollamhs or learned doctors, their bounty to ecclesiastics, the relief they afforded to the orphans and the poor, their hospitalities to strangers . . . *Nothing of all this* is noticed by the English writers of the time . . . Whoever would undertake to make a short survey of the rude manners, and investigate the defects of the lower orders of the people, would easily fill a volume; for there is no country without its low rabble; yet the whole country is not to be libelled on that account. And since Mergsen, in speaking of the Irish, acted in this manner, I think it not just to esteem him as an historian; and of Campion I say the same.²

Now let us confront this with what Campion writes.
1. He says:—

"The Irish are religious, frank, sufferable of pains, infinite, very glorious, excellent horsemen, passing in hospitality,

¹ *Irish History*, page cxi., ed. Halliday.

² Keating, pp. ix., lxiii.

wonderful, kind; such mirrors of holiness and austerity that other nations retain but a show or shadow of comparison of them; greedy of praise they are, and fearful of dishonour; they esteem their poets, and bountifully reward them; they tenderly love their foster-children, whereby they nourish a friendship so beneficial in every way. They are sharp-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any study, constant in labour, adventurous, kind-hearted; there is daily trial of good natures among them, to what rare gifts of grace and wisdom they do and have aspired. Clear men they are of skin and hue; their women are well-favoured, clear-coloured, big and large. They honour devout friars and pilgrims, suffer them to pass quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatever outrage they show to the country beside them; for the Irish are in no way outrageous against holy men," &c.

2. He mentions the foundation of eleven monasteries or abbeys, one of which was established by *the good King of Ergall*; he tells how another man was a benefactor to every church and religious house twenty miles around him, and gave legacies to the poor and others; he praises James Butler for that of all vices he most abhorred the sin of the flesh, and in subduing the same gave notable example; he says that in the time of King John the mightiest Irish captains did stick together while their lives lasted, and for no manner of earthly thing slack the defence of their ancient liberty; he states that the Irish coursed the English into a narrow circuit, termed the Pale, out of which they durst not peep; he calls Birmingham a warrior incomparable; and so hanged was he, a knight among thousands odd and singular. He praises, exalts the virtues and the extraordinary charity to the poor, of even Shane O'Neill. Kildare was a mighty-made man, full of honour and courage; in government a mild man; to his enemies intractable, open; a warrior incomparable. Ormond was nothing inferior to him in stomach, and in reach of policy was far beyond him; of much moderation in speech; dangerous of every little wrinkle that touched his reputation. The Countess of Ormond, a sister of Kildare's, was a lady of such post that all the estates of the realm crouched unto her; so politic that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice; manlike, and tall in stature, very rich and bountiful. He tells how the beautiful Irish striplings slew Turgesius and his guard, and that out flew the fame

thereof; and the Irish princes, nothing dull to catch hold of such advantage, with one assent rose ready to pursue their liberty, and with a running camp swept every corner of the land, razed the castles to the ground, and chased the strangers before them; slew all that abode the battle, and recovered, each man, his own precinct and former state of government. He tells how, in England, there was not a mean subject that dared extend his hand to fillip a peer of the realm; and that while Wolsely was begraced and belorded, and crouched and knelt unto, the Lord Deputy of Ireland found small grace with Irish borderers except he cut them off by the knees.¹

Therefore Keating's statements are absolutely untrue, as far as the blessed Edmund Campion is concerned. Hence he is accused of partiality towards the Irish by Barnaby Rich; and, indeed, in his descriptions, portraits, speeches, and other passages, he betrays such sympathy with the Catholic people of Ireland, and gives so many direct and indirect incentives to union, that if the English Attorney-General had got hold of his *History*, he would have put it in as evidence of treasonable practices, and, on that head alone, have got him condemned to lie, not on "a plank bed, but on the hurdle on which he was dragged to Tyburn to be hanged in his garment of Irish frieze."

I know that some readers will rub their eyes, and say: What! do you mean to say that Campion was not a reviler and calumniator of the Irish?² that he was not employed to revile them? that his hatred for them was not as intense and unnatural as that of Spencer?³ I mean to say and show all that. If he was employed by the English to revile Irishmen, why did his employers interrupt him in his work, and hunt him from place? If he hated the Irish, why did he praise their physical, moral, and intellectual characteristics more heartily than writer ever did before or since? He did not praise them blindly; but it is not true to say,

¹ See Campion's *History of Ireland*, ed. 1808.

² So D'Arcy M'Gee says.

³ So Dr. Kelly says.

with Simpson, Campion's unworthy English biographer, that "he descants upon what was then a national vice, now happily supplanted by the opposite virtue, the vice of impurity;" and it is not true to say, with Keating, that he libelled the nation at large. But it is true that all is not sunshine in his pages, and that the lights and shades are there distributed with real historic and artistic instinct. And for this he says:—

"I request you to deliver me from all undue and wrong suspicions, howsoever the privilege of a history hath tempered mine ink with sweet and sour ingredients. Verily, as touching the affairs and persons here deciphered, how little cause I have with any blind affection eitherways to be miscarried, themselves know best that here be noted yet living, and others by inquiring may conjecture. Farewell; from Drogheda, the 9th of June, 1571."

He mentions, certainly, some defects and vices of certain individuals or classes of Irishmen; but then, let us remember that on his trial for his life he said: "As in all Christian commonwealths, so in *England*, many vices and iniquities do abound; neither is there any realm so godly, no people so devout, nowhere so religious, but that in the same very places many enormities do flourish and evil men bear sway." But, supposing for a moment, that he dwells too much on the failings of our countrymen, it is not "Campion the Jesuit," "Campion the priest," or "Campion the Catholic," that is to blame for the penning of such things, and he is not responsible at all for the publication of them, as shall appear from the history of his *Historie*.

When he had finished his *History*, finding that he could hardly escape the English pursuivants long, and must endanger his friends, he resolved to return to England in disguise; and, under the name of Patrick, which he assumed out of devotion to the apostle of Ireland, he took ship at Drogheda, "apparelled in laquey's tweed" as servant of Melchior Hussey, the Earl of Kildare's steward, who was then on his way to England.

As there was some suspicion that he might be on board, some officers went to search the ship for him. As they

asked for him by name, he thought he could not escape, and his surprise was too great to allow him to take any precautions. So he stood quietly on the deck while the officers ferreted out every nook and corner, examined the crew, tumbled the cargo up and down, with plentiful curses on the seditious villain Campion. There he stood in his menial livery, and saw everybody but himself strictly examined; while he called devoutly on St. Patrick, whose name he had assumed, and whom, in consideration of the protection he then gave, he ever afterwards invoked in similar dangers. He escaped, but not his *History*. "My *History of Ireland*," he says, "I suspect has perished; it made a good-sized and neat volume; the heretical officers seized it."¹

Some months afterwards he was received into the Catholic Church at Douay, and three years after he entered the Society of Jesus at Rome. In 1577 he wrote from Prague to Father Coster, S.J., Provincial of the Rhenish Province:—

"I was troubled about a parcel of manuscript, which is due to me from France, when Father Posserin told me it was possible you could lend me your aid in this business. I have ventured to ask you, relying on our relationship in Christ, which we have contracted in the society, to do what you can for me in this matter. Do you, my father, manage to have it sent to me at Prague—not by the shortest, but by the *safest way*. In anticipation, I profess myself much in your debt; for the book is a production of mine—not wholesome, because prematurely born; and if I am to lose it, I would rather it were altogether destroyed than fall into other hands."

He writes again to Father Coster in July, 1577:—

"I fully expected the assistance you promised me in your kind letter. . . I enclose you a letter for Gregory Martin; if you can send to him into France, I hope he will do his part (i.e., send the *History* to you for me). But, as Martin tells me² he knows no way of sending the papers to me, I beg you will take the whole business upon your shoulders, and manage to have them sent. But if this cannot be done, I will try some other plan, and give you no further trouble."

¹ Simpson, page 42.

² Was Martin afraid he would destroy this beautiful book?

In 1579 he writes again to Gregory Martin, still on the subject of his *History*:—

"I have left something for the end, *that you may know how much I have it at heart*. I had written to Father Coster our Provincial of the Rhenish Province, asking him if you sent him those writings of mine about Irish history, which you have to find some way of sending them to Prague in *perfect safety*. He promised . . . So now I ask you to get them to Cologne; our people will manage the rest."

In March, 1580, he left Prague, and went by Padua to Rome, which he reached in April, 1580. He left for England in April, and when his companions urged him to take the English name of Petre, to escape the English spies, "he, remembering how well he had escaped from Ireland under St. Patrick's patronage, would take no other but his old one of Patrick, albeit they tried to persuade him that the name, being Irish, might bring him in question."¹ When they arrived near Geneva, that sink of heresy, every man disguised himself; and Campion "dissembled his personage in the form of a poor Irishman dressed in an old suit of black buckram. In this guise, waiting with hat in hand, he stood "facing out this old doting heretical fool, Theodore Beza," and challenged him to a discussion.

At the very time that our author was so anxious to get his *History* into his own hands, and wished it to be destroyed rather than fall into other hands, Stanihurst wrote to Sir Henry Sydney:—

"There have been divers of late, that with no small toil, and great commendation, have thoroughly employed themselves in culling and packing together the scrapings and fragments of the history of Ireland. Among which crew, my fast friend and inward companion, Maister Edward Campion, did so learnedly bequite himself, as certes that his *History* in mitching wise wandered through sundry hands; and being therewithal, in certain places, somewhat tickle-tongued (for Maister Campion did learn it to speak), and in other places over spare, it twitted more tales out of school, and drowned weightier matters in silence, than the author, *upon better view and longer search, would*

¹ *Life of Father Edmund Campion*, by Father Persons, his companion, the MS. of which is at Stonyhurst, and has been printed in his "Letters and Notices."

have permitted. I was fully resolved to enrich Maister Campion's chronicle with further additions ; but, weighing that my coarse pack-thread could not have become suitably knit with his fine silk, and what a disgrace it were bunglerly to botch up a rich garment by clouting it with patches of sundry colours, I resolved not to borrow or steal aught to my purpose from his *History*."

Hollinshed was not so particular. In his address to Sydney he says :—

"Reginald Wolfe's hap was to light upon a copy of two books of Irish history, compiled by one¹ Edmund Campion, very well penned certainly, but so brief, that it were to be wished occasion had served him to have used more leisure, and thereby to have delivered to us a larger discourse. He had not past ten weeks' space to gather his matter, a very short time, doubtless, for such a work. I resolved to make shift to frame a special history of Ireland, following Campion's order, and setting down his own words, except where I had matter to enlarge out of other authors."

It is clear, then, that Campion cannot be held responsible for the published *History*, which may not represent his manuscript ; and if it did, Campion looked on his manuscript as unwholesome because prematurely born, and would rather it were altogether destroyed than fall into other hands, and, in consequence, he made every effort to get it, in order to destroy it, or to make it wholesome.

Even such as it is, it gives a graphic description of the Irishmen of his day, and as it is rare, some extracts from it will be honourable to Ireland, interesting to the reader, and also useful to clear away the merciless and unmerited censures of which this *History* has been the object for the last two hundred and fifty years.

I. CAMPION'S INTRODUCTION.

In dedicating his book to the Earl of Leicester, our author says to him :—

"That my travel into Ireland might seem neither causeless nor fruitless, I have thought it expedient . . . to yield you this poor book as an account of my poor voyage . . . more full of unsavoury toil for the time than any plot of work I ever

¹ Who was very well known and respected by Sydney.

attempted. It is well known to the learned of this land how late it was ere I could meet with Gerald of Wales, the only author that ministereth indifferent furniture to this chronicle; and with what search I have been driven to piece out the rest with the help of foreign writers (incidentally touching the realm), by a number of brief extracts of rolls, records, and scattered papers . . . so as to handle and lay these things together *I had not in all the space of ten weeks*. Such as it is, I address and bequeathe it to your good lordship, that by the patronage of this book you may be induced to weigh the estate and become a patron of this noble realm."

To the loving reader he writes:—

"I follow Giraldus Cambrensis,¹ who divideth his work into two parts. From the first, which is stuffed with much impertinent matter, I borrow so much as serveth the turn directly; the second I abridge into one chapter. . . . From 1370 to Henry the Eighth, because nothing is extant orderly written, I scramble forward with such records as could be sought up. From Henry the Eighth hitherto I took *instructions by mouth*. Whatsoever else I bring, besides these helps, either *mine own observation* hath found it, or some friend hath informed me, or common opinion hath received it, or I read it in a pamphlet. Notwithstanding, as naked and as simple as it is, it could never have grown to such proportion in such post-haste except I had entered into such familiar society and daily table-talk with the Worshipful Esquire, James Stanihurst, Recorder of Dublin. . . . Irish chronicles, *although they be reported*² to be full fraught of lewde examples, idle tales, and genealogies, 'et quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia,' yet concerning the state of that wild people *specified before the conquest*,² I am persuaded,² that, with choice and judgment, I might have sucked thence *some better store*² of matter, and *gladly would have sought them*,² had I found an interpreter, or understood their tongue; the one, so rare that scarcely five in five hundred can skill thereof; the other, so hard that it asketh continuance in the land of more years than I had months to spare about this business. My special meaning was to gather so much as I thought the civil subjects would be content to read and withal to give a light to the learned antiquarians of this country birth"

IRELAND.

"Ireland lieth aloof in the West ocean, and is deemed by the latter survey to be in length well-nigh three hundred miles north and south, broad from east to west, one hundred and

¹ A very bad guide; but he could find no other.

² Note the kindness and caution of these expressions.

twenty. In proportion it resembleth an egg,¹ blunt and plain on the sides, not reaching forth to sea, in nooks and elbows of land, as Britain doth. Dublin is the beauty and eye of Ireland, fast by a goodly river; the seat hereof is in many respects conformable, but less frequented of merchant strangers, because of the barred haven. Kilkenny is the best dry town in Ireland, on the south side of the river Suir; Galway is a proper neat city at the seaside. Waterford and Dungarvan are full of traffick with England, France, and Spain, by means of their excellent good havens.

"The soil is low and waterish, and includeth divers little islands environed with bogs and marches; the highest hills have standing pools in their top; the inhabitants, especially new come, are subject to distillation, rheumes and fluxes, for remedy whereof they used an ordinary drink of *aquavita*, so qualified in the making that it drieth more and inflameth less than other hot confections. The air is wholesome, not altogether so clear and subtle as ours of England. Of bees, good store; no vineyards, contrary to the opinion of some writers, who *both in this and other errors touching the land may easily be excused, as those that wrote of hearsay.*²

"Cambrensis complaineth, that Ireland had excess of wood and very little champaign ground; but now the English Pale is too naked.³ Turf and seacoals are their most fuel. It is stored of kine, of excellent horses and hawks, of fish and fowl. They are not without wolves, and *greyhounds to hunt them bigger of bone and limb than a colt*. Their kine, as also their cattle, and commonly what else soever the country engendereth (*except man*)⁴ is much less in quantity than ours of England. Sheep few, and those bearing coarse fleeces, whereof they spin notable⁵ rug mantles. The country is very fruitful both of corn and grass; the grass for default of husbandry groweth so rank in the north part

¹ Its shape is that of a rhomboid, the great diagonal of which is 302 miles, and the less 210 miles; the greatest length on a meridional line is 225 miles; the greatest and least breadths or parallels of latitude, 174 and 111 miles.—*Thom's Directory*, page 619

² Some errors of his own we may easily excuse for the same reason.

³ He is the first to suggest re-forestation; Spencer is accused by Lord Roche of cutting down the trees of his neighbours; see *infra*.

⁴ And dogs, of course, too. Giraldus Cambrensis had got it into his head, that all animals of Ireland, except men, were smaller than those of England. He says the Irish hare is smaller than the English. Perhaps it is, on an average, somewhat smaller; but certainly not to the extent that Giraldus represents. He describes it also, as given to take to cover like a fox, instead of taking to the country like the more sportsmanlike hare of England. I believe this to be a *libel*.—*Dimmick's Preface* to vol. v. of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, page lxxii.

⁵ He was himself hanged in an Irish rug.

that oft times it rotteth their kine.¹ Eagles are well known to breed here, but neither so big nor so many as books tell. Cambrensis reporteth of his own knowledge, and I have heard it averred by credible persons, that barnacles, thousands at once, are noted along the shores to hang by the beaks about the edges of putrified timber, ships, oars, anchor-holds, and such like, which, in process, taking lively heat of the sun, become water fowls, and at their ripeness fall into the sea or fly about into the air.

"Horses they have, of pace easy, and in running wonderful swift. Therefore, they make of them great store, as wherein at time of need they repose a great piece of safety. I heard it verified by Honourable to Honourable, that a nobleman offered, and was refused, for one such horse, an hundred kyne, five pound lands, and an eyrie of hawks yearly, for seven years.

"No venomous creeping beast is brought forth or nourished; or can live here, being sent in; and therefore, the spider of Ireland is well-known not to be venomous. St. Bade writeth, that serpents conveyed hither did presently die, being touched with the smell of the land, and that whatsoever came hence was there of sovereign virtue against poison. He exemplifieth in certain men stung with adders, who drank in water the scrapings of books that had been of Ireland, and were cured. Neither is this property to be ascribed to St. Patrick's blessing, as they commonly hold, but to the original blessing of God, who gave such nature to the situation and soil from the beginning. And though I doubt not but it fared the better in many respects for that holy man's prayer,² yet had it this condition notified hundreds of years ere he was born.

EDMUND HOGAN, S.J.

(To be continued.)

¹ Caused by the devastating inroads of the English, who spoiled and burnt all before them, in order to cause famine in the Irish territories. Our author did not know or dare to avow this.

² Spencer speaks most disrespectfully of St. Patrick, and attributes many of the ills of Ireland to his preaching and popery.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

THE conversion of England! We readily forgive a writer for being enthusiastic about it. It recalls volumes of history, free of the romance of hermits and saints, transcending in variety and absorbing interest the wildest flights of the imaginative writer, and the most inspiring theme of the poet. It recalls the grand old mellow days of Saxon and Norman Catholicism, when king's brothers were priests and their sisters nuns, when education was free, when saints were abundant, when faith and virtue ennobled the race, when knights and reeves and sheriffs and aldermen became monks; when warriors, who had tried their steel against the Danes, grasped their hilts, and swore to defend the abbot's rights, and invoked the destruction of St. Peter's sword on the violators thereof. It recalls the sanctity of Egbert, the courage of Wilfred, the learning of Alcuin. It brings back Bede and his monks; Hilda and her nuns; Canterbury, York, Lichfield, Durham, Winchester, historic names—an unbroken line from St. Augustine to William Warham, with here and there towering in the long line, Theodore and Dunstan and Lanfranc, and Anselm and a Becket, giants, *virī famosi a saeculo*—cathedrals, monuments of the faith, with their sanctuaries—Finchale, Fountains, Whalley, York and its Corpus Christi guild; Oxford in its palmy days, with its "Determinationes," legatine processions from Dover to London; cardinals and lord chancellors; and we dream a dream, and see in the future a people of thirty millions covering the same ground, with its thirty thousand priests and one hundred thousand nuns; and its religious orders, giving saints as of old; and the cross-tipped spire peeping among the trees in rural England, and the good old village parish priest; and the blessed Sacrament, in quiet possession of its own all over the bosom of this teeming land; and the Corpus Christi and May processions of old times; and our old men, with their white hair, saying their Hail Mary's by the wayside, waiting to be garnered in; and our young men, reverential and sound; and our young women,

light-hearted and blithe ; and our children, running to kiss the priest's hand ; and faith all over the land ; and peace and joy, and merry England once more, with the Holy Ghost enlightening with " silent streams " the heart of England, like a golden-rayed sunset on the horizon ! It is sunshine after rain. It is the conversion of England to the faith, after many generations of error, and despair, and gloom, and dismal deathbeds, when men went they knew not whither ; but, like the pagans, into darkness and night. That is a grand future—not reserved for our day, or the next. This generation shall not say, *Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum*. Shall the next ?

But you may object, England will never return to the true faith. It is against the analogy of history. No nation in the whole course of history that fell ever came back to the faith again. The East fell, and never returned ; Egypt fell, and never recovered ; Carthage and all the North African Churches fell, and never returned ; Germany fell, and never returned ; Scandinavia fell, and never returned ; Scotland fell, and never returned ; and do you expect that England, whose fall began and grew on lower passions and more selfish motives than influenced some of the others—lust and avarice—will get a grace hitherto refused to all the rest ? The Donatists died in their heresy ; the Eutychians died in their heresy ; the Nestorians died in their heresy ; the Photians died in their heresy ; their descendants, the Greeks and Russians, do the same. Scotch Presbyterians, German Lutherans, Norwegian Calvinists, Russian schismatics, African Mahomedans, and English Protestants, go the way of all flesh. Lavigerie dreams about the Africans, Tondini about the Russians, and you, gentlemen, dream about the Church of England becoming once more united to the See of Peter. We wish we could share with you in the pleasure of the dream ; but England is dead, and, like the nations that went before, from Israel downwards, there is no resurrection.

We must say that we have a strong aversion to the objection. It would damp energy, frustrate plans, and utterly demoralize the missionary ideal. So, as we are not inclined to grapple with it, we pass it by. *Non ragionam' di lor'*.

There are two forces at work regarding the Catholicism of the country. It will throw light on the purpose of the present paper to indicate them. One is inside the Church, and the other outside it; one Catholic, the other Protestant, though Catholicizing. The Ritualists, and the Ritualists alone, are doing all that is being done among Protestants. How many parsons from Newman to Rivington have been converted by priests? True, all have been *received* by priests. But how many have confessed their obligations to our sermons or our writings that we Catholic priests were in any degree answerable for their conversion? The Catholicizing movement in the Establishment has not been the result of the missionary activity of the Catholic Church in England. It is true to say that convert priests receive more converts than others, but that is mainly on account of personal influence in certain non-Catholic quarters where we have no access, as well as having a keener grasp of difficulties which we never feel. Men who pass through the fire themselves are good guides. This external movement is of vast importance. At this hour five thousand Church of England clergymen are preaching from as many Protestant pulpits the Catholic faith (not, indeed, as faith) to Catholicizing congregations, much more effectively, with less suspicion and more acceptance than we can ever hope to do. Protestant sisterhoods are doing, we feel sure, the best they can under the circumstances to familiarize the Philistine with nuns—and that is much. Protestant societies, like St. Margaret's, Westminster, furnish poor country missions (there *are* poor country Protestant missions, and city ones too) with black vestments for requiems on All Souls. This is, indeed, a matter for devout thankfulness. We could desire no better preparation for joining the Catholic Church than the Ritualists' preparatory school; and the fact that from them we have secured the majority of our converts, strengthens us in our view of it.

But, in spite of all this, and in spite of many high hopes that have prevailed and still prevail amongst us, we think it well to say that for us in our present position, the vital question for us is—not the conversion of Protestants, but

alas! let us say it, the conversion of Catholics. Let us solidify our parochial institutions; let us purify family life; let us build upon the natural and legitimate development of Catholic families. St. Paul had some special ideas about "the household of the faith." A short time ago in the pages of the I. E. RECORD we ventured to urge the primary importance of renewing the wholesome discipline of the Church in the matter of marriages and burials. We hold that they are of grave importance in building up the Catholic Church in England. As for marriages, they being the source of all our woes, the rehabilitation of Christian marriage seems to be absolutely essential to our progress. What can we expect from bad marriages but bad families? Here is an experienced priest who tells me that he has married in his time some two hundred and eighty couples, and out of these he could count some twenty really Christian marriages which were entitled to the blessing of God. Two hundred and sixty were the usual kind of things which we get accustomed to, and which we call marriages, because they come to the church, and the priest and registrar put them through the usual ceremony. Lacordaire says much in his conference *La Famille* about the beauty of a marriage, and youth, beauty, innocence, and kindred charming things; but Lacordaire never worked a city mission in London, or Manchester, or Liverpool.

But not only in this regard do we notice a fatal weakness in the fibre of Catholicism in England. Take our Sunday masses. Catholics are bound to go to mass, but (all reasons aside) do they go? Here is a parish of four thousand—a well-worked, well-manned parish, and one thousand seven hundred go to mass. There is another with a Catholic population of close on seven thousand, and three thousand go to mass. And these are very high attendances; higher than are generally secured. Indeed there is hardly any doubt whatever that in this great centre of the North, where we have so much really energetic Catholicism, nearly twenty thousand Catholics habitually lose mass. And for it there is no remedy except to keep pegging away. The present writer once took in hand a famous street in his district;

it contained an adult Catholic population of ninety-four, all bound to hear mass, and all lost mass habitually. We visited them for sixteen weeks, and thus every person there received sixteen visits, making a total of one thousand five hundred and four visits paid in that street. Slowly, gently, patiently, we spoke, exhorted, and rebuked, in *omni patientia et doctrina*. We were resolved to win: one thousand five hundred and four promises were given and broken. One woman came to confession, and never went to mass or confession since, and that is four years ago. We remember two families whose bedrooms overlooked the church, and over the organ-gallery the people could see out of their beds the lights on the altar and the priest saying mass. We went there regularly Sunday after Sunday to rouse them up to come to the 10.15 or the 11 o'clock mass. We asked them to look out, and see the priest saying mass; they never turned their heads in bed; and they finally left because the priest was making himself such a nuisance! Now, let us say this deliberately, their faith is gone; after three centuries of suffering and buffeting by the storm they sink in a calm sea, like those birds that traverse the ocean, and plunge into the wave in sight of land. Of all the hopeless cases where the priest gets nothing for his labour, these Catholics seems to be most hopeless, and all the priest can say is: "*Misereatur Dominus, misereatur nostri, et illuminet vultum suum super nos.*" They shall come from all parts, the East and the West, and sit down in the bosom of Abraham; but, indeed, not these. St. Paul had no hesitation in saying: "*Ecce convertimur ad gentes,*" when his ministry was refused; and it will strike many priests that it is easier to Catholicize well-disposed Protestant families in his district than get Catholics of this type to mass.

This is, indeed, a lamentable condition, and opens the door to many grave abuses. Can we progress under such circumstances? Are we progressing? Some say, Yes; some, No. A priest lately said that this grumbling at the so-called unsatisfactory condition of Catholicism in the country is enough to bring down on us the chastisement of the Almighty, and that nothing strikes him more than the

miraculous progress which we have made during the past generation or so.

Let us see how far statistics go. Somebody has said that we ought to be nearly 4,000,000. Let us say that we know of no data that would warrant such a figure.

In 1841 the Catholic population of England and Wales was 800,000. Since then the total population of England has increased 62 per cent. In 1841 it was 18,845,424; now it is 30,537,275. The Irish famine sent (approximately) 750,000, and *their* natural development would be (approximately) 280,000. Totting up we find:—

Catholic population in 1841 . . .	800,000
Increase at 62 per cent. . . .	500,000
Exiled by famine	750,000
Their increase	280,000

What we ought to be 2,330,000

On reviewing the most reliable figures for our actual population, we find in round numbers that the actual Catholic total is about 1,362,760. Our marriage returns issued to the Registrar-General bears out that figure, and for our purpose it is sufficiently accurate.

Now, 2,330,000—1,362,760 = 967,240, or a deficit of close of a million Catholics. Now, we ask, where is that million? Can we be fairly accused of murmuring against the providence of God if we complain that we cannot view figures like these with complacency? We could wish that emigration transferred them to the Catholic Church of the United States, and that that prosperous community was enriched at our expense rather than be driven to the conclusion that they lost the faith. We believe emigration accounts for some; but we have no doubt that the heavy end has simply lost the faith. We know a country village growing around the works of a German Lutheran (Sir Salis Schwabe) and no Catholic family goes into it without losing the faith. Poor Catholic families come from Ireland who know the faith traditionally, but not polemically, who were never prepared to emigrate, and who never should be allowed to emigrate and settle down. They have the British schools and skeleton

evangelicalism bitter as aloes against the faith ; no mass, no Catholic schools within miles, no priest, but a white-chokered gentleman professing whatever kind of heresy the patron advertises for—generally, we believe, something about essential corruption and compulsory damnation. The priest is kept out. The game is all on the one side, and in twelve months the Mullens and Mulligans and Murphys have lost the faith. This, we fear, prevails to a considerable extent in rural districts ; but as we desire to write with caution, we would recommend more general information before attempting to suggest a percentage.

It is not difficult to find out what is going on as regards loss of faith in a city mission. It is considerably more difficult, at least under present circumstances, to cope with it. Educationalists may inquire where are our children, in a tone that does not suggest that they want them in Catholic schools. It is well worth our while to inquire, where are our people married, and to whom. Opening the register of an average Protestant parochial church, I read as follows :—

MARRIAGES.

- | | | |
|----------|-----|---|
| February | 19— | Edwin Walton to Sarah Whittaker. |
| „ | 27— | Frank Watson to Elizabeth Parker. |
| „ | 27— | John Dooly to Mary Ann Atkinson. |
| „ | 28— | Thomas Tiernan to Elizabeth Duff. |
| March | — | John Powell to Edith Taylor. |
| „ | 4— | Alfred Plummer Boulton to Mary Ellen Lyons. |
| „ | 11— | Thomas Smith to Sarah Stafford. |
| „ | 20— | James Henry Coates to Matilda Paulden
Newton. |
| April | 1— | Edward John Wellings to Mary Josephine
O'Hara. |
| „ | 2— | Joseph Hinds to Annie Florence Taylor. |
| „ | 4— | Charles Milner Nesbitt to Mary Jane Riley. |
| „ | 15— | Thomas Jones to Elizabeth Barlow. |
| „ | 16— | James Herbert Kenyon to Elizabeth Ann Jones. |

And so the lists go on until we come to November, the last notice being fairly in keeping with the preceding, viz. :—

- | | | |
|------|-----|--|
| Nov. | 12— | Richard Jackson to Jane Nicholson Haere. |
| „ | 12— | Conrad William Warmbold to Winefred
Brannan |
| „ | 12— | William Breakey to Catherine Annie Duffy. |
| „ | 21— | Horatio Robert Goodwin to Mary Dunstone. |
| „ | 27— | Thomas Sharp to Mary Anne Kelly. |

I have italicized the names obviously Irish: I have omitted English names, which, for all I know, *may* be Catholic. Whatever way we view it, is not the list interesting? Is not the percentage high? and can it be in accordance with the designs of the Almighty in such a way as to merit His vengeance by grumbling about it? It all comes from that wonderful discretion which we have succeeded in practising so long that it is now a widespread conspiracy of silence. The writer once preached at a Missa Cantata (*parochio celebrante*) on the sanctity of marriage, its sacramental character, *a sacramentum vivorum*; a marriage before the registrar, *a sacrilege*; a mixed marriage and a marriage in a Protestant Church, *a communicatio in sacris* and an implicit adhesion to heresy, &c. The Gospel was on the marriage feast of Cana of Galilee, and (as we presumed) naturally formed a legitimate and time-honoured starting-point. As the parochus will read this, let us say that he was very unhappy during that half-hour, and when it was over, and he was free to make an observation, he said:—"Well, I never yet had a curate that did not insist on preaching a sermon on the marriage feast of Cana in Galilee." We violated the circumspect conspiracy of silence, but as we took particular pains in preparing the sermon, we ought to be allowed the luxury of relating the anecdote.

Now, in connection with these registers, let us note that, in the long run, the number of girls who marry non-Catholics in the Protestant church is largely in excess of the number of Catholic young men who go there to contract marriage with non-Catholic young women. We suspect that the young man has generally the *voluntas praedominans* in matters of this kind. The result is, that in a large number of cases where the Irish and Catholic young woman (*v. g.*, Mary Jane Riley is married to Charles Milner Nesbitt) with the Irish and Catholic name appears before the next priest as Mrs. Milner Nesbitt, the rev. gentleman takes her for a Protestant, and she disappears finally from the purview of any priest. When you keep this fact steadily in view, you will find an explanation that goes a long way in solving the difficulty arising from the comparative fewness of the

baptisms with ostensibly Catholic names. Thus, if you find William Henry Riley in a Protestant register of baptisms, you begin to suspect that something is wrong; but finding William Henry Nesbitt, you conclude he is English and Protestant, and that the Protestant register is the proper place for him to be. We baptize a certain number, of which a large number are again put through the ceremony in the Protestant church. Our baptism, however, is no guarantee that they will be brought up Catholics. It is a guarantee that they have really been baptized, and that there is a hope—*sacramenta propter homines* is a holy principle to which we cling—that they may be Catholics. Still, of these a large number is baptized in the Protestant church and nowhere else, a not inconsiderable number is never baptized anywhere, and of all these the vast majority are never heard of again in connection with any congregation, Catholic or Protestant. We do not frequently hear of them dying Protestants, because we never hear of them dying anything at all. Still an odd name appears on the scanty list of those sufficiently Protestant to be put on the mortuary list in the register—those who presumably sent for the rector in their sickness, and died Protestants—and these are a mere fraction of the Protestant community. For instance, we read with sadness the death of the following “Protestant” :—

“Ann Kelly. Aged 80.”

Poor Ann! No confession, no Confiteor rolling on in the Irish tongue, no God-visited deathbed in the Holy Viaticum, no signing of this sinful flesh of ours with the holy oils! No; a struggle in the hurricane in the night, and—Ann Kelly, aged 80, dies a Protestant.

From this we gather that a large number of Catholics are married in the Protestant church—a large number of their children are baptized there, and are not heard of any more, and some are heard of figuring on the list of Protestant deaths. This is not cheerful. How far will it go to account for our deficit of one million souls? The genesis of this great running sore may be this. Prior to 1837 Catholics

were bound to present themselves in the Protestant church, and be put through the form before the minister. Of course, our people were told to distinguish between the civil and the religious part of the function. But the bucolic mind will not distinguish. It grasps salient points, and the salient point caught was the palpable fact that the priests gave consent to a matrimonial function before the minister in the Protestant church.

This was clearly paring away a good deal of the hoofs or Antichrist. When the Act of Parliament was changed in 1837, the remembrance of this continued, and although mixed marriages were denounced, still the popular mind of Catholics thought that what was right then would not be so absolutely iniquitous now, and so it continued to be looked upon as not so bad after all. And if the marriage of Catholics, as they thought, was not so great a crime, still less must it be when the girl, *v.g.*, is a Protestant, to marry her in the Protestant church. And then they discover (they invariably discover the wrong thing) that we objurgate them not so much for marrying a Protestant girl as for marrying her before the Protestant minister. So they conclude that they are doing something tolerably good by mending their ways and marrying her in the Catholic church. Hence we arrive at the idea that a mixed marriage when celebrated by the priest (with a dispensation which they speak of as a permission to be granted for the asking, and worse still which we are quite willing to grant, as we never refuse) is part and parcel of the average working of the Church, and that it is very hard that they are opposed in doing what all their acquaintances who wanted to do it did, and that without let or hindrance. Hence it comes that the Catholic popular conscience is all awry and askew, and people would only wonder at the commotion we would make if we denounced it, which we do not. So we content ourselves with blandly deprecating it for a moment and then yielding; and when we tot up we find a clear loss of 1,000,000 souls, which we are assured is wonderful and miraculous prosperity, and *mirabilis est Deus in operibus suis*, especially here.

Now how are we to deal with an evil of such magnitude?

It is now simply a question of holding our own people. Remember, even now, we are the most numerous denomination in the country after the Church of England. If we had all our own people around us, the Catholic Church in England would be the most conspicuous and powerful body in the land. For unity of purpose, for independence of action, for earnestness and perseverance, and loyalty to our cause, we shall always be unequalled. Our people can always be rallied; and when we poll our full strength the community at large will be quite prepared to admit how powerful we really are. Nothing succeeds like success. If you succeed, you are right. Hardly any argument tells so well here in your favour as when you show that the great public cannot afford to despise you. If you have power and strength and importance, and the prestige that springs from these attributes, all your arguments will be entertained, and all will be well. A nation must be taken according to its temper; and the temper of England is opposed to Uriah Heeps and his "'umble home." Now what is necessary to make Catholicism strong in England? To keep our own people. The first step towards the conversion of England is to build up our own people. If we shall be unable to secure a greater measure of success with our own flocks in the very near future than we have obtained, there will be very little use in going further afield to appeal to the public conscience of the country to embrace the Catholic faith.

How shall we attempt this task? Looking over the country we find various missionary units. First, the province, with its metropolitan and suffragans. Then comes the individual diocese, with its ordinary; then the parish; then the district. Hence arise a hierarchy of missionary work. The progress of Catholicism in the country depends on the efficiency of the missionary labour of each diocese. The diocese depends on parochial perfection, and the latter on the character and efficiency of district work. In this way the proficiency of district work, and the progress and strength of Catholicism in the district are the measure of the progress of the conversion of the whole country. That is obvious. But what is the result? That the great brunt of the battle

must be borne by the junior clergy. The strength of Catholicism throughout the country depends on the hold which a priest has on his district ; and we are not merely thinking of the Catholic population now, but of the whole mixed community in the midst of which he is planted. His local influence is the main power of the Church. His knowledge of local needs, and how best they can be most efficiently met, is the sum total of Catholic strategy on the ground where he stands. If we keep merely the Catholic element before our minds, the missionary who knows his people and can call them by name, is he who needs the greatest influence for the good of the Church ; and as for the Protestants, especially those belonging to the industrial classes, the more they know the priest, and the more he knows them, the more their hostility wherever it exists will be neutralized, and thus a great obstacle to Catholic progress will be removed, and the more he will have pity on the poor starving multitude of people who never sinned against the light of Catholic truth, who were born in the wilderness, and who will die in it if the priest passes them by. But, of course, our first duty is towards our own ; a duty, be it said, in no way hostile to the claims of those outside the Church. It is small comfort to know that many Protestants are accessible ; while, on the other hand, we are confronted with a colossal deficit in our own ranks, for which we cannot account. The conversion of England will, we fear, remain as it is, unless we can shepherd our own people, and gather the "remnants" of Israel from the Syrians and Egyptians.

JOSEPH TYNAN.

Document.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.
"DE CONDITIONE OPIFICUM."

(*Continued.*)

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE
XIII. LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES
ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS UNIVERSOS CATHOLICI ORBIS
GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

DE CONDITIONE OPIFICUM.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPI
ET EPISCOPIS UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COM
MUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Confidenter ad argumentum aggredimur ac plane iure Nostro, propterea quod caussa agitur ea, cuius exitus probabilis quidem nullus, nisi advocata religione Ecclesiasque, reperietur. Cum vero et religionis custodia, et earum rerum, quae in Ecclesiae potestate sunt, penes Nos potissimum dispensatio sit neglexisse officium tactiturnitate videremur. Profecto aliorum quoque operam et contentionem tanta haec caussa desiderat : principum reipublicae intelligimus, dominorum ac locupletium, denique ipsorum, pro quibus contentio est, proletariorum : illud tamen sine dubitatione affirmamus, inania conata hominum futura, Ecclesia posthabita. Videlicet Ecclesia est, quae promittit ex Evangelio doctrinas, quarum virtute aut plane componi certamen potest, aut certe fieri, detracta asperitate, mollius ; eademque est, quae non instruere mentem tantummodo, sed regere vitam et mores singulorum praeceptis suis contendit ; quae statum ipsum proletariorum ad meliora promovit pluribus utilissime institutis ; quae vult atque expetit omnium ordinum consilia viresque in id consociari, ut opificum rationibus, quam commodissime potest, consulatur ; ad eamque rem adhiberi leges ipsas auctoritatemque reipublicae, utique ratione ac modo, putat oportere.

Illud itaque statuatur primo loco, ferendam esse conditionem humanam ; ima summis paria fieri in civili societate non posse,

Agitant id quidem *Socialistae* : sed omnis est contra rerum naturam vana contentio. Sunt enim in hominibus maximae plurimaeque natura dissimilitudines : non omnium paria ingenia sunt, non sollertia, non valetudo, non vires ; quarum rerum necessarium discrimen sua sponte sequitur fortuna dispar. Idque plane ad usus tum privatorum tum communis accomodate ; indiget enim varia ad res gerendas facultate diversisque muneribus vita communis ; ad quae fungenda munera potissimum impelluntur homines differentia rei cuiusque familiaris. Et ad corporis laborem quod attinet, in ipso *statu innocentiae* non iners omnino erat homo futurus ; at vero quod ad animi delectationem tunc libere optavisset voluntas, idem postea in expiationem culpae subire non sine molestiae sensu coegit necessitas. *Maledicta terra in opere tuo : in laboribus comedes ex ea cunctis diebus vitae tuae.*¹ Similique modo finis acerbitatum reliquarum in terris nullus est futurus, quia mala peccati consecraria aspera ad tolerandum sunt, dura difficilia : eaque homini usque ad ultimum vitae comitari est necesse. Itaque pati et perpeti humanum est, et ut homines experiantur ac tentent omnia, istiusmodi incommoda evellere ab humano convictu penitus nulla vi, nulla arte poterunt. Siqui id se profiteantur posse, si miserae plebi vitam polliceantur omni dolore molestiaeque vacantem, et refertam quiete ac perpetuis voluptatibus, illi populo imponunt fraudemque struunt, in mala aliquando erupturam maiora praesentibus. Optimum factu res humanas, ut se habent, ita contueri, simulque opportunum incommodis levamentum uti diximus, aliunde petere.

Est illud in caussa, de qua dicimus, capitale malum, opinione fingere alterum ordinem sua sponte infensum alteri, quasi locupletes et proletarios ad digladiandum inter se pertinaci duello natura comparaverit. Quod adeo a ratione abhorret et a veritate, ut contra verissimum sit, quo modo in corpore diversa inter se membra conveniunt, unde illud existit temperamentum habitudinis, quam symmetriam recte dixeris, eodem modo naturam in civitate praecepisse ut geminae illae classes congruant inter se concorditer, sibi que convenienter ad aequilibratam respondeant. Omnino altera alterius indiget : non res sine opera, nec sine re potest opera consistere. Concordia gignit pulcritudinem rerum atque ordinem ; contra ex perpetuitate certaminis oritur necesse est cum agresti immanitate confusio. Nunc vero ad dirimendum certamen, ipsasque eius radices amputandas, mira vis est institu-

¹Gen. iii. 17.

torum christianorum, eaque multiplex. Ac primum tota disciplina religionis, cuius est interpret et custos Ecclesia, magnopere potest locupletes et proletarios componere invicem et coniungere, scilicet utroque ordine ad officia mutua revocando, in primisque ad ea quae a iustitia ducuntur. Quibus ex officiis illa proletarium atque opificem attingunt; quod libere et cum aequitate pactum operae sit, id integre et fideliter reddere: non rei ullo modo nocere, non personam violare dominorum: in ipsis tuendis rationibus suis abstinere a vi, nec seditionem induere unquam: nec commisceri cum hominibus flagitiosis, immodicas spes et promissa ingentia artificiose iactantibus, quod fere habet poenitentiam inutilem et fortunarum ruinas consequentes. Ista vero ad divites spectant ac dominos: non habendos mancipiorum loco opifices: vereri in eis aequum esse dignitatem personae, utique nobilitatam ab eo, character christianus qui dicitur. Quaestuosas artes, si naturae ratio, si christiana philosophia audiatur, non pudori homini esse, sed decori, quia vitae sustentandae praebent honestam potestatem. Illud vere turpe et inhumanum, abuti hominibus pro rebus ad quaestum, nec facere eos pluris, quam quantum nervis polleant viribusque. Similiter praecipitur, religionis et bonorum animi haberi rationem in proletariis oportere. Quare dominorum partes esse, efficere ut idoneo temporis spatio pietate vacet opifex; non hominem dare obvium lenociniis corruptelarum illecebrisque peccandi: neque ullo pacto a cura domestica parsimoniaeque studio abducere. Item non plus imponere operis, quam vires ferre queant, nec id genus, quod cum aetate sexuque dissideat. In maximis autem officiis dominorum illud eminet, iusta unicuique praebere. Profecto ut mercedis statuatur ex aequitate modus, causae sunt considerandae plures: sed generatim locupletes atque heri meminerint, premere emolumenti sui causa indigentes ac miseros, alienaque ex inopia captare quaestum, non divina, non humana, iura sinere. Fraudare vero quemquam mercede debita grande piaculum est, quod iras e caelo ultrices clamore devocat. *Ecce merces operariorum . . . quae fraudata est a vobis, clamat: et clamor eorum in aures Domini Sabaoth introivit.*¹ Postremo religiose cavendum locupletibus ne proletariorum compendiis quicquam noceant nec vi, nec dolo, nec funebribus artibus: idque eo vel magis quod non satis illi sunt contra iniurias atque impotentiam muniti, eorumque res, quo exilior, hoc sanctior habenda.

¹ Iac. v. 4.

His obtemperatio legibus nonne posset vim caussasque dissidii vel sola restinguere? Sed Ecclesia tamen, Iesu Christo magistro et duce, persequitur maiora: videlicet perfectius quidam praeci-
piendo, illuc spectat, ut alterum ordinem vicinitate proxima
amicitiaque alteri coniungat. Intelligere atque aestimare mor-
talia ex veritate non possumus, nisi dispexerit animus vitam
alteram eamque immortalem: qua quidem dempta, continue
forma ac vera notio honesti interiret: immo tota haec rerum
universitas in arcanum abiret nulli hominum investigationi
pervium. Igitur, quod natura ipsa admonente didicimus, idem
dogma est christianum, quo ratio et constitutio tota religionis
tamquam fundamento principe nititur, cum ex hac vita exces-
serimus, tum vere non esse victuros. Neque enim Deus hominem
ad haec fragilia et caduca, sed ad caelestia atque aeterna gene-
ravit, terramque nobis ut exulandi locum, non ut sedem habi-
tandi dedit. Divitiis ceterisque rebus, quae appellantur bona,
affluas, careas, ad aeternam beatitudinem nihil interest: quemad-
modum utare, id vero maxime interest. Acerbitates varias,
quibus vita mortalis fere contextitur Iesus Christus *copiosa redemp-
tione* sua nequaquam sustulit, sed in virtutum incitamenta,
materiamque bene merendi traduxit: ita plane ut nemo morta-
lium queat praemia sempiterna capessere, nisi cruentis Iesu
Christi vestigiis ingrediatur. *Si sustinebimus, et conregnabimus*¹
Laboribus ille et cruciatibus sponte susceptis, cruciatuum et
laborem mirifice vim delenivit: nec solum exemplo, sed gratia
sua perpetuaeque mercedis spe proposita, perpersionem dolorum
effecit facillorum: *id enim, quod in praesenti est momentaneum et
leve tribulationis nostrae, supra modum in sublimitate aeternum
gloriae pondus operatur in nobis.*²

Itaque fortunati monentur, non vacuitatem doloris afferre, nec
ad felicitatem aevi sempiterni quicquam prodesse divitias sed
potius obesse; ³ terrori locupletibus esse debere Iesu Christi
insuetas minas; ⁴ rationem de usu fortunarum Deo iudici
severissime aliquando reddendam. De ipsis opibus utendis excel-
lens ac maximi momenti doctrina est quam si philosophia inco-
hatam, at Ecclesia tradidit perfectam plane, eademque efficit ut
non cognitione tantum, sed moribus teneatur. Cuius doctrinae
in eo est fundamentum positum, quod iusta possessio pecuniarum
a iusto pecuniarum usu distinguitur. Bona privatim possidere,

¹ 2 ad Tim. ii. 12.² 2 Cor. iv. 17.³ Matth. xix. 23, 24.⁴ Luc. vi. 24, 25

quod paulo ante vidimus, ius est homini naturale : eoque uti iure, maxime in societate vitae, non fas modo est, sed plane necessarium. *Licetum est, quod homo propria possideat. Et est etiam necessarium ad humanam vitam.*¹ At vero si illud quaeratur, qualem esse usum bonorum necesse sit, Ecclesia quidem sine ulla dubitatione respondet : *quantum ad hoc non debet homo habere res exteriores ut proprias, sed ut communes, ut scilicet de facili aliquis eas communicet in necessitate aliorum. Unde Apostolus dicit : divitibus huius saeculi praecipe . . . facile tribuere, communicare.*² Nemo certe opitulari aliis de eo iubetur, quod ad usus pertineat cum suos tum suorum necessarios : immo nec tradere aliis quo ipse egeat ad id servandum quod personae conveniat, quodque deceat : *nullus enim inconvenienter vivere debet.*³ Sed ubi necessitati satis et decoro datum, officium est de eo quod superat gratificari indigentibus. *Quod superest, date eleemosynam.*⁴ Non iustitiae, excepto in rebus extremis, officia ista sunt, sed caritatis christianae, quam profecto lege agendo petere ius non est. Sed legibus iudiciisque hominum lex antecedit iudiciumque Christi Dei, qui multis modis suadet consuetudinem largiendi ; *beatius est magis dare, quam accipere :*⁵ et collatam negatamve pauperibus beneficentiam perinde est ac sibi collatam negatamve iudicaturus. *Quamdiu fecistis uni ex his fratribus meis minimis, mihi fecistis.*⁶ Quarum rerum haec summa est ; quicumque maiorem copiam bonorum Dei munere accepit, sive corporis et externa sint, sive animi, ob hanc causam accepisse, ut ad perfectionem sui pariterque, velut minister providentiae divinae, ad utilitates adhibeat ceterorum. *Habens ergo talentum, curet omnino ne taceat : habens rerum affluentiam, vigilet ne a misericordiae largitate torpescat : habens artem qua regitur, magnopere studeat ut usum atque utilitatem illius cum proximo partiatur.*⁷

Bonis autem fortunae qui careant, ii ab Ecclesia perdocentur, non probro haberi, Deo iudice, paupertatem, nec eo pudendum, quod victus labore quaeratur. Idque confirmavit re et facto Christus Dominus, qui pro salute hominum *egenus factus est, cum esset dives ;*⁸ cumque esset filius Dei ac Deus ipsemet, videri tamen ac putari fabri filius voluit : quin etiam magnam vitae partem in opere fabrilis consumere non recusavit. *Nonne hic est faber,*

¹ II-II Quaest. lxvi. a. ii.² II-II Quaest. lxv. a. ii.³ II-II Quaest. xxxii. a. vi.⁴ Luc. xi. 41.⁵ Actor. xx. 35.⁶ Matth. xxv. 40.⁷ S. Greg. Magn. in Evang. *Hom.* ix. n. 7.⁸ 2 Corinth. viii. 9.

filius Mariae?¹ Huius divinitatem exempli intuentibus, ea facilius intelliguntur: veram hominis dignitatem atque excellentiam in moribus esse, hoc est in virtute, positam; virtutem vero commune mortalibus patrimonium, imis et summis, divitibus et proletariis aequae parabile: nec aliud quippiam quam virtutes et merita, in quocumque reperiantur, mercedem beatitudinis aeternae sequenturum. Immo vero in calamitosorum genus propensior Dei ipsius videtur voluntas; beatos enim Iesus Christus nuncupat pauperes²; invitat peramanter ad se, solatii caussa, quicumque in labore sint ac luctu:³ infimos et iniuria vexatos complectitur caritate; praecipua. Quarum cognitione rerum facile in fortunatis deprimitur tumens animus, in aerumnosis demissus extollitur: alteri ad facilitatem, alteri ad modestiam flectuntur. Sic cupitum superbiae intervallum efficitur brevius, nec difficulter impetrabitur ut ordinis utriusque, iunctis amice dextris, copulentur voluntates.

Quos tamen, si christianis praeceptis paruerint, parum est amicitia, amor etiam fraternus inter se coniugabit. Sentient enim et intelligent, omnes plane homines a communi parente Deo procreatos: omnes ad eundem finem bonorum tendere, qui Deus est ipse, qui afficere beatitudine perfecta atque absoluta et homines et Angelos unus potest: singulos item pariter esse Iesu Christi beneficio redemptos et in dignitatem filiorum Dei vindicatos, ut plane necessitudine fraterna cum inter se tum etiam cum Christo Domino, *primogenito in multis fratribus*, contineantur. Item naturae bona, munera gratiae divinae pertinere communiter et promiscue ad genus hominum universum, nec quemquam, nisi indignum, bonorum caelestium fieri exheredem. *Si autem filii, et heredes: heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi.*⁴

Talis est forma officiorum ac iurium, quam christiana philosophia profitetur. Nonne quieturum perbreve tempore certamen omne videatur, ubi illa in civili convictu valeret?

Denique nec satis habet Ecclesia via inveniendae curationis ostendere, sed admovet sua manu medicinam. Nam tota in eo est ut ad disciplinam doctrinamque suam excolat homines atque

¹ Marc. vi. 3.

² Matth. v. 3: *Beati pauperes spiritu.*

³ Matth. xi. 28; *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.*

⁴ Rom. viii. 17.

instituat: cuius doctrinae saluberrimos rivos, Episcoporum et Cleri opera, quam latissime potest, curat deducendos. Deinde pervadere in animos nititur flectereque voluntates, ut divinorum disciplina praeceptorum regi se gubernarique patiantur. Atque in hac parte, quae princeps est ac permagni momenti, quia summa utilitatum caussaque tota in ipsa consistit, Ecclesia quidem una potest maxime. Quibus enim instrumentis ad permovendos animos utitur, ea sibi hanc ipsam ob causam tradita a Iesu Christo sunt, virtutemque habent divinitus insitam. Istiusmodi instrumenta sola sunt, quae cordis attingere penetrales sinus apte queant, hominemque adducere ut obedientem se praebeat officio motus animi appetentis regat, Deum et proximos caritate diligit singulari ac summa, omniaque animose perrumpat, quae virtutis impediunt cursum. Satis est in hoc genere exempla veterum paulisper cogitatione repetere. Res et facta commemoramus, quae dubitationem nullam habent: scilicet civilem hominum communitatem funditus esse institutis christianis renovatam: huiusce virtute renovationis ad meliora promotum genus humanum, immo revocatum ab interitu ad vitam, auctumque perfectione tanta, ut nec extiterit ulla antea, nec sit in omnes consequentes aetates futura maior. Denique Iesum Christum horum esse beneficiorum principium eundem et finem: ut ab eo profecta, sic ad eum omnia referenda. Nimirum accepta Evangelii luce, cum incarnationis Verbi hominumque redemptionis grande mysterium orbis terrarum didicisset, vita Iesu Christi Dei et hominis pervasit civitates, eiusque fide et praeceptis et legibus totas imbuat. Quare si societati generis humani medendum est, revocatio vitae institutorumque christianorum sola medebitur. De societatibus enim dilabentibus illud rectissime praecipitur, revocari ad origines suas, cum restitui volunt, oportere. Haec enim omnium consociationum perfectio est, de eo laborare idque assequi, cuius gratia institutae sunt: ita ut motus actusque sociales eadem caussa pariat, quae peperit societatem. Quamobrem declinare ab instituto, corruptio est: ad institutum redire, sanatio. Verissimeque id quemadmodum de toto reipublicae corpore, eodem modo de illo ordine civium dicimus, qui vitam sustentant opere, quae est longe maxima multitudo.

Nec tamen putandum, in colendis animis totas esse Ecclesiae curas ita defixas, ut ea negligat quae ad vitam pertinent mortalem ac terrenam. De proletariis nominatim vult et contendit ut emergant e miserrimo statu fortunamque meliorem adipiscantur.

Atque in id confert hoc ipso operam non mediocrem, quod vocat et instituit homines ad virtutem. Mores enim christiani, ubi servantur integri, partem aliquam prosperitatis sua sponte pariunt rebus externis, quia conciliant principium ac fontem omnium bonorum Deum: coercent geminas vitae pestes, quae nimium saepe hominem efficiunt in ipsa opum abundantia miserum, rerum appetentiam nimiam et voluptatum sitim:¹ contenti denique cultu victuque frugi, vectigal parsimonia supplent, procul a vitiis, quae non modo exiguas pecunias, sed maximas etiam copias exhauriunt, et lauta patrimonia dissipant. Sed praeterea, ut bene habeant proletarii, recta providet, instituendis foven-disque rebus, quas ad sublevandam eorum inopiam intelligat conducibiles. Quin in hoc etiam genere beneficiorum ita semper excelluit, ut ab ipsis inimicis praedicatione efferatur. Ea vis erat apud vetustissimos christianos caritatis mutuae, ut persaepe sua se reprivarent, opitulandi caussa, divitiores: quamobrem *neque . . . quisquam egenus erat inter illos.*² Diaconis, in id nominatim ordine instituto, datum ab Apostolis negotium, ut quotidianae beneficentiae exercerent munia: ac Paulus Apostolus, etsi sollicitudine districtus omnium Ecclesiarum, nihilominus dare se in laboriosa itinera non dubitavit, quo ad tenuiores christianos stipem praesens afferret. Cuius generis pecunias, a christianis in unoquoque conventu ultro collatas, *deposita pietatis* nuncupat Tertullianus, quod scilicet insumerentur *egenis alendis humanisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, inque domesticis senibus item naufragis.*³ Hinc sensim illud extitit patrimonium, quod religiosa cura tamquam rem familiarem indigentium Ecclesia custodivit. Immo vero subsidia miserae plebi, remissa rogandi verecundia, comparavit. Nam et locupletium et indigentium communis parens, excitata ubique ad excellentem magnitudinem caritate, collegia condidit sodalium religiosorum, aliaque utiliter permulta instituit, quibus opem ferentibus, genus miseriarum prope nullum esset, quod eodem modo fecere olim ethnici, ad arguendam transgrediuntur Ecclesiam huius etiam tam egregiae caritatis: cuius in locum subrogare visum est constitutam legibus publicis beneficentiam. Sed quae christianam caritatem suppleant, totam se ad alienas porrigentem utilitates, artes humanae

¹ *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas.* 1 Tim. vi. 10.

² Act. iv. 34.

³ Apol. ii. 39.

nullae reperientur. Ecclesiae solius est illa virtus, quia nisi a sacratissimo Iesu Christi corde ducitur, nulla est uspiam : vagatur autem a Christo longius, quicumque ab Ecclesia discesserit.

At vero non potest esse dubium quin, ad id quod est propositum, ea quoque, quae in hominum potestate sunt, adjumenta requirantur. Omnino omnes, ad quos caussa pertinet, eodem intendant idemque laborent pro rata parte necesse est. Quod habet quamdam cum moderatrice mundi providentia similitudinem : fere enim videmus rerum exitus a quibus caussis pendent, ex earum omnium conspiratione procedere.

Jamvero quota pars remedii a republica expectanda sit, praestat exquirere. Rempublicam hoc loco intelligimus non quali populus utitur unus vel alter, sed qualem et vult recta ratio naturae congruens, et probant divinae documenta sapientiae, quae Nos ipsi nominatim in litteris Encyclicis de civitatum constitutione christiana explicavimus. Itaque per quos civitas regitur, primum conferre operam generatim atque universe debent tota ratione legum atque institutorum, scilicet efficiendo ut ex ipsa conformatione atque administratione reipublicae ultro prosperitas tam communitatis quam privatorum efflorescat. Id est enim civilis prudentiae munis propriumque eorum qui praesunt, officium. Nunc vero illa maxime efficiunt prosperas civitates, morum probitas, recte atque ordine constitutae familiae, custodia religionis ac justitiae, onerum publicorum cum moderata irrogatio, tum aequae partitio, incrementa artium et mercaturae, florens agrorum cultura, et si qua sunt alia generis ejusdem, quae quo majore studio provehuntur, eo melius sunt victuri cives et beatius. Harum igitur virtute rerum in potestate rectorum civitatis est ut ceteris prodesse ordinibus, sic et proletariorum conditionem juvare plurimum : idque jure suo optimo, neque ulla cum importunitatis suspitione : debet enim respublica ex lege muneris sui in commune consulere. Quo autem commodorum copia provenierit ex hac generali providentia maior, eo minus oportebit, alias ad opificum salutem expiriri vias.

Sed illud praeterea considerandum, quod rem altius attingit, unam civitatis esse rationem, communem summorum atque infimorum. Sunt nimirum proletarii pari jure cum locupletibus natura cives, hoc est partes verae vitamque viventes, unde constat interjectis familiis, corpus republicae : ut ne illud adjungatur, in omni urbe eos esse numero longe maximo. Cum igitur illud sit perabsurdum, parti civium consulere, partem negligere, conse-

quitur, in salute commodisque ordinis proletariorum tuendis curas debitas collocari publice oportere: ni fiat, violatum iri iustitiam, suum cuique tribuere praecipientem. Qua de re sapienter S. Thomas: *sicut pars et totum quodammodo sunt idem, ita id, quod est totius, quodammodo est partis*.¹ Proinde in officiis non paucis neque levibus populo bene consentium principum, illud in primis eminet, ut unumquemque civium ordinem aequabiliter tueantur, ea nimirum quae *distributiva* appellatur, iustitia inviolate servanda.

Quamvis autem cives universos, nemine excepto, conferre aliquid in summam bonorum communium necesse sit, quorum aliqua pars virilis sponte recidit in singulos, tamen idem et ex aequo conferre nequaquam possunt. Qualescumque sint in imperii generibus vicissitudines, perpetua futura sunt ea in civium statu discrimina, sine quibus nec esse, nec cogitari societas ulla posset. Omnino necesse est quosdam reperiri, qui e reipublicae dedant, qui leges condant, qui jus dicant, denique quorum consilio atque, auctoritate negotia urbana, res bellicae administrentur. Quorum virorum priores esse partes, eosque habendos in omni populo primarios, nemo non videt, propterea quod communi bono dant operam proxime atque excellenti ratione. Contra vero qui in arte aliqua exercentur, non ea, qua illi, ratione nec iisdem muneribus prosunt civitati: sed tamen plurimum et ipsi, quamquam minus directe, utilitati publicae inserviunt. Sane sociale bonum cum debeat esse ejusmodi, ut homines ejus fiant adeptione meliores, est profecto in virtute praecipue collocandum. Nihilominus ad bene constitutam civitatem suppeditatio quoque pertinet bonorum corporis atque externorum, *quorum usus est necessarius ad actum virtutis*.² Iamvero his pariendis bonis est proletariorum maxime efficax ac necessarius labor, sive in agris artem atque manum, sive in officinis exercent. Immo eorum in hoc genere vis est atque efficientia tanta, ut illud verissimum sit, non aliunde quam ex opificum labore gigni divitias civitatum. Jubet igitur aequitas curam de proletario publice geri, ut ex eo, quod in communem effert utilitatem, percipiat ipse aliquid, ut tectus, ut vestitus, ut salvis vitam tolerare minus aegre possit. Unde consequitur, favendum rebus omnibus esse quae conditioni opificum quoquo modo videantur profuturae. Quae cura tantum abest ut noceat cuiquam,

¹ II-II. Quaest. lxi. a. 1. ad. 2.

² S. Thom. De Reg. Princip. i. c. xv.

ut potius profutura sit universis, quia non esse omnibus modis eos miseros, a quibus tam necessaria bona proficiscuntur, prorsus interest reipublicae.

Non civem, ut diximus, non familiam absorberi a republica rectum est: suam utrique facultatem agendi cum libertate permittere aequum est, quantum incolumni bono communi et sine cujusquam injuria potest. Nihilominus eis, qui imperant, videndum ut communitatem ejusque partes tueantur. Communitatem quidem, quippe quam summae potestati conservandam natura commisit usque eo, ut publicae custodia salutis non modo suprema lex, sed tota caussa sit ratioque principatus: partes vero, quia procurationem, reipublicae non ad utilitatem eorum, quibus commissa est, sed ad eorum, qui commissi sunt, natura pertinere, philosophia pariter et fides christiana consentiunt. Cumque imperandi facultas proficiscatur a Deo, ejusque sit communicatio quaedam summi principatus, gerenda ad exemplar est potestatis divinae, non minus rebus singulis quam universis cura paterna consulentis. Si quid igitur detrimenti allatum sit aut impendeat rebus communibus, aut singulorum ordinum rationibus, quod sanari aut prohiberi alia ratione non possit, obviam iri auctoritate publica necesse est. Atqui interest salutis tum publicae, tum privatae pacatas esse res et compositas: item dirigi ad Dei iussa naturaeque principia omnem convictus domestici disciplinam: observari et coli religionem: florere privatim ac publicae mores integros: sanctam retineri justitiam, nec alteros ab alteris impune violari: validos adolescere cives, iuvandae tutandaeque, si res postulet, civitati idoneos. Quamobrem si quando fiat, ut quippiam turbarum impendeat ob secessionem opificum, aut intermissas ex composito operas: ut naturalia familiae nexa apud proletarios relaxentur: ut religio in opificibus violetur non satis impertiendo commodi ad officia pietatis: si periculum in officinis integritati morum ingruat a sexu promiscuo, aliisve perniciosis invitamentis peccandi: aut opificum ordinem herilis ordo iniquis premat oneribus, vel alienis a persona ac dignitate humana conditionibus affligat: si valetudini noceatur opere immodico, nec ad sexum aetatemve accommodato, his in caussis plane adhibenda, certos intra fines, vis et auctoritas legum. Quos fines eadem, quae legum poscit opem, caussa determinat: videlicet non plura suscipienda legibus, nec ultra progrediendum, quam incommodorum, sanatio, vel periculi depulsio requirat.

Jura quidem, in quocumque sint, sanote servanda sunt:

atque ut suum singuli teneant, debet potestas publica providere, propulsandis atque ulciscendis iniuriis. Nisi quod in ipsis protegendis privatorum iuribus, praecipue est infimorum atque inopum habenda ratio. Siquidem natio divitum, suis septa praesidiis, minus eget tutela publica: miserum vulgus, nullis opibus suis tutum, in patrocinio reipublicae maxime nititur. Quocirca mercenarios, cum in multitudine egena numerentur debet cura providentiaeque singulari complecti respublica.

Sed quaedam maioris momenti praestat nominatim perstringere. Caput autem est, imperio ac munimento legum tutari privatas possessiones oportere. Potissimumque, in tanto iam cupiditatum ardore, continenda in officio plebs: nam si ad meliora contendere concessum est non repugnante iustitia, at alteri, quod suum est, detrahare, ac per speciem absurdae cuiusdam aequabilitatis in fortunas alienas involare, iustitia vetat, nec ipsa communis utilitatis ratio sinit. Utique pars opificum longe maxima res meliores honesto labore comparare sine [cuiusquam iniuria malunt: verumtamen non pauci numerantur pravis imbuti opinionibus rerumque novarum cupidi, qui id agunt omni ratione ut turbas moveant, ac ceteros ad vim impellant. Intersit igitur reipublicae auctoritas, iniectoque concitatoribus freno, ab opificum moribus corruptrices artes, a legitimis dominis periculum rapinarum coerceat.

Longinquior vel operosior labos, atque opinatio curtae mercedis causam non raro dant artificibus quamobrem opere se solvant ex composito, otioque dedant voluntario. Cui quidem incommodo usitato et gravi medendum publice, quia genus istud cessationis non heros damtaxat, atque opifices ipsos afficit damno, sed mercaturis obest reique publicae utilitatibus: cumque haud procul esse a vi turbisque soleat, saepenumero tranquillitatem publicam in discrimen adducit. Qua in re illud magis efficax ac salubre, antevertere auctoritate legum, malumque ne crumpere possit prohibere, amotis mature caussis, unde dominorum atque operariorum conflictus videatur extituri.

Similique modo plura sunt in opifice, praesidio munienda reipublicae: ac primum animi bono. Siquidem vita mortalis quantumvis bona et optabilis, non ipsa tamen illud est ultimum, ad quod nati sumus: sed via tantummodo atque instrumentum ad animi vitam perspicientia veri et amore boni complendam. Animus est, qui expressam gerit imaginem similitudinemque divinam, et in quo principatus ille residet, per quem dominari

iussus est homo in inferiores naturas, atque efficere utilitati suae terras omnes et maria parentia. *Replete terram et subiicite eam : et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus coeli et universis animantibus quae moventur super terram.* Sunt omnes homines hac in re pares, nec quippiam est quod inter divites atque inopes, inter dominos et famulos, inter principes privatosque differat : *nam idem dominus omnium.*¹ Nemini licet hominus dignitatem, de qua Deus ipse disponit *cum magna reverentia*, impune violare, neque ad eam perfectionem impedire cursum, quae sit vitae in caelis sempiternae consentanea. Quin etiam in hoc genere tractari se non convenienter naturae suae, animique servitutem servare velle, ne sua quidem sponte homo potest : neque enim de iuribus agitur, de quibus sit integrum homini, verum de officiis adversus Deum, quae necesse est sancte servari.

Hinc consequitur requies operum et laborem per festos dies necessaria. Id tamen nemo intelligat de maiore quadam inertis otii usura, multoque minus de cessatione, qualem multi expetunt, faultrice vitiorum et ad effusiones pecuniarum adiutrice, sed omnino de requiete operum per religionem consecrata. Coniuncta cum religione quies sevocat hominem a laboribus negotiisque vitae quotidianae ut ad cogitanda revocet bona caelestia, tribuendumque cultum numini aeterno iustum ac debitum. Haec maxime natura atque haec causa quietis est in dies festos capiendae : quod Deus et in Testamento veteri praecipua lege sanxit : *Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifies ;*² et facto ipse suo docuit, arcana requiete, statim posteaquam fabricatos hominem erat, sumpta : *Requievit die septimo ab universo opere quod patrarat.*⁴

Quod ad tutelam bonorum corporis et externorum, primum omnium eripere miseros opifices e saevitia oportet hominum cupidorum, personis pro rebus ad quaestum intemperanter abutentium. Scilicet tantum exigi operis, ut hebescat animus labore nimio, unaque corpus defatigationi succumbat, non iustitia, non humanitas patitur. In homine, sicut omnis natura sua, ita et vis efficiens certis est circumscripta finibus, extra quos egredi non potest. Acuitur illa quidem exercitatione atque usu, sed hac tamen lege ut agere intermittat identidem et acquiescat. De quotidiano igitur opere videndum ne in plures extrahatur horas, quam vires sinant. Intervalla vero quiescendi quanta esse oportet.

¹ Gen. i. 28.² Rom. x. 12.³ Exod. xx. 8.⁴ Gen. ii. 2.

test, ex vario genere operis, ex adjunctis temporum et locorum, ex ipsa opificum valetudine iudicandum. Quorum est opus lapidem e terra excindere, aut ferrum, aes, aliaque id genus effodere penitus abdita, eorum labor, quia multo maior est idemque valetudini gravis, cum brevitate temporis est compensandus. Anni quoque dispicienda tempora: quia non raro idem operae genus alio tempore facile est ad tolerandum, alio aut tolerari nulla ratione potest, aut sine summa difficultate non potest.

Denique quod facere enitique vir adulta aetate beneque validus potest, id a femina puerove non est aequum postulare. Immo de pueris valde cavendum, ne prius officina capiat, quam corpus, ingenium, animum satis firmaverit aetas. Erumpentes enim in pueritia vires, velut herbescentem viriditatem, agitatio praecox elidit; qua ex re omnis est institutio puerilis interitura. Sic certa quaedam artificia minus apte conveniunt in feminas ad opera domestica natas: quae quidem opera et tuentur, magnopere in muliebri genere decus, et liberorum institutioni prosperitatieque familiae natura respondent. Universe autem statuatur, tantum esse opificibus tribuendum otii, quantum cum viribus compensetur labore consumptis; quia detritas usu vires debet cessatio restituere. In omni obligatione, qua dominis atque artificibus invicem contrahatur, haec semper aut adscripta aut tacita conditio inest, utrique generi quiescendi ut cautum sit: neque enim honestum esset convenire secus, quia nec postulare cuiquam fas est, nec spondere neglectum officiorum, quae vel Deo vel sibimetipsi hominem obstringunt.

(To be continued.)

Notices of Books.

LIFE OF BLESSED JOHN FISHER, BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, CARDINAL OF THE HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, MARTYR UNDER HENRY VIII. By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF SIR THOMAS MORE, LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, AND MARTYR UNDER HENRY VIII. By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates.

FATHER BRIDGETT has rendered incomparable service to the Catholic Church in England by the publication of these two beautiful biographies. The respectable Protestants of our time who have set their consciences to rest with the comfortable theory that whoever was responsible for the establishment of Protestantism in the past, there they find it to-day, and there it must remain, and that they can serve God in it as faithfully as elsewhere, must receive a rude awakening should these two comely volumes fall into their hands.

The author of the *Lives* of these two great saints does not enter professionally into the general history of the times with which he deals. His works are essentially biographies. They keep to the subject all through, without digressions or dissertations upon habits, customs, and characters that are not immediately concerned. And yet when one has got through these two volumes he has acquired a deeper insight into the doings of that ill-fated time than can be obtained from most histories. And Father Bridgett is always a safe guide. He sifts documents opinions, and judgments with the skill of a practised critic. He always gives solid proofs when there is a point of controversy and uses the advantages of his position with splendid force and effect. But a more lasting gain than any which accrues of a literary or historic kind is the deep mark, the profound and enduring impression on the soul which anyone must experience who reads these volumes. They present to us the acts and achievements of two of the noblest characters that ever adorned the annals of Church or State. We should like to quote many extracts from these two volumes. Unfortunately, space will not allow us to indulge our desire. All the more heartily, therefore, do we com-

mend the works themselves. They will not only repay perusal from a literary and historical point of view, but they will win the admiration and love of every reader for the two brave men who stood firm to the last in Catholic loyalty and faith, and whose pure and noble lives shine resplendent in the midst of so much corruption and treachery.

J. F. H.

THE VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE WORLDS. By Rev. J. W. Vahey Ridgeway, Wisconsin. Milwaukee: Hoffman Brothers.

THIS work embraces a vast variety of subjects. It deals with the infinitely great and the infinitely little. In about two hundred and seventy pages it undertakes to discuss and to solve some of the weightiest problems that ever presented themselves to the human mind. Atheists, Pantheists, Agnostics, Positivists, Free-thinkers, Evolutionists, Socialists, Communists, are all passed in review; and then we have the origin of the civil power and the divine right of kings; we have capital and labour; monopolies and trusts; the solar system; gravitation; the stars and the asteroids; comets and their chemistry angels and saints; purgatory, hell, and heaven; God and Christianity—everything, in fact, that is comprised under the range of visible and invisible. The work is, indeed, a “summa” of human knowledge on a small scale, and malicious persons might be tempted to suspect that it is also a “summa” of the author’s on a large one. However, the people on the spot are, doubtless the best judges of the requirements of their country, and we can well understand that such a work as this may be of service in America. It labours under the defect which is common to most works of the kind—that errors and objections are clearly and forcibly put, whilst the answers are often involved and not quite so intelligible. It is written in an excellent spirit, and, as the author says in the preface, should the Church pronounce against any of its opinions, he “will consider the same as erroneous.”

J. F. H.

VALENTINE RIAANT. A Review of “Notes and Recollections from 1860-1879.” By W. J. Anherst, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society.

THIS handsome little work of 114 pages has been written for the express purpose of calling attention to the life of Valentine Riant,

contained in a work entitled *Notes and Recollections from 1860-1879*, translated from the French by Lady Herbert. Copies of Lady Herbert's translation may be obtained at the Convent of Marie Réparatrice, Horley House, Marylebone Road, London.

The memoir has been compiled in order to give to the reading public a perfect example of Christian chivalry in the nineteenth century, whose words and works may be studied and imitated by the youth of the Christian world. The rev. reviewer, while referring us to Lady Herbert's translation for fuller and more ample details concerning the too short life of Mdlle. Riant, manages to communicate just so much information as makes us desirous of obtaining more. Reading the lives of those who have been remarkable in any age as faithful followers of Christ, is, no doubt, most edifying and instructive; but we agree with the reviewer, that there is another heroism besides that which is displayed by the martyr at the stake or on the scaffold, and this heroism consists in utter and absolute devotion of one's whole life to God's service, whether in religion or in the world. Such a heroine was Mdlle. Riant, and the story of her short life and of her many virtues cannot fail to exercise the most salutary influence on the minds and hearts of her contemporaries.

SPECIAL DEVOTION TO THE HOLY GHOST. Vol. I. By the Very Rev. Dr. Otto Zardetti. V.G. Milwaukee: Hoffmann Brothers.

THIS beautifully-bound volume has been called forth by the solemn and authoritative words of the American bishops at the last Plenary Council of Baltimore, and aims specially at providing the colleges and schools of America with a manual which will assist in explaining, cultivating, and popularizing the devotion to the Holy Ghost. The appearance of this work is most opportune, for what appear to be the great evils of the present time—religious indifference and reviving naturalism—can be best neutralized by the consciousness of the presence and in-dwelling in us and in the Church of God's Holy Ghost; while, at the same time, it can scarcely be denied that this eminently practical and Christian devotion is hardly known, or rarely practised, among the faithful. The treatises of Cardinal Manning, who may be called the apostle of this devotion, are beyond the reach of many, and until now no effort has been made to meet the demand for a manual of this devotion, which should be at once comprehensive, practical, and

devotional. There is every reason to believe that this volume, the first of a promised series by the same author, will meet the wants and requirements of intelligent worshippers of the Holy Spirit. The nature of this devotion, its peculiar fitness for the time in which we live, and the formal observances requisite for its congregational practice are set forth with directness and lucidity. The author enlarges on the many offices which are ascribed by the Church to the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, and concludes this volume with an appropriate collection of prayers and hymns calculated to inspire and strengthen devotion to the Sanctifier.

THE POET'S PURGATORY, AND OTHER POEMS. By H. D. Ryder, of the Oratory. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1890.

POEMS OF THE PAST. By *Moi-Même*. Same Publishers, 1890.

POEMS AND BALLADS OF YOUNG IRELAND. Same Publishers.

In *The Poet's Purgatory* the poem from which Father Ryder's collection takes its name, the

"Votaries of nature who had found their joy
In echoing the praise of field and flood,
Winning a rapture from each floweret coy
On river bank or in the fragrant wood
From all but Him who made the source of all their good,"

are represented by the author in the life that follows the present, as

"A pallid band of ghosts. . . .
On every face the dreadful stamp of pain
From ceaseless searching after banished rest."

Such a fate for such a cause shall certainly never overtake either the author of the *Poet's Purgatory*, or *Moi-Même*. For, though each muse exults in the poetry of Nature, and knows "to win a rapture from each floweret coy," yet neither has forgotten "Him who made the source of all their good." Through both collections breathe a deep religious feeling, which surely for the Christian reader must lend an additional charm to even the most sublime creation of the poet's fancy. This is particularly true of *Poems of the Past*, of which there is a large and varied collection. Here are a few extracts, taken at random, which give a fair idea of the style and the

spirit of this collection. From "My Madonna" we take the following:—

" Beautiful face ! as I gaze on thee now,
With the rich glow of sunset retouching thy brow,
And thy mild eyes so tenderly resting on me,
' My Mother ' I lovingly utter to thee.

Beautiful face ! how content shall I be
If death find my dying glance resting on thee,
As the deep golden hues of the sunset decay
And my fast-waning spirit is ebbing away."

This is from " My Crucifix " :—

" When life seems rough and thorny and no sunbeam gilds the way,
It sheds upon its rugged track a cheering, bright'ning ray ;
It knows my heart's best secrets, my every wish and sigh ;
I whisper to it all my cares and griefs when none are nigh.

Oft when I press it to my lips, and on its Image gaze,
And see the proof of tenderness each loving wound displays,
Stilled is my restless heart, e'en when most tempted to rebel.
Sweet lessons of my Crucifix ! oh, may I learn thee well !"

Who *Moi-Même* is we are not told. That she is a lady any dozen lines in this collection of her poems proves conclusively; not because the poems betray the want of strength generally associated with the female character, but because they reveal the devotion, the self-denial, and, above all, the tenderness and sweetness which find a suitable home only in the heart of a Christian lady. That her heart beats under the humble habit of a *Religieuse*, the intense but at the same time trained and solid piety pervading every line of her poems clearly shows; while her touching centenary tribute to Nano Nagle leaves no room for doubt as to the particular Sisterhood to which she belongs. We sincerely wish her *Poems of the Past* a wide circulation. Were we in a position to do so we would bestow a copy on every boy and girl in Ireland, with full confidence that the intelligent perusal of its contents would tend powerfully to elevate and strengthen their character, while communicating to their still impressionable hearts some sparks of the divine fire which animates the breast of the humble *Moi-Même*.

The *Poems and Ballads* are not of the Young Ireland of '48, but of that of '88. Two of the contributors, Ellen O'Leary and Rose Kavanagh, have, since the publication of this booklet, resigned their places in the earthly choir to join the celestial. Among the others are Katharine Tynan, T. W. Rolleston, John Todhunter, and W. B. Yeats.

D. O'L.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1891.

ST. AIDAN, OR MAIDOC, BISHOP OF FERNS.¹

THE sixth and seventh centuries were glorious ones in the annals of the Irish Church. A hundred years after the blessed Patrick had landed on the soil of Erin, the faith had spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. The warlike spirit of the ancient clans—still hot and unsubdued—was gradually being curbed under the gentle yoke of the Gospel, and it was no uncommon thing for the prince or the monarch to exchange the court for the cloister, the royal robe for the mean habit of the monk. The wild islands off the western coast, the peaceful valleys, the lovely lake sides of the north and south became centres of monastic life, and of those famous cloister schools in which the lamp of learning burnt brightly in days of war and strife, and the song of praise ascended day and night before the throne of God. In the sixth century St. Finnian founded the monastery of Innisfallen, on an island in the lower Lake of Killarney—a lovely spot, rendered still more heavenly by the saintly lives of the monks. The Shannon banks were sanctified by the famous abbey and school of Clon-mac-nois, established by St.

¹ The Irish expressed devotion to a saint by using the diminutive of his name, or prefixing the pronoun *mo*, my. *Aedh* was the bishop's name; the Latin form was *Aedanus*; the Irish diminutive *Aedh-og*; with the prefix *mo*, *Mo-ædh-og*, or *Moedhog*, or *Moque*. The saint's name is now written *Maidoc*, or *Aidan*. Todd's *Life of St. Patrick*, page 115, note.

Kiernan in the year 548; and in the following year St. Kevin selected as the site for what was to prove the great university of Glendalough, the weird and romantic spot now known as the Seven Churches. Lismore, too, and the Blackwater were enriched with their famous cloister school at the end of the sixth century, through the labours of St. Faidhe Fland. But enough. To name all the abodes of piety and learning that adorned Erin in those days were an endless task. Ireland was covered with monasteries; and so great was the reputation of her schools, that men flocked thither from all parts of Europe to imbibe the true principles of religion and learning. Nor was this all. From the cloisters of Ireland went forth valiant missionaries into foreign lands to carry the light of the Gospel to foreign shores. St. Columba founded the famous monastery of Iona, from which his disciples went forth to convert the Scots, and to share in the evangelization of England. St. Columbanus preached in Gaul and Germany; he established in the Vosges the great monastery of Luxeuil and the abbey of Bobbio, near Milan; whilst to the zeal and activity of St. Gall we owe the celebrated abbey of that name, situated on the Lake of Constance. In a word, in those days Irish missionaries were to be found everywhere in the front ranks of the army of the Church, extending her empire and strengthening it by the establishment of schools of learning and discipline.

The life of St. Maidoc belongs partly to the sixth and partly to the seventh century. He was born of royal blood, for his father, Setna, prince of Breffny,¹ of the Hy-Briun sept, was descended from a former king of Ireland, and his mother, Ethne, was of the house of Amalgaid, who was king of Connaught when St. Patrick landed in Ireland.² Setna and his wife Ethne were a holy and God-fearing couple, who dwelt in a place called Inisbreagmuig, in the present county of Cavan. Though married many years, they had not been blessed with children; and they prayed to God, and gave large alms, with the hope that they might not be left without an

¹ Equivalent to the counties of Cavan and Leitrim. Ware, *History of Ireland*, vol. i., page 46.

² *Four Masters*, 449, note g.

heir. More than that, they got the monks of the monastery of Drumlane¹ to offer up prayers to God for them with the same intention. Their faith was not left unrewarded. It is related that some little time before the birth of our saint a bright star was seen descending from heaven upon his mother Ethne, an earnest of the future brilliancy of his life and example. Maidoc was born in the island of Inisbreagmuig, probably about the year 540.²

The ancient sons of Erin loved the river banks and the secluded islands in the lakes, and so we find the ancestral home of the Hy-Briiuns of Breffny on an island in the county Cavan. Here the young Maidoc spent his childhood and the early days of his boyhood. To his pious parents he was a subject of tender solicitude. No doubt they regarded him as

¹ In county Cavan, near Belturbet.

² The date of St. Maidoc's birth is not without difficulty. Lanigan (*Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii., page 333, and note 125) places it in 560 or thereabouts. Harris and Ussher incline to an earlier date. In the Bollandists, under date of January 31st, the following extract from the notes of Serrarius, for September 7th, is given:—"Item hac die S. Modoci Episcopi in Scotia, qui vixit circa annum 534." It seems necessary to place the date of our saint somewhere about the year 540, from the facts recorded in the sixth chapter of his life. Here it is stated that he and St. Laisrean were companions (*socii*), and at the time in question decided to part company. From the context this appears to have been before St. Laisrean founded his monastery at Devenish, which he did about the year 560. Indeed, his death is put down in the *Four Masters* as having occurred in 563. Certainly it was not later than 570. It is clear, therefore, that the parting of the two friends cannot have been long after the year 560, and hence 560 was not the year of our saint's birth. On the other hand, a difficulty arises from the event recorded in the second chapter—that Maidoc, whilst yet a little boy (*parvulus*), was a hostage in the hands of Ainmire, king of Ireland (*rex Temoriæ*), who reigned from 564 to 566 (*Four Masters*). From this it seems to follow that Maidoc was not born long before 560. But then, we may ask, was Ainmire really king of Ireland when Maidoc was a hostage in his hands? We might suggest:—(1) That the writer of St. Maidoc's life, writing after Ainmire had been king of Ireland, might have referred to him as *rex Temoriæ*, though at the time of the incident recorded he had not yet attained to that dignity. (2) In one manuscript copy of the life of St. Maidoc (cf. *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, page 283), Ainmire in this context is called only *rex Magnus*. (3) Before Ainmire becomes king of Ireland he is referred to in the *Four Masters* at the year 557 as king, and as being one of many chieftains that exact hostages from a conquered foe. (4) Neighbouring septs were continually at war with one another, and there is nothing unlikely in the fact that the prince of the Hy-Nials should have exacted hostages from the princes of Breffny, without the intervention of the king of Ireland.

a special trust from God, the fruit of much prayer and almsgiving, and so they carefully watched over him from his infancy, and taught him to walk in the way of holiness and virtue. Nor was the child slow to respond to the instructions he received. The grace of God was manifest in him from the first. He kept his soul unspotted from the defilements of sin, and, even at this early age, God manifested His special love for the child by according to him the gift of miracles.¹

The territory of the Hy-Nials lay at no great distance from that of the Hy-Briiuns. Now, in those days wars were of very frequent occurrence, not only between the supreme king and his foreign foes, but between province and province, between sept and sept.² One of these numerous struggles took place between the princes of Breffny and the Hy-Nial sept whilst Ainmire was king of the Hy-Nials, and it ended in Ainmire demanding hostages from the family of the Hy-Briiuns. The sons of the noblest in the land had to be delivered over to the conqueror,³ and amongst the number was Maidoc, still a little boy. When the youths were ushered into the presence of the king, he was at once struck with the appearance of the youthful Maidoc. A heavenly beauty and the grace of God shone in the boy's face, and, unsolicited, the king offered to receive him into his court, or, if he preferred it, to send him back to his home. The boy, however, with a courage beyond his years, declined any special favour for himself, and begged the king to extend his favour to all his fellow-prisoners. His unselfishness did not go unrewarded. The noble bearing, and perhaps also the reputation for holiness which the saint had gained even at that early age, moved the generosity of Ainmire. He dismissed all the boys, without ransom, to their homes, requesting only a remembrance in the prayers of the youthful Maidoc.

The days of our saint's childhood and boyhood quickly passed away. He grew daily in virtue and in the esteem of

¹ *Life*, chapter iii.

² Cf. Moore's *Ireland*, vol. i., page 170.

³ In the *Life of St. Aidus (Camb.-Brit. Saints)* the number is put at fifty-three boys.

his neighbours, passing his time in tending the flocks, in simple pastimes and in prayer to God. The great promise he gave of a brilliant future did not escape the watchful eye of his parents. They determined that he should have the advantage of a good education; and accordingly it was decided that he should be entrusted to the care of some holy men to be instructed in the knowledge proper to his station.

Ten or fifteen years previous to the birth of St. Maidoc, the great monastic school of Clonard¹ had been founded by St. Finnian.² Baptized and instructed by one of the immediate disciples of St. Patrick, St. Finnian studied both in Ireland and in Britain, and was intimate with St. David, St. Gildas and St. Cadoc. After having founded many establishments in Ireland, about the year 530 he erected in a desert place the monastery of Clonard, and he was soon (so great was the reputation of his learning and of his school) surrounded by disciples and scholars to the number of three thousand, including some of the greatest of the Irish saints, as Columba, Kieran, and Brendan. To this abode of learning and sanctity the young Maidoc was sent by his parents.³ Perhaps when our young saint first went there, Clonard was still presided over by its venerable founder, who in all probability did not die till the year 552. If not, St. Senachus, one of the greatest of his disciples, was bishop and abbot of Clonard. No doubt, too, the presence of St. Laisrean at the new school of St. Finnian was an additional inducement for the pious Setna to send his son there; for Laisrean, too, was a native of Breffny, and would be

¹ In the county Meath.

² Cf. Lanigan, vol. i., page 464, &c.

³ There is no direct evidence that St. Maidoc was at the school of Clonard, but indirectly it seems to be a necessary consequence of what is related in the life of our saint (chap. vi). Here it is stated that St. Laisrean and St. Maidoc were companions, evidently meaning that they had long lived together, and were then going to part company. This event we have already shown took place about the year 560, and very shortly after St. Laisrean left Clonard (Lanigan, vol. ii., page 218). Moreover, at that date Maidoc can only have just left school. Where, then, can the two saints have become intimate, if not at Clonard? Moreover, that our saint was at Clonard is in itself a very likely thing, since it was one of the most noted schools of the day.

sure to take a kindly interest in his young kinsman Maidoc.

The life of our saint at Clonard was very unlike school life in these days.¹ It was a real preparation for a life of hardship and privation. Students were there assembled in great numbers from all parts, from every class of society. Prince and peasant were treated alike. No allowance was made for nobility of birth. Accustomed as he was to the attentions accorded to children of high rank, when he entered the school of Clonard, Maidoc had to join the rest in working for his maintenance and that of the establishment; and, no doubt, as was the case with the great St. Columba, he had much to endure on the score of his noble blood. But the great work of the day was the acquisition of knowledge. The Latin tongue had to be mastered, the ancient classics to be read; the science of theology, such as it existed in those days, had to be studied; above all, the Sacred Scriptures had to be pondered on and expounded. Nor were the art of versification and the rudiments of music neglected. Music was much cultivated and loved by the Irish of those days, and no school existed in which some knowledge of it was not imparted to the students.

Maidoc was a lover of nature, and in his leisure hours he used to wander forth into some retired spot, book in hand,² and there spend the time in reading and prayer. He was naturally gentle and loving in his disposition. Suffering of any kind, even in dumb animals, appealed to him. Thus it is recorded of him, how once, as he was reading in the woods near Clonard, a stag, wearied with the chase, came up to him, pursued by a pack of dogs and a troop of huntsmen. The helpless condition of the animal moved his commiseration, and he helped it to escape from its hungry pursuers.

How long Maidoc remained at Clonard we are unable to say. Assuredly, it is not unlikely that he left that abode of learning together with St. Laisrean somewhere about the

¹ Cf. *Christian Schools and Scholars*, vol. i., page 66.

² *Life*. chapter v.

year 560. At all events, about that time we find the two friends together, having apparently been comrades for many years. St. Laisrean was, we know, established as abbot in his new monastery of Devenish in the year 563 ; and it was shortly after leaving the school of Clonard that he entered on the labour of founding that abbey.¹ On the other hand, considering the age of St. Maidoc, it is unlikely that he left school long before the year 560. Laisrean was considerably older than his friend, and, no doubt, had devoted many years to lecturing and teaching at the school of Clonard. In that establishment a solid friendship grew up and matured between the two holy men, and now that they had left that abode of learning the question arose, whether they were to labour together in the service of God or not. On a certain day as they were praying together for light to settle that important question, God seems to have revealed to them His will in the matter in a very unmistakable way. They were to separate. Laisrean was to labour in the north, Maidoc in the south, but not yet for many years. The biographer² of our saint relates that as the two saints were praying together for light, two trees near them suddenly fell, one towards the north, and the other towards the south ; that towards the north being near St. Laisrean, that towards the south near St. Maidoc. The holy men considered that they were to regard this remarkable occurrence as a manifestation to them of the will of God.

St. Laisrean lost no time in entering upon his work. Having obtained a grant of an island in Loch Erne, called Damh-inis, he there erected a monastery, which was famous for many years to come. But Maidoc was still young ; and yet, young as he was, his reputation for sanctity had spread far and wide, and was attended by miracles. Shortly after St. Laisrean had settled in the Island of Damh-inis, his friend Maidoc was staying with him on a visit. It happened—so we read in the life of the saint—that one day three sons of a certain pious woman who dwelt near

¹ Lanigan, vol. ii., page 218.

² Probably a certain St. Evinn.

the lake were drowned, and the disconsolate mother, coming to St. Laisrean, besought him to restore her children to her. He referred her to St. Maidoc, who, moved by the good woman's entreaties, prayed to God for her, and restored her sons to her, safe and sound. The result of all this was natural. Crowds of persons kept coming to our saint, requesting him to allow them to become his disciples, and to direct them in the spiritual life. This was very trying to his humility. He shrunk from the eminence to which he was rising. He felt that the time for his public work had not yet arrived; and at length, seeing that he had no chance of finding a place of seclusion in Ireland, he determined to leave his country and embrace the monastic life in another land.

In our own days a passage from Ireland to England is a very easy matter. It was not so in the sixth century. The sons of Erin in those days braved the dangers of the deep in fragile barks formed of ribs of osier covered with hides, called *currachs*.¹ It was in such a vessel that St. Cormac, as we read in St. Adamnan's life of St. Columba, sailed from Iona, to seek out some solitary island in the ocean, and was for fourteen days out of sight of land. But Maidoc's zeal in God's service overcame his dread of the perils of the deep. He had, however, a difficulty to overcome before he could set out upon his journey. Albus, Prince of the Hy-Briun sept, hearing of his intention of leaving the country, was unwilling to part with so great a treasure from his kingdom. He threw obstacles in the way of our saint's departure, and it was only by flying stealthily away, and crossing over into the province of Leinster, that Maidoc was able to carry his intention into execution. Travelling down to the south of Ireland, he set sail from some part of the coast of the county Wexford, and landed safely in Milford Haven.

In those days St. David was the great light of the Welsh Church. A disciple of St. Paulinus, he had spent many years in the Isle of Wight, and had returned thence into

¹ Ware, *History of Ireland*. Of the boats covered with hides in use among the early Irish. Vol. i., chap. xxiv., page 178.

Wales full of fervour and apostolic zeal. He founded abbeys in many parts of the country, and became the spiritual father of an innumerable family of monks whom he led to perfection by his doctrine and example. His great monastery was in the Vale of Ross, near Menevia. Situated on the most westerly promontory of Pembrokeshire, the monastery was built in a secluded spot, about half a mile from the sea, and surrounded on three sides by steep and rugged hills. To this school of monastic discipline many eminent servants of God came to be instructed by St. David in the science of the saints. It was to the monastery of Menevia and to St. David¹ that Maidoc was now journeying. When he arrived at the monastery gates, he did not find any gorgeous buildings like the Glastonbury, or Westminster, or Tewkesbury of the middle ages. At Menevia everything was of the most primitive simplicity. The monks lived in little separate cells or huts. The common refectory and the church were built of wattles and wood cemented with mud, and roofed with straw or sedge. The whole was probably enclosed within a rampart or mound, and presented the appearance of a poor village.

When our young saint presented himself at the monastery gates, after his tedious and dangerous journey, his reception was anything but encouraging. Indeed, were he not fortified by the grace of God, and a firm determination to persevere in the good work he had taken in hand, he would most certainly have returned again to Ireland. For the community did not easily admit recruits into their ranks.

“Whosoever desired to join himself to their holy society, was obliged to remain ten days at the door of the monastery, acknowledging himself a wretched sinner, and unworthy to be admitted among them : where he was severely tried by rude words and rough usage, which if he patiently endured all that time, he was then taken in by the senior religious, who had the care of

¹ Though Ussher, Harris, and Ware (bishops, Ferns) hold that St. David died in 544, it seems to us, with Lanigan (vol. i., 477), and others, that that date is out of the question, and that St. David lived till the end of the sixth century.

the gate, and was by him instructed, and exercised for a long time in painful labours and grievous mortifications; and so at length, was admitted to the fellowship of the rest of the brethren, leaving all his worldly substance behind him, of which the community would take no part."¹

Maidoc, was, however, prepared for all that. He passed successfully through his term of probation, and was admitted into the community. Nor was his life then an easy one. On the contrary, the severity of the rule was such as might reasonably have made the most fervent waver. "During their work the religious employed themselves in the contemplation of heavenly things. Having finished their work abroad in the fields (according to the time allotted to them), they returned to the monastery, and spent what time remained, till the evening, either in reading, or writing, or praying. In the evening they all went to the church, where they continued in prayer till the stars appeared, and then took their meal all altogether, eating sparingly, and not to satiety: their food was bread, with herbs or roots, seasoned with salt; their drink was a mixture of milk and water. After supper they remained about three hours employed in watching, prayer and adoration, and then went to rest. They rose again at cock-crowing, and continued at their prayers till day,"² Labour was enjoined on all; they were clothed in the skins of beasts; they never spoke, except when necessity required it. Such was the rule of life followed at Menevia. As for the young Maidoc, he entered upon the hard duties of the monastic life with fervour and zeal. He surpassed the brethren in humility and obedience, and because of his regularity in the observance of the rule he was especially loved by the holy abbot, St. David.

Our saint had other crosses to bear besides the mere hardships of the monastic rule. Even an Apostle fell away. Judas betrayed his Master. No wonder, then, if bad men are found from time to time within the walls of monasteries. Such a man was the bursar or *œconomus*, called in Irish the *Fertighis*,

¹ *Britannia Sancta*, part i., page 142. Cf. "Vita S. Davidis per Ricemarchum" (*Camb. Brit. Saints*, page 128).

² *Brit. Sancta*, part i., page 142; "Vita S. David," *ut supra*.

of St. David's monastery. The œconomus was an official of much importance. His duty was to look after the domestic affairs of the monastery, to see that it was supplied with necessaries, and to superintend the labour of the monks for the service of the community.¹ The œconomus at Menevia hated our saint without a cause, and took advantage of every opportunity to annoy him. One day, as Maidoc was reading in his cell, he came to him, and ordered him off in injurious language to help the brethren to fetch wood to the monastery; for it so happened that, unknown to our saint, the brethren had gone out into the woods in the morning for that purpose. Maidoc obeyed with alacrity, and in his hurry left his book lying outside on the ground. The œconomus now gave him two unbroken oxen to yoke under a waggon, without proper harness. But God was with the holy man. The oxen worked quietly, and he reached the place where the brethren were working without mishap.

The holy abbot David was not unaware of what had taken place. Now, in those days books were very much more valuable than they are now; so, as it had begun to rain heavily, he went out to pick up Maidoc's book, which lay upon the ground. He found it perfectly dry. Still, though the holy man fully recognised the miracle that had taken place, he determined not to lose the opportunity for administering a salutary reproof to his disciple, and accordingly hastened to where the brethren were labouring near the sea-side. Coming up to Maidoc, he asked him sternly why he had left his book exposed to the rain. The saint, seeing that the abbot was angry with him, prostrated himself at his feet without replying; and there upon the ground St. David left him, and returned to the monastery. Nor did Maidoc arise till one of the monks sent by St. David summoned him to him. Then, in presence of the whole community—for he knew where the blame lay—the holy bishop sharply rebuked the œconomus.

But Satan had entered into the heart of that unhappy man. He was consumed with envy, and determined at last

¹ Cf. Dr. Todd's *St. Patrick*, pp. 166-169.

to murder our saint. For this purpose he hired a certain wicked layman, and sent him with Maidoc to cut down firewood. As the two were so engaged, whilst our saint was bending down to move a log of wood, the wretched man raised his axe with the intention of bringing it down on Maidoc's head. He was, however, stricken before he had time to carry out his nefarious design, and both his arms were paralyzed. Terrified at the sudden judgment of God, he confessed the whole plot, and begged pardon from the man of God. Maidoc, rejoiced at the man's repentance rather than at his own escape, prayed to God for him, and he recovered the use of his arms. St. David, when he heard what had taken place, was proceeding to inflict chastisement on the wretched *œconomus*; but, at the request of Maidoc, he left him unpunished. And, indeed, God Himself punished the unhappy man, for he died miserably a short time afterwards.

Day by day the reputation of Maidoc for sanctity spread through the land of the Britons, and his prayers were sought for even in the courts of princes. At this time there were continual hostilities between the Britons and Saxons. It was during one of these many wars, when the Saxons had made an incursion into Wales, that the British leaders sent to St. David asking him to let Maidoc come to them, to bless themselves and their arms. St. David consented, and our saint went to a place whence he had a view of the two armies. It happened that the Saxons had entered the country unexpectedly, and the British were but ill-prepared for the combat. But so efficacious were the prayers of our saint, that the British achieved a glorious victory. Nay, more. As long as Maidoc remained at Menevia the Saxons made no further inroads into Wales. They feared the power of his prayers with God.

Maidoc passed many years in St. David's monastery. He had not, however, forgotten that the scene of his public life was to be the south of Ireland; and so, now that he was fully trained in the monastic life, with the blessing of St. David, and accompanied by a body of disciples from Menevia, he set sail from Milford Haven, and landed in the territory of

Hy-Kinsellagh.¹ He found the country near the coast in a wild and lawless state—in fact, a body of plunderers, led by a man of position in the neighbourhood, met them as they neared the shore, intending, as was their custom with strangers landing on the coast, to rob, and perhaps murder them. But the sight of the man of God and his disciples seems to have appealed to their better nature. Instead of attacking the monks, they assisted them to disembark. They afterwards saw more of the holy Maidoc; they were converted from their lawless mode of life, and they gave our saint two plots of ground, upon which he erected churches for the convenience of the neighbourhood.

Before Maidoc had been long in Ireland he seems to have repented that he did not ask St. David to appoint some one under whose jurisdiction he and his disciples should be.² In his humility he did not realize that he himself was to be the father of many monasteries, and the director of a multitude of saints. However, he received light upon the subject from God, and gave up the idea he entertained of returning to Wales to consult St. David on the matter. He determined, however, to take as his spiritual director St. Molua, a holy and learned monk, whom he may have known at the school of Clonard, and who was founder—so it is said—of no less than one hundred monasteries.³

The life upon which he was now entering was to be one of great labour and activity. Within the next few years, in fact, he founded a very large number of monasteries, though, unfortunately, of most of them we have no record. Not long after his return from Britain he crossed the river Barrow, and entered the territory of the Desii, which is practically co-extensive with the county of Waterford.⁴ Here he

¹ Ware, *History, &c., of Ireland*, vol. i., page 60, including most of the county Wexford.

² The words in the *Life*, that he wanted St. David to chose a confessor for him do not seem correct. (Cf. Bollandists, Jan. 31, note to chap. xix.) The words given in the life printed in the *Camb.-British Saints* seem more likely (page 238). Here it is said he wanted David to choose for him "amicum anime."

³ Lanigan, ii., 206.

⁴ Ware, vol. i., page 49.

founded the cell or monastery of Disert-Nairbe, which is, according to Archdall,¹ the modern Bolhendesart, in the parish of Desert. He remained for some time at his new foundation, and then returned to Hy-Kinsellagh, the true field of his labours. One of the most celebrated of his establishments in this part of the country was the abbey of Clonemore, situated in the barony of Bantry, near the Slaney, and about two miles from Enniscorthy.² Over this monastery he placed one of his disciples, Dicolla Garbhir, and it maintained its reputation for many centuries.

At this period Bran Dubh, a man of great energy and ability, was ruler of Hy-Kinsellagh. His reputation had already spread throughout Ireland, and for some reason or other he had incurred the odium of the chief kings of the country. The result was that about this time, Aidus, supreme king of Erin, and son of Ainmire, who had had Maidoc as a hostage in his hands, was now approaching with a large force to ravage the territory of Bran Dubh. Maidoc was dwelling at the time at the abbey of Clonemore, and such was his reputation for sanctity and force of character, that people congregated to him from all sides for protection. Their confidence was not misplaced. Aidus marched towards the monastery; but misfortune befell him from the very beginning. It is said that Maidoc made a mark with his staff upon the ground, and that a soldier, having scoffingly passed over it, fell dead on the spot. At all events, king Aidus recognised that heaven was against him, and retreated, exclaiming that it was useless to strive against God. Before long, however, his hostility to the chief of the Hy-Kinsellagh prevailed over his fear of God. Assembling again a powerful force from Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Tyrconnel, he marched southwards, with the intention of driving Bran Dubh from his territory. But the strategical resources of the southern king and the powerful prayers of Maidoc were too much for Aidus. He was completely

¹ *Monasticon Hibernicum*, page 685.

² Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, page 734.

defeated, and slain with a large number of the noblest of his followers. This was in the year 594.¹

Bran Dubh now became king, not only of Leinster, but of the greater part of Ireland. He does not appear to have devoted much attention to religious matters, and, in fact, the greater part of his time was taken up with wars and quarrels with other kingdoms. Not long, however, after he had become king of Leinster he fell ill, and in the delirium of his sickness, as he lay in his camp by the river Slaney, he seemed to see great monsters trying to devour him. Then a priest of beautiful and joyful countenance seemed to him to come and rescue him from destruction. After a time the king grew better, and he was moved to a place by the sea-side called Inbher-Crainchium, still very weak and sickly. Then one of his friends advised him to send to the holy man, Maidoc, for some holy water. The idea of having recourse to the man of God pleased the king; but he determined, weak as he was, to go himself to St. Maidoc. When he came into the presence of our saint he was struck with astonishment at seeing that he was the very same in appearance as the holy priest who in his illness had rescued him from the horrid monster. Bran Dubh had had time for reflection during his long illness; his interview with Maidoc completed the work of conversion within him. He now confessed to the saint the wicked life he had been leading. He expressed his willingness to make reparation for the wrongs he had committed. The saint on his side prayed to God for him, and healed him from his infirmity.

During the remainder of his life Bran Dubh was a sincere and devoted friend of our saint. He bestowed large donations upon him for ecclesiastical purposes, and in the year 598² made over to him some land at the modern town of Ferns, on the Bann, five miles from Enniscorthy, to build a monastery upon. Nor was he content with doing so much. He had a synod convoked of the bishops of the

¹ A full account of the defeat and death of king Aidus is given in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (Donovan), vol. i., page 218, note h.

² Cf. Ware, *Bishops*, page 436; Archdall, page 742.

province of Leinster, to which there came not only the prelates of the Church, but also the princes of the kingdom. There it was decided by king, bishops, and people, that Ferns should be erected into a new episcopal see, and that it should be in the future the archiepiscopal see of the province of Leinster. Maidoc was then unanimously chosen, and consecrated first archbishop of the new diocese.

It was about this time, shortly after he had become bishop of Ferns, that Maidoc went to visit his old master, David, at Menevia; for Maidoc became bishop in the year 598, and David died before the end of the century. Hence, as the visit took place after our saint had received the episcopal dignity, it must have been about this time. St. David knew that his end was at hand, and as he was anxious to see his beloved disciple once more before he died, he sent a request to him to come and visit him at Menevia. The request reached Maidoc at a busy time, for he was still new to the important office he had received. Still, he could not refuse the request of his old abbot; and, moreover, it was a real pleasure to him to return once more to his old monastic home. He had not forgotten the lessons of virtue he had learnt in the Vale of Ross, but had given the holy rule of St. David, or else one very similar to it, to be observed in the many monasteries he had established. No doubt, too, there were many points connected with the government of his monasteries and the episcopal office, upon which Maidoc was glad of an opportunity to consult St. David. Certainly we know that he remained a long time at Menevia, and that he and the great Welsh saint had prolonged conversations together on spiritual affairs. Nor did Maidoc depart till the call of duty imperatively demanded his return. Then he bade adieu to his venerable friend, and set out for Ireland,

¹ Before this time the archiepiscopal see had been at Sletty, afterwards it was at Kildare. Lanigan (vol. i., chap. vi., note 67) thinks that the archbishops of those days (except Armagh) were not, strictly speaking, metropolitans. Dr. Todd suggests that perhaps archbishop in this and similar passages is only a mistranslation of the Irish *ard-epsco*p—a chief or eminent bishop, pp. 14-16.

fortified with his blessing. Very few weeks after his departure, David went to receive the reward of his labours.

The holy bishop of Ferns lost another valued friend in the first year of the seventh century. Bran Dabh, king of Leinster, died in the year 601.¹ The Hy-Nials had long been waiting for a chance to avenge the defeat and death of their kinsman Aidus, king of Erin. At length, in the year 601, the longed-for opportunity presented itself, and the powerful northern family made an incursion in force into the province of Leinster. The battle was fought at a place called Slaibne, in which Bran-Dubh was completely defeated. The king escaped from the battle, but was afterwards traitorously assassinated by a nobleman of Leinster. Maidoc was much grieved at the miserable death of his friend and benefactor. It is recorded in his life (chap. xlv.) that he recalled the good king to life for a short while by the power of his intercession. Then it is related that Bran-Dubh, having confessed his sins and received with great fervour the Holy Viaticum, departed to receive the crown of the just. His body was deposited, according to his own request, in the Cathedral of Ferns.²

For upwards of thirty years Maidoc held the episcopal see of Ferns. Beside the cathedral he had built a large monastery, in which, whenever the duties of his office allowed, he lived, and led a life of labour and mortification. That the abbey of Ferns was an extensive one is clear, from the fact that on one occasion Bran-Dubh, coming to visit our saint, found him labouring at the harvest with one hundred and fifty of the brethren.³ The humility and mutual charity of the community were a source of edification to all that knew them. The rule was, no doubt, if not the same as that practised at Menevia, one very closely resembling it; and Maidoc himself, who had learnt to love that rule during his stay in Wales, claimed no exemptions from its severity. That he joined the brethren in their watchings and prayer, it is unnecessary to say. He fasted much. Indeed, it was his

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters.*

² Archdall attributes this event to the year 601. Lanigan (vol ii., page 338) to 602.

³ *Life*, chap. xxxvii.

custom when he wanted any special gift from God to abstain from food;¹ and on one occasion he is said to have taken no nourishment for forty days.² Moreover, encumbered though he was with the charge of his diocese, the spiritual care of the province of Leinster, and the direction of a large number of monasteries, he joined the monks at their manual labour. He took his part in sowing the harvest;³ he planted fruit-trees;⁴ he sowed seed in the fields;⁵ he at times, too, took upon himself the tedious labour of copying manuscripts.⁶ In a word, he taught the religious under his charge by example as well as by precept.

Bishop Maidoc was on terms of intimacy with many of the great saints of his day. For St. Molua, who was his spiritual director, he had the most profound esteem, and he journeyed from time to time to his monastery of Clonfert-Mulloe, in the King's County, to consult him. It is not unlikely that the friendship of these holy men began at the school of Clonard; for, in all probability, St. Molua was there at the same time as our saint.⁷ During one of the journeys of St. Maidoc to visit St. Molua it is related that, as he was passing by the convent of Cluain-Chreduil,⁸ a foundation of St. Ida, called the St. Brigid of Munster, he restored to life one of the nuns of the convent who had just died, and was much beloved by the holy abbess. "All that heard of, or were witnesses of, so great a miracle," says the biographer of our saint, "gave praise to God."

St. Columba, too, the great apostle and abbot of Iona, was well known to St. Maidoc. Both had been brought up at Clonard, though, no doubt, St. Columba had left the school before St. Maidoc arrived. No account is left of any meeting between these holy men in their lifetime, but it is related that Maidoc received a supernatural intimation of the death of St. Columba, and that he was a witness of the triumphant entrance of that great saint into the kingdom of heaven.

Another holy man with whom our saint was on intimate

¹ *Vita*, chap. xxxvi.

² Chap. xxxiv.

³ Chap. xxxvii.

⁴ Chap. lvi.

⁵ Chap. xlvii.

⁶ Chap. xli.

⁷ *Lanigan*, vol. ii., 205.

⁸ In *Hy-Connail*, i.e., part of Limerick. *Ware*, vol. i., page 50.

terms was St. Munna, founder of the great abbey of Teagh Munæ, now Tagmon, in the county Wexford. To this monastery the holy bishop often went, and he was always received with joy by the abbot and his community. It was during one of these visits, whilst Maidoc and his friend were together in the Church, that he was the recipient of a favour similar to one of which we read in St. Gregory's life of the great St. Benedict. Suddenly the range of his vision was enlarged, and he was able to see the whole earth lying revealed before his eyes.

These are but a few out of the great host of St. Maidoc's friends. He was beloved by all that met him, and they were numberless, for the many responsibilities he had in his diocese, in his province, and in his monasteries, made it necessary for him to travel much through the country. But his labours were not confined to spiritual things. He was regarded in a special way as the protector of the kingdom of Leinster. Through his prayers and assistance the kingdom had attained to its present position in the days of the late king Bran-Dabh. Now, therefore, both princes and people looked to him for assistance in times of trouble. Nor was he ever wanting to them in their difficulties. Some time after the death of Aidus, king of Erin, his son Cuasgius had marched into Leinster with an army to avenge his death. Cuasgius was, however, himself defeated. This was a fresh reason for hostility between the princes of the north and the king of Leinster. Accordingly, the king of Erin, in alliance with the kings of Ulster and Connaught marched into Leinster at the head of twenty-four thousand men, striking dread into the hearts of the men of Leinster. Their king had recourse to the holy bishop Maidoc. Nor did he fail to lend assistance. Bidding the king to be of good heart, and go boldly to the fight, he himself had recourse to God. That night he spent in fervent prayer before the altar. Next day the battle was fought, and ended in the ignominious defeat of the invading army. The allied kings had to seek safety in an inglorious flight.

Considerations of space make it impossible for us to enter into the numerous miracles recorded of our saint during

his lifetime and after his death. A few we have referred to. Suffice it to say, that from his earliest years he seems to have been gifted by God with supernatural powers; especially so after he had received the episcopal dignity. He healed the sick; he raised the dead to life; he had the power of multiplying food in cases of need. He discomfited his enemies by sudden and terrible punishments; he was able to journey with safety and wonderful rapidity at times over land and sea; in a word, God illustrated the virtue of his servant, by according to him a marvellous power over the laws of nature.

Maidoc ended as he had begun. To the end he led a life of prayer, labour, and mortification; and finally, as his biographer relates, "having built many churches and performed many miracles, he departed to Christ by a most happy death." This was in the year 632.¹ His body was deposited in his cathedral, and his memory is revered not only in Ireland, but also in Wales, which he enlightened for many years by his virtues. The noblest monument of his zeal is the diocese of Ferns, which can point to a succession of Catholic bishops since his day, for a period of nearly one thousand three hundred years, and which still maintains intact the purity of the Catholic faith.

J. A. HOWLETT, O.S.B.

¹ Cf. Ussher, Ware, Archdall, Lanigan, &c. *The Four Masters* has 624.

LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, DURING HIS LIFE IN THE ENGLISH CHURCH.¹—II.

IN our first notice of these volumes of Cardinal Newman's Anglican letters, we left him at the time where, after his severe illness in Sicily, he returns to England, penetrated with the idea that "God has a work for me to do." The direction which the work is to take is soon revealed and made evident. In 1833 the Established Religion seemed in a critical position. Newman writes :—

"It was the moment when the fears for the Church, which had long been growing, and which arose not merely from the designs, avowed or surmised, of her enemies, but from the helplessness of her friends, had led at length to the resolution of a few brave and zealous men to speak out and act. Ten Irish bishoprics had been at a sweep suppressed, and Church people were told to be thankful that things were no worse."

Amongst these brave and zealous men, it is needless to say, Newman was the foremost.

On July 14th, 1833, Keble preached his celebrated assize sermon, entitled "National Apostasy," and on this event Newman ever looked as the commencement of the Tractarian movement. It was shortly followed by several meetings of like-minded clergymen, the best-known among them being Newman, Keble, and Hurrell Froude (Pusey only joined the movement later on), in which two plans were discussed for arousing the religious instincts of English Churchmen, and stirring them out of the death-like apathy which was imperilling the existence of their body. These plans were, the formation of an association for the defence of the Anglican Church, and the idea of issuing a series of doctrinal and devotional pamphlets. As to the first scheme, we hear little more of it in these letters; the second resulted in the publication of the famous "Tracts for the Times."

Although, perhaps, hardly realizing the full extent of the

¹ Edited by Anne Mozley. 2 Vols. London : Longmans. 1891.

revolution in the Church of England which they were anxious to bring about, and which, as a fact, from one point of view, they actually accomplished, yet, from the first, the Tractarians admitted that their scheme was a bold one. It was none other than to work a radical change in the religion of their country; to force a Catholic meaning into every ambiguous formulary; and to ignore the Protestantism which for centuries their Church had been supposed to teach—in fact, had taught. Now, as we all know, the exact meaning of words lies in the interpretation attached to them; and if this is suddenly changed from one point to its exact opposite, a startling difference in the effect of the teaching of such words ensues. Over and above the change of meaning of the Anglican formularies which was to be brought about by the teaching of the Tracts, there was also much either taught by, or implied in, the Prayer-book, which, at this date, was ignored by the clergy and the laity alike; and it was desired also to bring back such teaching into the practical life of English Churchmen. Hurrell Froude was not far wrong when, at an early meeting of Tractarians, he exclaimed, with perhaps truer prophetic vision than his associates: “I don’t see why we should disguise from ourselves that our object is to dictate to the clergy of this country.”

Even Newman himself, however, seems to have foreseen great difficulties in un-Protestantising his fellow-countrymen, and in persuading them that, doubt it as they might, their Church was really Catholic; for he writes: “We floored so miserably at the Reformation, that, though the Church ground *is* defensible, yet the edge of truth is so fine, no plain man can see it.” Nor did outsiders anticipate great success for the party. Bunsen, a keen though an unsympathetic critic, on reading Newman’s *History of the Arians*, in which his Tractarian views were prominent, says that, should the party succeed in leavening the whole of England with their teaching, they would but be “introducing Popery without authority, Protestantism without liberty, Catholicism without universality, and Evangelicism without spirituality.” In fact, the Tractarian scheme was likely to raise an amount of

opposition, the force of which was well-nigh incalculable. Every religious instinct in the England of those days was antagonistic to the Catholic Church, and these instincts were quite incapable of drawing the fine line between what Newman called "Roman," as distinct from "Catholic" teaching. He was, therefore, confronted with the full force of the English prejudice against the Church, and, of course, entirely unsupported by the Catholic Church, which, in spite of popular opinion to the contrary, he opposed.

The storm was not, however, aroused quite at first, and Newman's new and startling teaching did not, in its earliest days, meet with great opposition. His attitude towards the bishops was one of complete submission. In directing the tone to be taken in one of the first tracts, he writes:—"Recollect that we are supporting the bishops; enlarge on the unfairness of leaving them to bear the brunt of the battle." A little later on, he asserts his willingness to submit at once to any advice or correction which they might offer, and even, should they so desire, to confine the subjects of the tracts entirely to such as concern the Creeds and the Thirty-Nine Articles. Indeed, even later, when he was being most keenly opposed, and was often placed in cruelly false positions, we never detect any sign of the defiant and rebellious spirit which has disfigured so much zealous and excellent work in those who profess to-day to be the Anglican representatives of Tractarian teaching. Newman's attitude, through a very trying period of misrepresentation, is above criticism.

Early in the movement, it suffered the loss of one who, had he lived longer, might have greatly influenced its course. In February, 1836, Hurrell Froude died, and his death was not only of public moment, but was also a deep personal sorrow to Newman. As we stated last month, it was in order that Froude should escape an English winter, that he and Newman went abroad in 1833. No cure of his illness, however, resulted from the trip, and during the three following years his health gradually declined; and although he eagerly joined in the scheme for writing the early tracts, he did not live to see the results which speedily followed on their issue.

The movement went on, in spite of his loss, but its course was probably less brilliant for the extinction of his energizing presence, and, at the outset, he seemed to those with whom he worked as absolutely essential to the original impulse which set them going. As Miss Mozley writes: "They cannot imagine the start without his forwarding, impelling look and voice." He was, at this date, Newman's dearest friend, and the grief the latter experienced at his death is pathetically described in a letter to Mr. Bowden:—

"He has been so very dear to me [writes Newman], that it is an effort to me to reflect on my own thoughts about him. I can never have a greater loss, looking on the whole of my life. . . . I never, on the whole, fell in with so gifted a person. In variety and perfection of gifts he far exceeded even Keble."

The year 1836 seems to have been a momentous one in Newman's life, and not alone for the loss of Froude, nor even for that of his mother, which followed closely on it. He himself tabulates nine important events of this year, bracketing them together under the heading: "A New Scene Opens." Amongst these we note, "My Knowing and Using the Breviary;" and again, "My Writing against the Church of Rome." Although he had good cause for dejection at this time, it is in this year that he writes to his sister, he is so full of work that he has little time for sadness. He owns to feeling solitary, but adds: "I never feel so near heaven as then. . . I am not more lonely than I have been for a long while. God intends me to be lonely; He has so framed my mind that I am in a great measure beyond the sympathy of other people, and thrown upon Himself."

At this date, although he might lack sympathy, he had not yet to complain of absolute misunderstanding. The tracts were following one another with rapidity; they were welcomed and read with interest; the effect of their teaching was already apparent, and Tractarian views were spreading in a manner which surprised even their promoters. All was promising, and Newman's letters sound a glad, even a triumphant, note. Conscious of his loyalty to the Church of England, only anxious to arouse and revivify her, with no mistrust as to his position,

he could cheerfully suffer to be opposed by those from whom he frankly and avowedly differed ; and at this date no sadness mingles with his anxiety to spread his opinions. Later on, the tone of his letters changes sensibly, a change caused even less by the tardily-avowed opposition of the Anglican authorities than by the spirit of distrust in his own self, which further study has aroused. It is this mistrust in his own loyalty to the Anglican Church which weighs him down so heavily, and makes the later letters in this volume so sad and pitiful that we almost feel that we—as more or less indifferent spectators—have no right to be witnesses of such keen suffering, or to be admitted to the sight of the intolerable anguish of a soul awakening to the fact that, though all unconsciously, he has been using God's best gifts against and not in His service. It has been well said that our sorrow is the inverted image of our nobleness ; and in nothing does Newman's nobility stand forth more prominently than in the trying years when he lay on his "Anglican death-bed."

It is in August, 1838, that we begin to hear the first murmurings of disapproval, then only faint and distant, but which soon were to engulf Newman and so many of his friends. At that date we have a letter from Newman to Keble, in which he writes that he has just been listening to his bishop's charge, and that in it he had discovered a certain, though not a strong disapproval of the tracts and their tendency. The bishop, Newman writes, alludes to a remarkable development, both in matters of discipline and of doctrine, and states that he had received many anonymous letters charging the Tractarian party with Romanising ; and that, although, on investigating these charges, he finds nothing to corroborate such accusations, yet he regrets some words and expressions in the tracts, which, though used innocently by the writers, were likely to lead others into error. Feeble as this censure was, it touched Newman's sensitiveness to the quick, and it is on this occasion that he used the oft-quoted, though we fear by Anglicans little-heeded, words : "A bishop's lightest word, *ex cathedra*, is heavy." He himself wishes to discontinue the tracts forthwith. He writes at

once to his archdeacon, proposing to stop their issue; and, further, that if the bishop will only designate such amongst those already published as meet with his disapproval, he (Newman) will withdraw them from circulation. This is more than the bishop anticipated, or even wished. His position was a difficult one, so difficult that we find it no easy task even to make it intelligible to our readers. He personally liked and respected Newman, knowing him too well to suspect him capable of equivocal teaching, of saying less than he intended to mean, or of any want of straightforwardness—accusations of which were freely banded about; and he also approved decidedly of much that was in the tracts. But a bishop of the Establishment has much to think of besides his own individual tastes and opinions, and he is bound to give heed even to anonymous accusations of a tendency to the unpopular side supposed to be expounded by the tracts. The words the “Established Church” mean a religion consisting of such an innumerable number of opinions and of different shades of opinion, that an Anglican bishop’s lot does not fall in easy places, and to avoid mistakes he must be wary. In the year 1838, and even to-day, many forms of opinion sufficiently startling might pass unnoticed, provided the orthodox Protestantism of the Church of England was unassailed. Unfortunately, this was the very point which Newman’s enemies had seized on, and it was of Romanising that he was accused. Here the bishop felt that he might imperil his own influence if, whilst expressing approval of much which really commended itself to him, he did not so far yield to the popular outcry against the tracts by expressing some vague disapproval. Newman was far too sensitive to the censure of his superiors to submit easily to public reproof, even whilst in private he met with sympathy and encouragement. The tracts spoke with no hesitating voice of the authority of a bishop, and of the obedience and deference which is due to his office, and Newman had no disposition to allow himself to be placed in the false position of one who, whilst he theoretically enunciated decided views, in his own conduct ignored them. The whole strength of his position lay in his consistency; his life

and his teaching must be in harmony ; and he, therefore, only required to be told his bishop's wishes in order to comply with them. Such definite and exact obedience did not suit his lordship ; he had no wish to force Newman to discontinue the tracts, but he equally disliked that it should be supposed that he approved of them. The result was that whilst the "charge" was made public, the sympathetic and kind words with which he encouraged Newman were spoken in private, thus placing him (Newman) in a position the difficulty of which he felt keenly. He himself tells us, that at this time his influence stood higher than at any other time ; but, judging from his letters, we should say that the meridian of his Anglican life is now past. A certain misgiving, at first faint as a shadow, is becoming evident ; he suffers from the extreme tension of the times, the difficulty of satisfying all who are looking up to him as their guide daily becomes more apparent, whilst his share in the movement is criticized far and wide. In November, 1838, Newman writes a long letter to Keble, which is hardly one which a man would send who felt well satisfied with the world. In his letter he offers to be guided entirely by Keble's decision in any differences that may have arisen, and he continues :—

"Now, this being understood, may I not fairly ask for some little confidence in me, as to what, under these voluntary restrictions, I do? People should really put themselves into my place, and consider how the appearance of suspicion, jealousy, and discontent is likely to affect one who is most conscious that everything he does is imperfect, and, therefore, soon begins so to suspect everything he does as to have no heart and little power to do anything at all. Anyone can fancy the effect which the presence of ill-disposed spectators would have on some artist or operator engaged in a delicate experiment. Is such conduct kind towards me? Is it feeling? If I ought to stop, I am ready to stop ; but do not in the same breath chide me, for instance, for thinking of stopping the tracts, and then be severe on the tracts which are actually published. If I am to proceed, I must be taken for what I am—not agreeing, perhaps, altogether with those who criticize me, but still, I suppose, on the whole, subserving rather than not what they consider right ends. This I feel, that if I am met with loud remonstrances before gentle hints are tried, and if suspicions go before proofs, I shall very soon be silenced, whether people wish it or no."

To this letter is affixed, by Newman, a note in 1885: "This was the last occasion on which I could prefer a claim for *confidence*. The very next autumn my misgivings began." Words of ominous meaning; and we have now to trace the steps, one by one, which led to the great change impending, and to see how Newman came to realize the futility of all his hopes, the necessity for leaving the body which he had been so bravely trying to reform, and of taking rank with those whom he had ever looked on as buried in dark error. Our task is made the more difficult by the fragmentary nature of the tale as it is told in these volumes. A stray expression here and there, often in letters dealing mainly with other topics, a growing sadness and depression as his Catholic theories are daily contradicted by the evidently Protestant acts of his Church, are of moment as marking a gradual change: yet as a whole, if we compare the story of Newman's conversion as told in his "*Letters*," with its consecutive history in the *Apologia*, we realize how fortunate we are in possessing a work which tells us in a way none can question, how the important change was worked out. His conversion has been attributed to various causes; both good and bad reasons have been given for the change; and there is evidence in these letters that many of which we hear, were not without their share of influence. Still, on the whole, we gather that one, and one only, motive brought about the happy result. We see that distrust of those in authority, though not without a certain effect, was not the cause; and that the difficulty of being placed in a logical dilemma by shrewd minds, who often saw that Newman's premises led further than he suspected, could have been overcome. Nor would dissatisfaction at such acts of the Establishment as the Hampden and Jerusalem bishoprics, though painful episodes, have led to further action, but for the steadily-growing belief—at first a mere disquieting and alarming impression, but with deeper study growing into a firm conviction—that outside the Church of Rome there is no consistent Christian body whatsoever; that as she stood in the days of the Donatists and Monophysites, so she was found through the ever-lengthening

years, and so she stands to-day, Christ's one and only Church.

It was a few months after the letter to Keble (quoted above) was written, in which Newman insists that confidence must be placed in him ; that he received what he calls " the first real hit from Romanism that has happened to me ;" and he adds : " It is no laughing matter ; I will not blink the question ; so be it." The occasion of these first misgivings was the study of an article by Dr. Wiseman in the *Dublin Review*, on the early controversies of the Church with the Monophysites and the Donatists ; and, as we learn, though far more fully from the *Apologia* than from these letters, these misgivings were never stifled or laid to rest ; but, with study and reflection, became more and more active, and at length landed Newman safely in the haven of peace and rest in which the second half of his life was passed.

Henry W. Wilberforce, one of those who, " leaving all things," eventually followed in Newman's footsteps, has given us a record of his feelings when first confronted with the fear of Newman's change of religion. It is worth notice, as an example of the power the truth will exercise, when once firmly grasped, in dispelling prejudice, and of the courageous manner in which many of the converts of 1845 broke with their early teaching. The evidence required to shake the convictions of one who could write as below, must have been of the strongest :—

" It was in the beginning of October, 1839, that he made the astounding confidence, mentioning the two subjects which had inspired the doubt—the position of St. Leo in the Monophysite controversy, and the principle *securus judicat orbis terrarum* in that of the Donatists. He said that he felt confident that when he returned to his rooms, and was able fully and calmly to consider the whole matter, he should see his way completely out of the difficulty. But he said : ' I cannot conceal from myself that, for the first time since I began the study of theology, a vista has been opened before me, to the end of which I do not see.' He was walking in the New Forrest, and he borrowed the form of his expression from the surrounding scenery. His companion, upon whom such a fear came like a thunderstroke, expressed his hope that Mr. Newman might die rather than take such a step.

He replied, with deep earnestness, that he had thought, if ever the time should come when he was in serious danger, of asking his friends to pray, that, if it was not indeed the will of God, he might be taken away before he did it."

As we have just remarked, Newman's "calm and full" consideration does not improve matters; and soon difficulty follows quickly on difficulty, and the end of the vista yearly becomes more evident. Even his own particular work does but hasten the end. As is well known, he had both studied the Fathers and published editions of their works with the view of supporting such Catholic doctrines as Baptismal Regeneration, the Real Presence, Apostolic Succession, and others of a kindred nature—doctrines which he imagined could be held by Anglicans, and which he distinguished as "Catholic," and as differing from others (which generally were simply their logical development) which he labelled "Roman." The former had a certain amount of authority in the Establishment as having been taught by the Caroline divines of the English Church; and Newman wished to make them more generally known and accepted, by showing that they rested on the firm basis of patristic teaching. The Anglican divines were to be supported by the Fathers, and Newman hoped that his countrymen would find their united teaching irresistible. Once, however, having appealed to the Fathers as the ground on which his teaching rested, so honest a mind as Newman's could not ignore their teaching when it went further than his argument required. He could not quote them for his own purpose, but remain indifferent to what he found elsewhere in their writings, even when it reached the point which till now he had considered sheer "Romanism." In November, 1839, he writes of others what we expect he must have been himself experiencing:—

"Then the question of the Fathers is getting more and more anxious. For certain persons will not find in them just what they expected. People seem to have thought they contained nothing but the doctrines of Baptismal Regeneration, Apostolical Succession, Canonicity of Scripture, and the like. Hence, many have embraced the principle of appeal to them with this view. Now they are beginning to be undeceived."

In 1840 Newman is seriously depressed by the state not only of the religious world, but also of the tone he finds prevalent amongst both intellectual and scientific people. Carlyle, Arnold, and Milman, politicians, geologists, and political economists, seem uniting to bring about a deplorable state of things :—

“Everything is miserable [he writes]. I expect a great attack upon the Bible . . . indeed, I have long expected it . . . But this is not all. I begin to have serious apprehensions lest any religious body is strong enough to withstand the league of evil but the Roman Church . . . Certainly, the way good principles have shot up is wonderful; but I am not clear they are not tending to Rome.”

Such an admission must have cost Newman dear. Was not this the very thing that his enemies had been continually insisting on; and although he slightly qualified his assertion later on in the letter, it is ominous of what is to follow.

It was also in this year (1840) that Newman commenced building what he styles a “monastic house,” at his country living of Littlemore. This living was attached to that of St. Mary’s, Oxford, and was a source of great interest to Newman and to his mother and sisters, who settled there after his father’s death. In this same year he purchased some nine or ten acres at Littlemore, and there built a dwelling-house which was to be inhabited by men from Oxford, who, sharing his opinions, wished to give themselves to a regular life of religion and study. When the cares and fretting of Oxford life became overpowering, Newman found a welcome retreat in this abode; and as his doubts and difficulties became more perplexing and overwhelming, his visits to Littlemore lengthen, till, during the last years of his Anglican life, when he had relinquished all preferment in the Establishment, it became his permanent home, and at last it was the scene of his reception into the Catholic Church.

The next few years are pregnant with important issues, and, although, as we have seen, Newman found much occasion for dissatisfaction as early as the year 1840, it was in 1841 that

commenced the series of events which may be considered the outward and impersonal causes, over and above the inward conviction which God's grace was forming within him, and which, combined with such events, brought about the happy result with which we are familiar. In 1841 Newman wrote his famous 'Tract Ninety, which, as is well known, was concerned with the possibility of interpreting the decidedly Protestant Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Prayer-book in a Catholic sense. He seems to have been quite unprepared for the excitement which followed its publication, and to have been far from expecting that it would create any special interest. Nor, apparently, did Keble, to whom Newman showed it, expect any stir to result, for he allowed it to pass without any further criticism. More than one circumstance, however, combined to bring this tract into special notice. By the time it was published, the movement was creating much interest; the daily papers were busy discussing "Puseyism," as it was now called; and, although its earnestness was recognised, and the danger of mistaking it for an affair of mere posture and ceremony was admitted, yet, on the whole, it met with little popular favour. The subject was also discussed in Parliament, on the occasion of one of the ever-recurring debates on the grant to Maynooth College. This was made the occasion of an attack on the Oxford party, wherein, as it was stated, were to be found those who, whilst they were paid to teach Protestantism, were doing their best to bring the Establishment into harmony with Rome. It was at this moment of public excitement, when the world was fully alive and anxious to understand all that was going on at Oxford, and when people were frightened and confused by the tone of the papers, and by the debates in Parliament, that Tract Ninety appeared. We cannot be surprised that, instead of allaying, it further excited the public mind. Its subtle distinctions, we must fairly admit, were enough to puzzle plain people. The Thirty-Nine Articles had always been considered a bulwark of Protestantism, especially against such errors of Rome as the doctrine of the Mass, the Invocation of Saints, Purgatory, and others of a like nature, which, whilst the Tractarians called "Romanism," as held by us,

yet from their study of the Fathers they found no system, professing to be Catholic, could exclude from its teaching. In some form or other they must be recognised. The difficulty was met with great ingenuity; and Newman endeavoured to prove that the Articles were so framed as only to condemn certain popular abuses in the Church of Rome; and that their language admitted of an interpretation which was in harmony with Catholic teaching.

Such fine shades of meaning and such subtle distinctions, were, however, altogether beyond the somewhat dense vision of the ordinary Englishman. His intellectual strong point is not the power of distinguishing between delicate differences; and he is somewhat contemptuous of what he calls hair-splitting; and a storm such as the Establishment has seldom witnessed suddenly arose. The tutors, professors, and heads of houses, all Oxford, indeed all England, seem to have been alarmed, and to have rushed into hasty action, the details of which it is now unnecessary to follow. As is well known from his own pen, Newman considered his position in the movement so damaged that his legitimate influence was at an end, and he retired to Littlemore. Though the end was not yet, we may call this move its beginning. The Roman spectre, far from being laid, was daily becoming more importunate; and besides, its disquieting warnings, misrepresentations and misunderstandings from his own people, cause a constant worry. Anglicans to-day fondly imagine that had Newman at this time been treated with more sympathy, they might have kept him in their ranks. This is, of course, a surmise from which we differ, believing that, all along, God's finger was on him, and that sooner or later He would have claimed him for His own. There is, however, no denying that had the Anglican body studied how best to drive a sensitive, yet loyal man from their Church, they could have devised few better methods than those practised on Newman. As he tells us in the *Apologia* :—

“ After Tract Ninety, the Protestant world would not let me alone. They pursued me in the public journals to Littlemore. Reports of all kinds were circulated about me. Inquiries why did I go to Littlemore at all? For no good purpose, certainly;

I dare not tell why. Why, to be sure, it was hard that I should be obliged to say to the editors of newspapers, that I went up there to say my prayers. It was hard to have to tell the world in confidence that I had a certain doubt about the Anglican system, and could not at that moment resolve it, or say what would come of it. It was hard to have to confess that I had thought of giving up my living a year or two before, and that this was the first step to it. It was hard to have to plead that, for what I knew, my doubts would vanish if the newspapers would be so good as to give me time, and let me alone."

Although, on the whole, his own bishop treated him with kindness and consideration, yet, even he brings foolish reports seriously to his notice, asks for explanations, and seems to give heed to much, which, whilst it is mere silly gossip, is yet calculated to annoy Newman, and simply to drive him further and more quickly in the direction towards which his teaching was accused of leading. Throughout these trying years, however, Newman, though hurt and distrustful, and almost overwhelmed with doubts of his own position, and sorrow at the grief and perplexities which his doubts cause to his followers, yet never loses patience. From the first, he has strongly deprecated all hasty or precipitate action. No unconsidered step, no change made when smarting under misunderstanding, meets with his approval. The very attraction which many Protestants feel for the Catholic Church, in his advice to others, he urges should be resisted, and not allowed unduly to influence them in a change of religion. He will leave no stone unturned, nor will he relinquish all hope of the possibility of the Anglican Church being a part of the Catholic Church till every chance has been seriously examined and deliberately cast aside. The letters of these years show how reluctantly he gave up hope, how sadly he hoped against hope, that his early views might yet prove true.

It was whilst he was in this critical frame of mind, that the State and the Establishment combined to deal the final blow to his expectation of Catholicising his fellow-countrymen by means of the Church of England. Whilst he had spent years and labour untold in an endeavour to prove that she was Catholic, and had succeeded in persuading many, and

in half persuading himself, that he was right, the body he was experimenting upon suddenly awoke, by a slight effort righted herself, and by one act reasserted, in an unmistakable manner, the essentially Protestant nature of her character which the Tractarians had had the temerity to assail. This act was the appointment of an Anglican bishop to the See of Jerusalem, there to fraternize with Monophysites and Lutherans, Sabellians and Calvinists, and any other form of heresy, ancient or modern, which he might find on the spot.

As might be expected, this act wounded Newman deeply. Regarding it he writes in the *Apologia* :—

“ Looking back two years afterwards on the above-mentioned and other acts on the part of Anglican ecclesiastical authorities, I observed : ‘ Many a man might have held an abstract theory about the Catholic Church, to which it was difficult to adjust the Anglican ; might have admitted a suspicion, or even painful doubts about the latter, yet never have been impelled onwards, had our rulers preserved the quiescence of former years ; but, it is the corroboration of a present, living, and energetic heterodoxy, that realizes and makes such doubts practical ; it has been the recent speeches and acts of authorities, who had so long been tolerant of Protestant error, which has given to inquiry and theory its force and edge.’ ”

At the time he writes :—

“ It really does seem as if the bishops were doing their best to un-Catholicise us ; [and again], it cannot be denied that a great and anxious *experiment* is going on, whether our Church be, or be not, Catholic ; the issue may not be in our day. But I must be plain in saying, that if it does issue in Protestantism, I shall think it my duty to leave it.’ ”

We see from such words as these, how far even yet Newman was from realizing the nature of the faith which a Catholic places in his Church, a failing we may observe which is all but general with Anglicans. Catholic doctrines they can and often do accept one by one, and independently of each other ; not, however, on the ground that they are taught by the Church, but either because they can be proved from Scripture, or that they are in harmony with their early teaching, or attracted by their intrinsic beauty. But, should

such men be confronted by a doctrine resting on the same authority, but which repels instead of commending itself to them, we at once discover the foundation on which their imposing so-called Catholic edifice has been built. They not only oppose it resolutely, but they seem even unable to understand how a Catholic finds no difficulty in submitting his own opinion to that of the Church when and in whatsoever way she may ask it of him.

Although his visits to Littlemore were now so lengthy as to form almost a continuous residence there, it was not till February, 1842, that Newman retired there for good, and in the following year he ceased to preach at St. Mary's, Oxford, and indeed soon after to preach in the Establishment at all. In August, 1843, Father Lockhart, who at that time was one of the brotherhood at Littlemore, was received into the Church, an occurrence by which Newman feels to so great an extent compromised that he allowed it to fix the date of his resigning the living of St. Mary's. In writing to his sister, touching this step he says :—

“I am not so zealous a defender of the established and existing system of religion as I ought to be for such a post ; [and a few days later he adds], the truth, then, is, I am not a good son enough of the Church of England to feel that I can in conscience hold preferment under her. I love the Church of Rome too well.”

The period, from September 17th to 25th, 1843, is, perhaps, the most eventful in Newman's life, if we except the one of his reception, in October, 1845. On the 17th he preached at St. Mary's, a sermon which was followed by a sleepless night, and a journey to London, where he went through the legal preliminaries necessary for resigning his living. He preached, however, once more in the University pulpit on the 24th. The 25th was spent at Littlemore, and on that day, for the last time, his voice was heard in an Anglican Church, speaking those touching words on the “parting of friends,” which few, even amongst those who best know and can realize how great has been his gain, how speedily his tears were turned into joy, can read unmoved. To those who, alas, refused to follow, from whom

the parting and severance were complete, and with whom he was never again united in a common faith, their unqualified sadness must be extreme. As one who can remember those days, writes, on no longer hearing Newman's voice in Oxford:—

“On these things, looking over an interval of five-and-twenty years, how vividly comes back the remembrance of the aching blank, the awful pause which fell on Oxford, when that voice had ceased, and we knew we should hear it no more. It was as when, to one kneeling by night, in the silence of some vast cathedral, the great bell tolling solemnly overhead has suddenly gone still. . . . Since then many voices of powerful teachers may have been heard, but none that ever penetrated the soul like his.”

Even now, however, Newman can announce no definite intention of joining the Church; only he says: “I do so despair of the Church of England . . . and I am so drawn to the Church of Rome, that I think it *safer*, as a matter of honesty, *not* to keep my living.” The end, however, is fast approaching. Study had convinced his intellect; all the action of his own Church had been disquieting; the full conviction that it would be at the risk of his soul if he remained stationary was overwhelming. Such considerations as these were sufficiently powerful to withstand even the affectionate and tender pleadings of his sisters and friends not thus to desert them. No more touching letter exists in our language than that which Newman wrote, in answer to his sister's remonstrance, on March 15, 1845. Unfortunately, it is too long to quote. Indeed, the sense all these latter letters give us is one of an unnecessarily lengthened pain; they represent a long and sorrowfully-drawn-out parting. We feel as if we were witnessing a scene, which, although all concerned dread its ending, those looking on can but wish to hasten. We might thus watch the leave-takings of a party of emigrants on board a ship. The sound of the warning bell is dreaded by all; yet, an undue delay is but the lengthening of the most distressing of all human emotions. With Newman, the delay extends over months and years, and we can imagine that at last even his Anglican friends must have welcomed his action. In the end, it came

abruptly in a note to his sister. "This night Father Dominic, the Passionist, sleeps here. He does not know of my intention; but I shall ask him to receive me into what I believe to be 'the one Fold of the Redeemer.'" Thus he died to his past, and when we next open a volume of Newman's letters, they will tell us of a happy resurrection, of the long years which God vouchsafed to grant, and in which he worked in His Master's vineyard, happily called thither in his full manhood and vigour, both of intellect and body, and long years before even the eleventh hour had sounded.

CECIL CLAYTON.

HISTORY OF THE CEREMONIAL OF HOLY MASS.—II.

THE words immediately following those mentioned, that is to say, *Per ipsum, et cum ipso, et in ipso, est tibi Deo Patri, in unitate Spiritus Sancti, omnis honor et gloria*, are, to my mind, after the words of consecration, the most solemn in the whole service, or in any liturgy or office. With the priest holding the sacred species in his hand, and making with the adorable Host the venerable sign of the cross over the consecrated cup, I cannot conceive anything more solemn, or any words more sublime. They seem to be an epitome of all worship and all adoration. What a treatise might be written on the inner meaning of these words! And how much would it not reveal to us of that *hidden life* in the tabernacle of the altar, where He is always "living to make intercession for us." "By Him, and with Him, and in Him, there accrues to God the Father, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, *all* honour and glory."

The introductory prayer, prefixed to the *Pater Noster*, has been of the greatest antiquity; perhaps as old as the introduction of the *Pater Noster* itself; but certainly existing at the time of St. Gregory. Of the *Pater Noster*, and of

the fitness of its insertion, there is no need to speak. The only prayer remaining to us, composed by our divine Lord Himself—if any prayer of man might be intermingled with the sacred mysteries, surely the prayer of the God-man might—and that, both from its intrinsic value, as well as from the sacredness of its author. Hence it is as old as the liturgy itself; and, as has been seen, whatever portions in the stress of penal times had to be omitted, it never was. Hence, too, in the service of the pre-sanctified on Good Friday, it is still retained.

The *Libera nos*, following the *Pater Noster*, is looked upon as an expansion of the *Sed Libera nos a malo* of the *Pater Noster*; its introduction is of uncertain date; but it is considered to be very ancient, since St. Jerome and St. Cyprian make mention of it.

Until the time of Pope St. Gregory, the breaking of the Host and the prayer, with the intermingling with the chalice, occupied an earlier place in the mass, immediately after the canon. From the revision of St. Gregory, the fraction with the *Pax Domini sit semper* is found where it stands at present, together with the accompanying ceremonies.

The triple invocation of the beautiful prayer, the *Agnus Dei*, dates from the time of Pope Sergius I., about 680. Each invocation ended alike; until in times of trouble in the Church, later on, as Innocent III. testifies, the ending *dona nobis pacem* was affixed to the third. The suitability of changing *miserere nobis* into *dona eis requiem* of the black mass, is evident; but under what circumstances, or at what time, the change took place, does not appear. Nor, again, is it well known when or why the first of the three prayers preceding the *Domine non sum dignus* has been omitted in masses for the dead. These three prayers are supposed to be very ancient; the last of which, on account of its being found in the mass of Good Friday, and because of its similarity to a prayer occupying a like place "in almost all the oriental liturgies,"¹ is supposed to be by far the most

¹ Dr. Gasquet.

ancient. They were not generally in use until about the time of Innocent III., when he ordered them to be repeated as now ; and about the same time the pathetic prayer of the centurion—*Domine non sum dignus*, came to be inserted, *i.e.*, towards the end of the middle ages.

We now come to a very important as well as interesting ceremony—that, namely, of administering and receiving Holy Communion. Our mode, at present, we know. The communicant, while kneeling, receives the sacred particle on the tongue. To that there are exceptions ; if, for instance, a person is sick, the person receives it while lying in bed. If a priest receives, *modo laico*, he wears a stole around his neck.

In the early ages, instead of kneeling, the faithful were standing while receiving the Holy Communion. A tradition was, that it was standing the Apostles received the Holy Communion at the Last Supper ; and nowadays no one but the Pope can so receive it. While they stood they rested the back of the right hand on the palm of the left ; and in the open palm of the right, thus supported, they received the Sacred Host. Women covered their right hand with a veil or linen cloth, which was called *dominicale*, and was something akin to our *corporal*.

There will be found in the Roman Breviary, in the lessons within the octave of Corpus Christi, a description from St. Ambrose, of the ceremony and the prayer used when Holy Communion was being administered in the fourth century. The priest presented the Sacred Host, and said, *Corpus Domini* ; to which the communicant answered, *Amen*. The priest presented the consecrated cup, and said, *Sanguis Christi* ; and the recipient again answered, *Amen*.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem says :—" The faithful, making the left hand a throne for the right, which is about to receive the King, and hollowing the palm, receive the Body of Christ, while answering the *Amen*."

"The piety of the faithful [says Dr. Gasquet] led to various devout practices, such as applying the Sacred Host to their eyes before receiving, and signing their lips with the sign of the cross immediately after taking the Precious Blood—practices which

were commended by the Greek Fathers from Origen to Theodoret. but which were liable to abuses that led to their prohibition in the West." (*Dub. Rev.*, Oct., 1890.)

"As the communion of a whole congregation [says the author of the *Explanation of the Liturgy of the Mass*] took up a considerable time, appropriate psalms or canticles were sung in the intervals. The banquets of kings, and of the great ones of the earth, are always accompanied with singing and music; in like manner, the Christian temples resound with melodious accents during this sacred feast, to which God, as the Host, the Food, and the Guest, invited His children." (Page 302.)

Now it must be remembered that all who assisted at the Holy Sacrifice in early times, also received the Holy Communion; and that, furthermore, every day was a day of special devotion to them; so that we can understand how lovingly saints looked back upon

"That early Church, whose anthemed rites
Made earth like heaven. Her nights
Glorious and blest as day, with festive lights!"¹

In the Eastern Church, the psalm sung was the forty-first, which begins so beautifully and (for the occasion) so appropriately: "As the hart panteth after the fountains of water, so panteth my soul after Thee, O God." In the Western, it was the thirty-third: "I will bless the Lord at all times; His praise shall ever be in my mouth. . . . Taste and see that the Lord is sweet." Possibly this communion-psalm had its origin in what the Evangelists St. Matthew and St. Mark relate of our Blessed Lord: "And when they had sung a hymn they went out unto Mount Olivet." On this Dr. M'Carthy, in his comment on St. Matthew, says:—

"Christ and His disciples joined in the song of praise. Ten psalms begin with the word *Halleluia*; six of which (xcii.-xcvii.) formed the great song of praise (*Hallel*). Two of these, xcii. (*Laudate Pueri*) and xciii. (*In Exitu Israel*), were usually chanted before, and the remaining four immediately after, the Paschal Supper. We have no evidence that these psalms formed the *Hymn* on the present occasion; but it is likely that our Lord and His disciples conformed to the old and sacred usage."

¹ Mr. A. de Vere.

The remains of the communion-psalm of the early ages are found in the anthem which the priest reads after the reception or distribution of the Blessed Sacrament, and which, taken generally from the Psalms or the Gospels, is called the *Communion* in the missal. It varies daily; but, as need hardly be said, it is always appropriate to the spirit of the feast. It most probably assumed its shape, like the Introit and Gradual and the Offertory, when private masses took the place of the solemn choral masses.

The Post-Communion is of the same date as the collects and secrets. Neither the Communion nor the Post-Communion is found in the Good Friday service.

The *Benedictio* seems to be a most natural conclusion, and consequently is looked upon as dating from a very early period.

The Gospel of St. John was used very generally in mediæval times; but it was only after the Council of Trent that it was placed as at present.

The *De Profundis* is a peculiar and special prayer with the Irish Church. A learned writer in a recent number of the I. E. RECORD thus speaks of the introduction of the Psalm:—

“About the origin of the custom (of reciting the *De Profundis* immediately after the last Gospel) there is much disagreement among archæologists, but all are agreed as to its antiquity. Some say it was introduced as some compensation for the innumerable “foundation masses” for deceased persons, the celebration of which was rendered impossible by the plunderings and persecutions of the so-called Reformers. Others, again, say that this custom dates from the time of Cromwell, and was intended to supply the place of the burial service, of which so many of the pious Oliver’s victims were deprived. The defenders of each opinion say that a rescript from Rome, approving of the practice, was early obtained, and one writer whom we have seen quoted, declared that he had seen a copy of this rescript.” (I. E. RECORD, November, 1890, page 1044.)

The suggestion will be pardoned, that it were well if those who have an opportunity of consulting the archives in Rome, or in whatever quarters could throw light on the matter, would examine into it. It interests the Irish

Church closely, since it is peculiar to it, and also those national Churches into which, from the missionary intercourse of Irish priests, it may have got introduced. Naturally, as the writer says, one comes to the conclusion, from the universality of the custom, that it must have been ordered, or at least sanctioned, by ecclesiastical authority. Father O'Loan gives the alternative suppositions suggested for its introduction; perhaps he would be induced to continue his researches on the matter; it would be conferring a national benefit. One can hardly doubt but some notice or allusion must exist concerning it; especially as its introduction was, relatively, so recent as the Penal times. When the reverend professor says that "all are agreed as to its antiquity," he does not mean *antiquity* in the same sense that this article has been using the word, *i.e.*, equivalent to early Christian days, but that the custom is not of the present century or the last.

To sum up then: there are four great rites or liturgies:—

1. *The Syrian* (Eastern and Western): the present *Armenian* rite is descended from the Western,¹ and the sect of the Nestorians are the only persons now using the East Syrian liturgy.

2. *The Alexandrian* rite: this remained after the Council of Chalcedon as the special property of the monophysites. The Evangelist, St. Mark, was the author of this liturgy, which was used by the African Church and the Fathers of the Desert long before it became the exclusive property of the Monophysites.

3. *The Hispano-Gallic, or Mozarabic*: the origin of this is a *crux* to archæologists. As its name implies, it was used in Spain and in Gaul, though generally supposed to be of eastern birth. It is used now only in one place, in Toledo in Spain; and was allowed in the time of Pope Pius V. to be continued as a distinct rite through the influence and energy of the famous Franciscan, Cardinal Ximenes.

4. *The Roman*, the universal liturgy of all the Western

¹ The liturgy of St. Chrysostom derived from this is the usual mass of the Greek Church.

Church. Even among those who follow the Roman rite, there are some differences ; as, for instance, in the Dominican mass. It is said, that the present missal and the present breviary, at the time of the reformation of both, were largely founded on the missal and breviary that were then used among the children of St. Francis.

On collating these different rites, it is found that the further back one proceeds, the closer the manuscript liturgies describing these rites incline. From this it is deduced, that they must originally have sprung from a common source ; and that source can be no other than the Apostles. It is believed, that for some time after the foundation of Christianity, the liturgy of the Church was simply by word of mouth. In that case, it is fair to conclude, that the ceremonial could not have been long. The gravest reason offered for this discipline is the desire to observe the secret of the Holy Sacrifice inviolable, and the danger of books falling into the hands of the uninitiated.

“ We may then safely assume,” says Dr. Gasquet, “ that the main substance of the liturgy was delivered *orally* by the Apostles to their disciples ; though . . . it is clear that definite liturgical formulæ existed in the second century.”—(*Dub. Rev.*, April, 1890.)

Thus, then, the sacred liturgy of holy mass descended from our divine Lord to His Apostles ; from the Apostles orally to their immediate followers. Being orally handed down, it necessarily varied somewhat in detail ; the East following St. James ; Africa following St. Mark ; Rome the head of the Apostles ; and Lyons and Marseilles receiving from Asia Minor (as is suggested) the foundation of the Hispano-Gallic Rite.

As has been said, the Good Friday service will be a good guide (indeed the best we have) to the rites of the early Church. What the ceremonial reached at the time of St. Gregory is summed up in one or two sentences by Dr. Gasquet, in his scholarly and highly interesting papers in the *Dublin Review* :—

“ A psalm, or part of one [he says], was sung by the choir on the entrance of the celebrant, who then said the collect. The

Epistle followed, separated from the Gospel by a psalm, represented by our Gradual or Tract ; and after the Gospel came the sermon, and the withdrawal of those who had no right to assist at the Holy Sacrifice. The choir sung a psalm, while the faithful brought their offering, the celebrant making the oblation in silence, and ending with the secret. Then, came the Preface and Canon, as at present, followed by the Lord's Prayer, the fraction, and the kiss of peace. The celebrant and faithful then received Communion, a psalm being sung meanwhile ; and the mass was concluded by a variable Post-Communion and a *Benedictio super populum*." (April, 1890.)

R. O'KENNEDY.

WHAT DO THE IRISH SING ?

"**T**RASH, mostly, and treason," will be many an Englishman's, and, for the matter of that, many an Irishman's, reply. Not so, perhaps, if he has had the fortune of reading, in *The Nineteenth Century*, of some years ago, Sir J. Pope Hennessy's answer to the question, "What do the Irish read ?" This distinguished Irishman has, in his article, printed, perhaps, a little treason ; but no trash, as all must confess, save those who are judges neither of trash nor treason. I hope many Englishmen, and many of my own countrymen who have shared with me the disadvantages of an education in England, have read that admirable article, and have laid to heart its lesson—a very serious one. I may be pardoned, since it is very much to my purpose, if I give the following extract. A Munster parish priest is speaking :—

"If you go by the test of literary taste and knowledge, those working-men of the country reading-rooms, and those shopboys and clerks of the city, are no longer the lower classes. The young gentlemen educated at Oscott or Stonyhurst—sons of pious fathers and mothers—young gentlemen who may be seen in the smoking-room of the Munster Club, or at the races, or emulating the style of some of the military mashers—these are not now-a-days, from a literary point of view, our upper or middle-class youth."

Then follows a long list of the books now most popular in the reading-rooms, comprising the works—mostly historical and biographical—of MacGeoghegan, M'Gee, Duffy, Macaulay,

Justin M'Carthy, Lecky, Mitchel, Sullivan, Maguire, and so forth. A contrast, this, to the "mashers'" list, where Ouida, Zola, and, *rubesco referens*, George Moore, bear away their unblushing honours. But it is not of Irish reading that I wish to treat in this article, but of Irish singing. We have been always allowed the credit of being musical. If it were asked on what grounds this credit rested, the answer would probably be—"Oh, the Irish melodies—Moore's melodies; they are enough for any nation to be proud of. Of course, the Irish are musical." Well, we do not disclaim Moore's melodies. They are—both the words of the modern poet, and the ancient airs which those words have at once enfeebled and immortalized—a collection of national lyrics which we challenge the world to equal. But they are not the songs of which Irishmen are proudest or fondest. They are not the songs that are oftenest sung by the people. A few of them are truly and deservedly popular; but by far the greater number of them are already forgotten as songs, and survive only as lyrics. The truth is, they were never racy of Irish soil. Some of them, indeed, will make the Irish heart beat fast to the end of time; but most of them live only as sweet ballads—matchless in fancy and felicitous expression, but wanting, as their author was, in that honest fire and truth and courage that alone can lastingly move a nation's heart. Irish *litterateurs* will ever praise them; but Irish voices will choose, and have already chosen, the songs of better, if not more gifted, men. Moore himself, in lines themselves most touching, and wedded to an air perhaps the sweetest of all the Irish melodies, has told us the secret of his charm and of his failure. "Dear Harp of my Country" is his tender good-bye to the work of fitting words to Irish music. Apostrophizing his "own Island Harp," he sings:—

"The warm lay of love, and the light note of gladness
Have wakened thy fondest, thy liveliest thrill;
But so oft hast thou echoed the deep sigh of sadness,
That even in thy mirth it will steal from thee still."

That sadness of Moore's was the sadness of despair. In the inner life of Ireland "the sweetest lyrist of her saddest

wrong" took little interest. * True, he had written—in his "mirth," we may suppose—those prophetic words, so often fondly repeated in Ireland :—

"The nations have fallen, and thou still art young ;
Thy sun is but rising, when others are set :
And though slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,
The full noon of freedom shall beam round thee yet.
Erin, O Erin ! though long in the shade,
- Thy star will shine out when the proudest shall fade."

But the first glimmerings of that light appalled the snugly-nested singer, and, instead of greeting it with a pæan, he lamented it in a dirge :—

"Tis gone, and for ever, the light we saw breaking,
Like heaven's first dawn o'er the sleep of the dead—
When man, from the slumber of ages awaking,
Looked upward, and blessed the pure ray ere it fled.
'Tis gone, and the gleams it has left of its burning
But deepen the long night of sorrow and mourning
That dark o'er the kingdoms of earth is returning,
And darkest of all, hapless Erin, o'er thee."

Such unhealthy hopelessness, even thus exquisitely sung, could not stand against the young, fresh voices that were then proclaiming Ireland's second spring. Sad for the past—those voices would not have been Irish if that minor strain had not been in them—they were ever full of courage and glad anticipation for their country's future. From end to end of Ireland, to this day, are heard the songs which, more than speech or manifesto, roused the people to that self-reliance and trust in the final prevalence of justice, which brought the nation safe through the darkest hour of her history.

Tom Davis's lines were, indeed, the voice of the nation. Never was there a tenderer muse than his ; but never, when he wrote of Ireland's future, was there a bolder :—

" Let the feeble-hearted pine,
Let the sickly spirit whine,
But to work and win be thine,
While you've life.
God smiles upon the bold ;
So, when your flag's unrolled,
Bear it bravely till you're cold
In the strife."

Lines like the following were not without their effect:—

“ Let the coward shrink aside,
 We'll have our own again ;
 Let the brawling knave deride,
 Here's for our own again !
 Let the tyrant bribe and lie,
 March, threaten, fortify,
 Loose his lawyer and his spy,
 Yet we'll have our own again.”

I do not know a more popular or a more pathetic ballad than Davis's “ Annie Dear ”—a mournful love song up to the very last verse, when the rebel lover passionately weeps his double bereavement—of wife and country :—

“ Far better by thee lying,
 Their bayonets defying,
 Than live an exile, sighing
 Annie, dear ! ”

But there are other songs as popular as any by Davis, which were written in the days when the cause of Irish nationality was supported by the most gifted and pure-souled of Irish thinkers, and which are sung now by those who still stand by that cause. “ Sliabh Cuilinn ” was the signatory to some of the most stirring of all the '48 songs, as they are called. He died recently, after having held the exalted position of Judge; but we may safely say that his countrymen will remember “ Sliabh Cuilinn ” when the honest Judge and refined man of letters is forgotten. The song, “ Ourselves Alone,” sounds much more like that of a Land Leaguer than of a Judge of the Land Court :—

“ Remember, when our lot was worse—
 Sunk, trampled to the dust ;
 'Twas long our weakness and our curse,
 In stranger aid to trust.
 And if, at length, we proudly trod
 On bigot laws o'erthrown,
 Who won the struggle ? Under God,
 Ourselves—OURSELVES ALONE.”

In the troubled days of Fenianism, a poor peasant was brought before a County Court Judge in the North of

Ireland, to answer to the charge of singing a seditious song. The song was read in court. Its strongest verse ran thus :—

“ My boyish ear still clung to hear
Of Erin's pride of yore,
Ere Norman foot had dared pollute
Her independent shore :
Of chiefs, long dead, who rose to head
Some gallant patriot few,
Till all my aim on earth became
To strike one blow for you,
Dear Land—
To strike one blow for you.”

It was Sliabh Cuilinn's song of Young Ireland days that the prisoner had sung. But why does the Judge's kindly voice falter in passing sentence? Can *he* be the writer? Ah, my Lord,

“ *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis !* ”

I have heard that, though the sedition was held proved, the poor singer went free ; for the Judge, men say, was himself scarcely penitent, and his heart remained what it always was.

No rebel song ever had such a success in Ireland as Ingram's famous ballad “ Who Fears to Speak of Ninety-Eight ? ” The writer holds now an honoured position in Trinity College, Dublin, an institution which, in spite of extraordinarily adverse influences, has ever been the nursery of sturdy and intelligent national spirits. There is scarcely a social board in Ireland at which that voice from “ Old Trinity ” has not been heard ; and only those who know the power of such a song in Ireland can understand the strength of this single link between the Protestant University and the hearts of the Catholic people. There is a hope—shall I call it a belief?—cherished silently in Ireland, that a day of resurrection is not far off, when the promise of such songs will be realized, and when it will appear that the Irish hearts that beat in hostile camps were never really far apart, never entirely false to the noble stirrings of former, happier days.

Fully half the songs that the Irish sing at present were written in the days of the Young Ireland party. The larger movement of more recent times has not been without its lyric

muse. True, there was something too coldly practical about the land agitation to give much inspiration to the poet. The one great song that became, in those days, the national song of the people was not of the League. "God Save Ireland"—T. D. Sullivan's lyric of what the great mass of his countrymen think the "saddest wrong" of the sad Fenian days—was the simple tale of the execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien, in Manchester, on November 23rd, 1867. The air was an American one, and had become popular in London. I remember well the amused contempt with which the singing of this song was met by an English friend, who at once chorused it with the latest music-hall refrain. But there is a proud ring in the air, which fits perfectly the indignation and defiance of the Irish poet's words, and which made those words historical. It is not hard to understand the power of such a verse as this :—

"Climbed they up the rugged stair,
 Rung their voices out in prayer ;
 Then, with England's fatal cord around them cast,
 Close beneath the gallows tree,
 Kissed like brothers lovingly,
 True to Home and Faith and Freedom to the last.
 ' God save Ireland,' prayed they loudly ;
 ' God save Ireland,' said they all :
 ' Whether on the scaffold high
 Or the battlefield we die,
 Oh, what matter, when for Erin dear we fall ! ' "

There is another song, still often heard in the south, that T. D. Sullivan wrote in the same troubled year. A grim humour is in it that was relished at that time. The subject was the remarkable influx just then of Americans, and the name of the song (no one could claim elegance for it) was "Square-toed Boots." The Government had threatened to arrest the suspicious-looking strangers :—

" But now the news has travelled afar across the sea,
 Old Uncle Sam has heard it, and a mighty man is he ;
 Through all his huge anatomy a thrill of anger shoots,
 And like thunder comes the stamping of his square-toed boots.
 And Johnny Bull grows fearful, as surely well he may,
 When up that giant rises, and strides across his way ;
 For past experience whispers, what no later fact refutes,
 That there's terrible propulsion in his square-toed boots."

Such lines are, perhaps, not pleasant reading ; the humour is too saturnine, and is not a fair specimen of the writer's usual kindly vein. I remember that at the last festive gathering at which I heard that song, it was followed by one that has always been a favourite, written by the same author—"R. C. C.," the initials of "Roman Catholic Curate." This is a verse:—

" His heart is near the people's hearts,
He knows their wrongs, he feels their smarts,
He sees the tyrant's cruel arts,
And through his veins each outrage darts.
Oh ! firm and true as steel is he,
The calm, courageous R. C. C. !
The friend of truth and liberty,
The youthful patriot R. C. C. ! "

" T. D.," as he is called through the country, was the poet of the League. To the splendid march of the Southern army he set the now well-known words:—

" Hurrah ! hurrah ! for home and liberty !
Hurrah ! hurrah ! the truth shall make us free !
Raise it on your banners, boys, for all the world to see —
God made the land for the people ! "

Many of these songs, which, from the pages of *The Nation*, were copied week by week into scores of papers in Ireland, America, and Australia, and sung wherever his countrymen are to be found, were written in the House of Commons. Mr. Sullivan, elected to make his country's laws, and doing his part therein devotedly, prefers the more important as well as more congenial task of making her ballads. That busy pen would be watched with greater interest if men in Westminster knew that it writes the songs of a people whose nature it is to sing when they are most in earnest, and to place, as in days of old, the national poet before even the national soldier.

The ballad-singer has always been a favourite in Ireland. No fair or market, no race meeting or political meeting is complete without him. He often composes the song he sings, and if it takes the fancy of his hearers he rapidly disposes of the slip copies. No event of any interest passes

without its ballad; no hero remains unsung. I have before me a rudely-printed sheet which I bought in the street of Thurles one spring evening. It is a fair specimen of the class. A coffin appears at the top of the slip, and the lines open thus :—

“ Once more this week does Carey wreak his vengeance on mankind,
 And once again we see with pain the black flag in the wind;
 Another dupe compelled to stoop to deeds of sin and shame!
 ‘ God help my wife and family, Dan Curley is my name.
 On the gallows high I’m forced to die and leave my happy home,
 But hope to meet with mercy sweet from God in kingdom come,
 Out from my heart ere I depart there’s one advice I’m giving,
 To shun unlawful meetings, and to trust in no man living.’ ”

The ballad ends with an appeal for the prayers of the hearers

“ ‘ To the Lord above, that, thro’ the love He bears for all mankind,
 He’ll pardon me on the gallows tree, and that I’ll mercy find.’ ”

All are not so mild as that. Though often coarse in expression, Irish street ballads are, thank God, singularly pure, and the priest generally comes to hear at once of any impropriety, and stops the danger on the spot. Treason is, of course, plentifully sung—if that can be called treason which is simply the untutored expression of passionate loyalty to the old country, and wholesale defiance of her foes. I remember the magistrates of a town in the county of Tipperary being called on to pass judgment on two boys for singing a rebel song, from which I cull the following :—

“ Then brighten up your rifles, boys,
 And see your blades are keen,
 And rally in your thousands
 ‘ Neath our own immortal green.
 Like soldiers of true freedom
 We’ll fight for liberty;
 And with flashing blades and rifles, boys,
 We’ll make old Ireland free ! ”

The indictment described the ballad as “ calculated to excite Her Majesty’s subjects, and bring the Government of Ireland

into contempt!" The boys were rightly scolded for singing this "obnoxious production," which, though sung in South Tipperary, came, they said, from Belfast.

But these quotations and remarks must end. If the subject required an apology I could find one in the fact that one good song in Ireland has even now more power over the people than a dozen speeches, and even than many sermons; and if it is objected that this article, as a whole, is not comfortable reading for some of the subscribers to the I. E. RECORD, I answer that I have tried to put before them, not my views, but some important facts indicative of the sentiments of a people with whom sentiment is paramount. It may comfort some to know—that the songs that the Irish sing sufficiently prove—that the prevailing sentiment in Ireland now is one of self-reliance and hope.

ARTHUR RYAN.

THE BLESSED EDMUND CAMPION'S "HISTORY OF IRELAND" AND ITS CRITICS.—II.

A REVIEWER of my former paper¹ admits that I have shown "that Campion had an eye for what was good in the Irish." Consequently I have proved that Keating's statements, *supra*, page 632, are without foundation. I add more evidence of Campion's kindly feelings.

III. THE IRISH PEOPLE.

"An old distinction there is of Ireland into Irish and English pales; for when the Irish had raised continual tumults against the English, planted here with the conquest, at last they coursed them into a narrow circuit of certain shires in Leinster, which the English did choose as the fattest soil, most defensible, their proper right, and most open to receive help from England. Hereupon it was termed their Pale, out of which they durst not peep.

"The language is sharp and sententious, offereth great

¹ In *The National Press*, July 9th.

occasion to quick apophthegms and proper allusions; wherefore their common jesters, bards, and rhymers are said to delight passingly those that conceive the grace and propriety of the tongue. But the true Irish, indeed, differeth so much from that they commonly speak, that scarce one among five score can either write, read, or understand it. Therefore it is prescribed among certain their poets and other students of antiquity.

"The people are thus inclined: religious, frank, morous, ireful, sufferable of pains infinite, very glorious, excellent horsemen, delighted with wars, great alms-givers, passing in hospitality, where they fancy and favour a wonderful kind. . . . Being virtuously bred up or reformed, they are such mirrors of holiness, and austerity, that other nations retain a show or shadow of devotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, which these days make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kind of chastisement, in which virtue, and divers others how far the best excel, so far in gluttony and other hateful crimes, the vicious they are worse than too bad. Greedy of praise they be, and fearful of dishonour; and to this end they esteem their poets, who write Irish learnedly, and pen their sonnets heroical, for which they are bountifully rewarded. But if they send out libels in dispraise thereof, the gentlemen, especially the mere Irish, stand in great awe. They love tenderly their foster children, and bequeathe to them a child's portion; whereby they nourish sure friendship, so beneficial in every way,¹ that commonly five hundred kine and better are given in reward to win a nobleman's child to foster. They love and trust their foster-brethren more than their own. They are sharp-witted, lovers of learning, capable of any study whereunto they bend themselves,² constant in travail, adventurous, intractable, kind-hearted, secret in displeasure. Hitherto the Irish of both sorts (mere and English) are affected much indifferently, save that in these, by good order and breaking, the virtues are far more frequent. In these others there is daily trial of good natures among them, how soon they be reclaimed, and to what rare gifts of grace and wisdom they do and have aspired.

"Clear men they are of skin and hue . . . Their women are well-favoured, clear-coloured, fair-handed, big and large, suffered from their infancy to grow at will, nothing curious of their feature and proportion of body. Their infants of the meaner sort are neither swaddled nor lapped in linen, but folded up naked into a blanket till they can go. Linen shirts the rich do wear for wantonness and bravery, with wide hanging sleeves plaited; thirty yards are little enough for one of them. Proud they are of long-crisped glybbes, and do nourish the same with

¹ Spencer denounces this, and urges its suppression.

² But were forbidden by law to learn.

all their cunning; to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable piece of villainy. Where they fancy and favour, they are wonderful kind; they exchange by commutation of wares for the most part, and have utterly no coin stirring in any great lords' houses. Some of them be richly plaited; their ladies are trimmed rather with massive jewels than with garish apparel; it is counted a beauty in them to be tall, round, and fat.

"They honour devout friars and pilgrims, suffer them to pass quietly, spare them and their mansions, whatsoever outrage they show to the country besides them; for the Irish are in no way outrageous against holy men. 'I remember,' Cambrensis writeth himself, 'merrily to have objected to Morris, then archbishop of Cashel, that Ireland in so many hundred years hath not brought forth one martyr. The bishop answered pleasantly; but, alluding to the murder of Thomas of Canterbury, 'our people,' quoth he, 'notwithstanding their other enormities, yet have evermore spared the blood of saints; marry now, as we are to be delivered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making martyrs; henceforward, I trust, this complaint will cease.'

"As to the Irish saints, though my search thereof, in this my haste out of the land, be very cumbersome, yet being loath to neglect the memory of God's friends, more glorious to a realm than all the victories and triumphs of the world, I think it good to furnish out this chapter with some extracts touching the saints of Ireland—namely, those that are most notable, mentioned by authors of good credit. . . .

"Without either precepts or observation of congruity the Irish speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of leachcraft and law, whereat they begin children, and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hypocrates and the civil institutions, and a few other parings of these two faculties. I have seen them, where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, groveling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying flat prostrate, and so to chant out their lessons by peacemeal, being the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upwards. . . .

"Other lawyers they have, liable to certain families, who, after the custom of the country, determine and judge causes. These consider of wrongs offered and received among their neighbours, be it murder, or felony, or trespass; all is redeemed by composition (except the grudge of parties seek revenge); and the time they have to spare from spoiling and proyning they lightly bestow in parleying about such matters. The Breighoon (so they call this kind of lawyer) sitteth him down on a bank, the lords and gentlemen at variance round about him, and then they proceed. To rob and prey their enemies they deem it no offence, nor seek any means to recover their loss, but even to

watch them the like turn ; but if neighbours and friends send their caters to purloin one another, such actions are judged by the Breighoon aforesaid. . . .

"Shamrocks, water-cresses, roots and other herbs they feed upon ; oatmeal and butter they cram together. They drink whey, milk, and beef-broth ; flesh they devour without bread ; corn, such as they have, they keep for their horses. In haste and hunger, they squeeze out the blood of raw flesh, and ask no more dressing thereto ; the rest boileth in their stomachs with aquavitæ, which they swill in, after such a surfeit, by quarts and pottles. Their kine they let blood, which, grown to a jelly, they bake and overspread with butter, and so eat it in lumps."

IV.—PORTRAITS OF INDIVIDUAL IRISHMEN.

Omitting his beautiful sketches of Irish saints, I give those of ordinary Christians, some of whom were not paragons of piety. His appreciation of Irish piety is revealed in the record of the foundation of "St. Mary's Abbey, beside Dublin," of the Abbeys of Roseglasse, Dunbrody, Jerpoint, "Ines in Ulster," Ingo Dei, Comer, Kilmaynam, and Kilcullen ; of the Abbey of Knockmoy, by Cathal Crowderg, king of Connaught ; of the Abbey of Mellifont, founded by the good king of Ergall, "which is the oldest I find recorded since the Danes' arrival, except St. Mary's Abbey, beside Dublin."¹ He says that—

"When the City of Dublin was wasted by fire, and the bell-house of Christ Church was utterly defaced, the citizens, before they repaired their private harms, jointly came to succour ; and collections were made to redress the ruins of that ancient building, which work, at the decay of fire and since, many devout citizens of Dublin have beautified."¹

He tells that--

"In 1835 died Kimvricke Shereman, sometimes Mayor of Dublin, a benefactor of every church and religious house twenty miles round about the city.¹ His legacies to the poor and others, besides the liberality showed in his lifetime, amounted to 3,000 marks ; with such plenty were our fathers blessed, that cheerfully gave of their true winnings to needful purposes ; whereas our time, that gaineth excessively, and whineth at every farthing to be spent on the poor, is yet oppressed with scarcity and beggary, . . . This Mayoralty of Dublin both for state and charge of

¹ Keating asserts that "he does not speak or think of such things"!

office and for bountiful hospitality exceedeth any city in England except London . . . James Butler, grandsire of James the Lord Deputy, in 1421, was surnamed 'the chaste,' for that of all vices he most abhorred the sin of the flesh, and in subduing of the same gave notable example."

I pass over such touches as—

"This report of an insult offered to the Irish Franklins by two Normans, pickthanks of the guard of John, Earl of Gloucester, caused the mightiest Irish captains to stick together, while their lives lasted, and for no manner of earthly thing to slack the defence of their ancient liberty."

And again:—

"The Irish of Leinster made insurrections, so did Mageoghegan in Meath, and O'Brien in Munster, in which stir, William Bermingham, a warrior incomparable, was found halting, and was condemned to die by Roger Outlawe. then Lieutenant to the Lord Justice, and so hanged was he, a knight among thousands odd and singular."

Of Shane O'Neill, the great enemy of the English, he says:—

"Of all the Irish princes none was comparable to O'Neill for antiquity and nobleness of blood . . . O'Neill encroached upon the full possession of Ulster, abiding uncontrolled, till Con O'Neill, fearing the puissance of Henry VIII., exhibited to him a voluntary submission, surrendered all titles of honour, received at his hands the earldom of Tirowen, to be held of the king, of English form and tenure; arms he gave the bloody hand a terrible significance. His son, Shane, after his father's decease, was reputed for the rightful O'Neill, took it, kept it, challenged superiority over the Irish lords of Ulster, warred also upon the English part; subdued O'Reilly, imprisoned O'Donnell, his wife, and his sons, enriched himself with O'Donnell's forts, castles, and plate, detained pledges of obedience, the wife and child, fortified a strong island in Tyrone, which he named spitefully *Foogh-na-Gall*; that is, 'the hate of Englishmen,' whom he so detested, that he hanged a soldier for eating English biscuit . . . He was yet persuaded by Melchior Hussey,¹ sent unto him from the Earl of Kildare, to reconcile himself to good order . . . and he made a voyage into England, where the courtiers, noting his haughtiness and barbarity, devised his style thus:—'O'Neill the Great, cousin to St. Patrick, friend to the Queen of England,

¹ It was as an Irish servant of this Melchior that our author escaped to England.

enemy to all the world besides.' Thence he sped home again, graciously dealt with; used civility, expelled the Scots out of all Ulster, where they intended a conquest; wounded and took prisoner their captain, James MacConil, their chieftain; ordered the North so properly, that, if any subject could prove the loss of money or goods within his precinct, he would assuredly either force the robber to restitution, or, of his own cost, redeem the harm, to the loser's contentation. Sitting at meat, before he put one morsel into his mouth, he used to slice a portion above the daily alms, and send it, namely, to some beggar at his gate, saying, 'it was meet to serve Christ first.'

"Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, a mighty-made man, full of honour and courage, had been Lord Deputy and Lord Justice of Ireland thirty-four years. Between him and the Earl of Ormond their own jealousies were fed with envy and ambition, and kindled with certain lewd factions, abettors of either side, ever since Ormond, with a great army of Irishmen, camping in St. Thomas Court at Dublin, seemed to face the countenance and power of the Deputy. These occasions, I say, fostered a malice betwixt them and their posterities, many years after incurable, causes of much ruffle and unquietness in the realm, until the confusion of one house and the nonage of the other discontinued their quarrels, which, except their inheritors have the grace to put up, and love unfeignedly, as Gerald and Thomas do now, may hap to turn their countries to little good, and themselves to less.

"Ormond was nothing inferior to the other in stomach, and in reach of policy was far beyond him . . . Kildare was in government a mild man, to his enemies intractable; to the Irish such a scourge, that, rather for despite of him than for favour of any part, they relied upon the Butlers, came in under his protection, served at his call, performed by starts, as their manner is, the duty of good subjects. Ormond was secret and drifty, of much moderation in speech, dangerous of every little wrinkle that touched his reputation. Kildare was open and passionable, in his mood desperate, both of word and deed . . . a warrior incomparable; towards the nobles, that he favoured not, somewhat headlong and unruly. Being charged before Henry VII. for burning the Church of Cashel, and many witnesses being prepared to avouch against him the truth of that article, he suddenly confessed the fact, to the great wondering and detestation of the council. When it was looked how he would justify the matter:—'By — quoth he, I would never have done it had it not been told me that the archbishop was within.' And because the archbishop was one of his busiest accusers there present, merrily laughed the king at the plainness of the man, to see him allege that intent for excuse which most of all did aggravate his fault.

"Gerald Fitzgerald was son of the aforesaid earl, and Lord Deputy. He chased the nation of the O'Tooles, battered

O'Carroll's castles in 1516, and awed all the Irish of the land more and more. A gentleman valiant and well-spoken, yet in his latter time overtaken with vehement suspicion of sundry treasons . . . The Earl of Ossory brought evident proofs of the deputy's disorder: that he winked at the Earl of Desmond, whom he should have attached by the king's letters; that he curried acquaintance and friendship with the mere Irish enemies; that he armed them against him (Ossory), the king's deputy; that he hanged and hewed roughly good subjects, whom he suspected to lean to the Butler's friendship. Yet again, therefore, was Kildare commanded to appear before the council. The Earl of Ossory, to show his ability of service, brought to Dublin an army of Irishmen, having captains over them, O'Connor, O'More, and O'Carroll, and at St. Mary's Abbey was chosen deputy. In which office (being himself, save only in feats of arms, a simple gentleman) he bare out his honour and the charge of government very worthily, through the singular wisdom of his countess (a sister of Kildare's), a lady of such port, that all the estates of the realm crouched unto her, so politic, that nothing was thought substantially debated without her advice, manlike and tall of stature, very rich and bountiful. But to those virtues was yoked such a self-liking, and such a majesty above the tenure of a subject, that, for insurance thereof, she sticked not to abuse her husband's honour against her brother's folly. Notwithstanding, I learn not that she practised his undoing; but that she by indirect means wrought her brother out of credit to advance her husband, the common voice and the thing itself speaketh."

V.—THE SPEECHES OF IRISHMEN REPORTED IN THE
"HISTORY."

These speeches are good specimens of Campion's much-admired style; and as they reveal something of what he thought of Irishmen and the state of their country, I shall give a few extracts:—

"The sixteen beautiful Irish striplings drew forth from under their womanlike garments their skeans, and valiantly bestirred themselves, stabbing first the tyrant Turgesius, next the youth present, that prepared but small resistance. Out flew the fame thereof into all quarters of Ireland, and the princes, nothing dull to catch hold of such advantage, with one assent rose ready to pursue their liberty. All Meath and Leinster were soon gathered to O'Melaghlin, the father of this practice, who lightly leaped to horse, and commanding their forwardness in so natural a quarrel, said:—

" ' Lordlings and friends, this case neither admitteth delay

nor asketh policy: heart and haste is all in all. While the feat is young and strong, and that of our enemies some sleep, some sorrow, some curse, some consult, all are dismayed, let us anticipate their fury, dismember their force, cut off their flight, occupy their places of refuge and succour. It is no mastery to pluck their feathers, but their necks, nor to chase them in, but to rouse them out; to weed them, not to rake them; not to tread them down, but to dig them up. This lesson the tyrant himself hath taught me. I once demanded of him in a parable by what good husbandry the land might be rid of certain crows that annoyed it; he advised me to watch where they bred, and to fire their nests about their ears. Go we then upon these cormorants that shroud themselves in our possessions, and let us destroy them, so that neither nest nor root, nor seed, nor stalk, nor stub, may remain of this ungracious generation.'

"Scarce had he spoken the word, but, with great shouts and clamours, they extolled the king as patron of their lives and families, assured both courage and expedition, joined their confederates, and with a running camp swept every corner of the land, razed the castles to the ground, and chased the strangers before them; slew all that abode the battle, and recovered, each man, his own precinct and former state of government. . . .

"Whilst the Cardinal (Wolsey) was speaking, the Earl of Kildare chafed and changed colour, and sundry proffers made to answer every sentence as it came. At last he broke out, and interrupted him thus:—

"My Lord Chancellor, I beseech you, pardon me. I am short-witted, and you, I perceive, intend a long tale. . . . But go to, suppose my cousin Desmond be never had, what is Kildare to blame for it more than my good brother of Ossory, who, notwithstanding his high promises, having also the king's power, is glad to take eggs for his money, and bring him in at leisure. Cannot the Earl of Desmond shift, but I must be of counsel? Cannot he be hid, except I wink? If he be close, am I his mate? If he be friended, am I a traitor? . . . I know (the informers) too well to reckon myself convict by their bare words, or heedless hearsays, or frantic oaths. Of my cousin Desmond they may lie lewdly, since no man here can tell the contrary. Touching myself, I never noted in them so much wit, or so much faith, that I could have gaged upon their silence the life of a good hound, much less mine own. . . . But of another thing it grieveth me that your good Grace, whom I take to be wise and sharp, and who of your own blessed disposition wish me well, should be so far gone in crediting those corrupt informers, that abuse the ignorance of their state and country to my peril. Little know you, my Lord, how necessary it is not only for the governor, but also for every nobleman in Ireland, to hamper his vincible neighbours at discretion; wherein, if they waited for process of law, and had

not these lives and lands, you speak of, within their reach, they might hap to lose their own lives and lands without law. You hear of a case as it were in a dream, and feel not the smart that vexeth us. In England there is not a mean subject that dare extend his hand to fliep a peer of the realm. In Ireland, except the Lord hath cunning to his strength, and strength to save his own, and sufficient authority to rack thieves and varlets when they stir, he shall find them swarm so fast, that it will be too late to call for justice. As touching my kingdom, my Lord, I wish you and I had exchanged kingdoms but for one month! I would trust to gather up more crumbs in that space, than twice the revenues of my poor earldom. But you are well and warm, and so hold you, and upbraid me not with such an odious storm. I sleep in a cabin, when you lie soft in your bed of down; I serve under the cope of heaven, when you are served under a canopy; I drink water out of a skull, when you drink out of golden cups; my courser is trained to the field, when your jennet is taught to amble; when you are begraced, and belorded, and crouched and knelt unto, then I find small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.'

"Kildare's son, Lord Thomas, being deputy in his place, on hearing the false report of his father's execution, stood before the Council in Dublin, and spoke:—

"'Howsoever injuriously we be handled, and forced to defend ourselves in arms, when neither our service nor our good meaning towards our prince's crown availeth, yet say not hereafter but in this open hostility, which we profess here and proclaim, we have shown ourselves no villaines nor churls, but warriors and gentlemen. This sword of state is yours, not mine; I received it with an oath, and have used it to your benefit; I should offend mine honour, if I turned it to your annoyance. Now I have need of mine own sword, which I dare trust. As for this common sword, it flattereth me with a golden scabbard, but hath in it a pestilent edge, already bathed in the Geraldines' blood, and whetteth itself in hope of destruction. Save yourselves from us as from your open enemies! I am none of Henry's deputy, I am his foe, I have more mind to conquer than to govern, to meet him in the field than to serve him in office. If all the hearts in England and Ireland, that have cause thereto, would join in this quarrel (as I trust they will), then should he be a byeword (as I trust he shall), for his heresy, lechery, and tyranny, wherein the age to come may score him among the ancient princes of most abominable and hateful memory.'"

On the 12th of December, 1570, our author was present in the Upper House of Parliament in Dublin, and heard two speeches, whereof he took notes on coming home to his

lodging. He delivered them as near as he "could call them to mind in the same words and sentences," that he heard them. Campion's Catholic host, the Speaker Stanihurst, addressing the Lord Deputy, urged the erection of grammar schools within every diocese, and of a university, and he added :—

"Surely might one generation sip a little of this liquor, and so be induced to long for more; both our countrymen, that live obedient, and our unquiet neighbours, would find such sweetness in the taste thereof, as it would be a ready way to reclaim them. The unbroken borderers possibly might be won by this example."

Sydney, the Lord Deputy, also spoke in favour of the establishment of a university, and then passed to the subject of a standing army :—

"You are wont to reason: Why should not we live without an army as well as they do in England? Why cannot our noblemen of might in every border, our tenants and servants, withstand the Irish next them, as well as the northern lords and inhabitants of Ridesdale and Tiddesdale, and those about the Scottish bank resist the Scots facing and pilfering as fast as our enemies? Touching Scotland, it is well known, they were never the men whom England need to fear. They are but a corner cut out, and easily tamed, when they wax outrageous. Your foes lie in the bosom of your countries, more in number, richer of ground, desperate thieves, ever at an inch, impossible to be severed from you, without any fence besides your own valiantness and the help of our soldiers. England is quiet within itself, thoroughly peopled on that side of Scotland which most requireth it, guarded with an army; otherwise the lords and gentlemen and lusty yeomen that dwelt on a row, are ready to master their private vagaries; the island is from all foreign invasions walled with the wide ocean. Were such a sea betwixt you and the Irish, or were they shut up in an odd end of the land, or had they no such opportunities of bogs and woods as they have, or were they lords of the lesser part of Ireland, or were they severed into handfuls, not able to annoy whole townships and baronies, as they do, the comparison were somewhat like. But alack! it fareth not so with you. You are beset round; your towns are feeble, the land empty, the commons bare, every county by itself cannot save itself. Take away the terror and fear of our band, which increaseth your strength, and many an Irish lord would be set agog, that now is full lowly, and holdeth in his horns; and the open enemy would scour your quarters, that now dares not venture lest he pay for his passage."

From all these passages taken together the reader will see how inexact are the following statements:—"Campion never notices the piety, virtues, valour, and charity of the Irish;"¹ "he was employed to write down everything Irish;"² "he wrote with all the prejudices of an Englishman of the sixteenth century;"³ "his hatred of the Irish was as intense and unnatural as that of Spencer;"⁴ "Edmund Spencer is the *least unkind* of English critics of Ireland."⁵

The last two statements are partly disproved by the passages quoted already; I know, and at another time will prove them to be false.

EDMUND HOGAN, S.J.

CHURCHES IN THE EAST.—II.

THE liturgy of the patriarchate of Constantinople, and which in the course of time began to be regarded as the liturgy of the Greek Church, owes its origin to the Apostles, who preached the Gospel there. It is, therefore, called by the Greeks themselves "Apostolic." St. John Chrysostom gave it its present form, and as so modified is in use throughout the entire Greek Church, whether orthodox or in union with Rome. Step by step the patriarchal See of Constantinople succeeded in forcing this liturgy into all those parts of the Eastern Churches which remained faithful after the Monophysite and Nestorian heresies had rent the East. Disunion, however, was not averted. The attacks of paganism had but the effect of knitting the bond uniting East and West; distrust and ambition succeeded in severing it. From the very outset the patriarchs of Constantinople set themselves at the head of this destructive movement.

¹ Keating's *Hist.*, ed. Haliday, pages ix., lxxiii.

² *Hist. of Ireland*, by D'Arcy M'Ghee, vol. ii., page 74.

³ Dewar's *Observations on Ireland*, ed. 1812, page 49.

⁴ Dr. Kelly, in *Cambrensis Eversus*, ii., 364.

⁵ Sir Henry Maine's *History of Institutions*, page 20.

Ambitious of an equality with Rome, they trampled upon the rights of more ancient and venerable sees in the East than their own. Jealous of Rome, of the Western Church, they did not hesitate to bow their heads before the despotic decrees of imperial minions, who hesitated not to intrude in matters which were of God and not of Cæsar. It was clear to the world that with the close of the sixth century the glory of the Eastern Church was about to fade away for ever. The glorious names that adorned the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, could find no counterparts whatever in the individuals who stood at the head of the Eastern Church in the sixth. The high ideal after which early Christianity had been continually aspiring, was utterly abandoned by the retrograding acts of the Trullan Synod. Perhaps, as Origen had predicted, the work of the Eastern Church was accomplished in the downfall of paganism. It was clear that, bit by bit, the bond uniting the East and West was becoming looser, until, as every student of ecclesiastical history knows too well, it broke at a moment the most un auspicious possible—a moment when Christianity saw itself in danger of being swept away by the torrent of Islamism. As it does not enter the province of the writer to describe the events either preceding the Photian schism, or those which accompanied it, he finds himself bound to pass on, and merely describe the Eastern Church as it arose out of the schism. A few words, however, are necessary ere that be entered upon.

The patriarchate of Constantinople, though the last in point of time as to its erection, became in the course of time, owing to the establishment of the imperial court there, the chief in the entire East. The Church there had had from the apostolic age a liturgy which it derived from the Apostles sent there to preach the Gospel. This liturgy was modified by St. John Chrysostom (354-407), and as so modified is in existence at present. Its peculiar features are: leavened bread and the use of the chalice for the laity.

The work of separation began, as is well known, with Photius (*obit.* 891); but it can hardly be said to have been completely achieved until the middle of the eleventh century,

when Michael Cerularius (1043-59) declared for the complete separation of the Eastern Church from that of the West. Unfortunately, it happened that almost the entire East followed the patriarchate in its apostacy. The efforts which were made at various periods to bring back the Eastern Church to unity are too well known to readers of the I. E. RECORD to be here repeated. The points in dispute were brought to their narrowest limits at the Florentine Council. It was clear, then, to all, that there was only one question of any essential import, *i.e.*, the *divine* supremacy of the Church of Rome. Every other question was either a matter of grammatical expression, such as regards the question whether *Filoque* or *per Filium* be inserted in the Creed, or else was one of mere liturgy and discipline. However, the efforts of the Council proved futile in the end. The germ of disunion lay deeper than the theologians at the Council were inclined to believe; it lay in the jealousies of the entire East towards the West, and there it remains even to the present day.¹

The apostacy of the patriarchate of Constantinople, then, dragged with it that of every Church in the East in union with it. Everywhere, except, as is generally stated, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the West beheld the bonds uniting Christendom snapping asunder. Constantinople had in the course of ages built up what the world regarded as the Greek Church. Her patriarchs had driven out old and venerable liturgies from the Churches of Antioch and Alexandria; and now, when she had raised the banner of revolt, these two followed her in her rebellion; and when either she or her children will return to the unity of that fold from which they have gone out, seems a matter that Providence alone can bring about. In the East the hierarchy of the Greek Church consists of the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria, having

¹ At the present day the orthodox Greeks apparently deny the Procession of the Holy Ghost from Father and Son, as well as Purgatory. At the Council of Florence, when these matters were brought up for discussion, it was clear to Western minds that what the Greeks objected to was the Western mode of expressing these truths, not the truths themselves.

under them numerous bishoprics. A large portion of the Greek Church has, however, in the course of time returned to unity with the Church of Rome. This is the United Greek Church, called in the East Melekites.¹ They may possibly reach a million and a half, or even two millions, in Asia Minor and Syria; but the greater number of United Greeks are at present in the Austrian Empire. Their hierarchy in Asia Minor consists of the patriarch of Alexandria and Jerusalem. He generally resides at Damascus. There are resident archbishops at Tyr, Hauran, and Aleppo; and bishops in Beyrout, Homs, Baalbeck, Saida or Sidon, and a few other places in Asia Minor and Syria. The places where the United Greeks are most numerous in, are Syria and Alexandria, Damascus and Aleppo, there being in the last nearly twenty thousand. Small communities of them are to be found in nearly every town, and in Syria and Palestine are more numerous than their quondam co-religionists of the orthodox Church. As to their liturgy, in Syria and Egypt it is celebrated in Arabic, the only Greek used being the words of the consecration. It differs in nowise from that of the orthodox Church, and both practically use the vernacular language of whatever country they are in. Thus the name Greek does not denote anything else but liturgy; and even that, as far as Greek is concerned, is almost a non-existing item in Syria.

The Latin Church, too, has established herself in the East, amid, so to speak, the wreck and ruin of the Churches that have unfortunately fallen away from unity with her to cower before the pride of Islam. Though it may be impossible at present to state the exact moment when native Latin communities first began to exist in the East, it may be safely admitted that such hardly existed before the eleventh century. Religious communities of Latins, that is, of nuns and monks from Europe, have undoubtedly existed, at least in Palestine, wherever there were sanctuaries, as far back as the fourth century; but it does not appear that

¹ Melekite, *Siriace et Arabice*, Imperialist. The title was given in scorn by the Eutychians to the Catholic party, because they were upheld by the Emperor Marcian (450-57).

before the incoming of the Crusaders there were anywhere to be found native Syrians following the liturgy of the Catholic Church of Rome. In all probability, the settling down in Syria and Palestine of many of those who followed in the wake of the Crusaders, as well as owing to the great influence which the presence of the Christian armies of the West exercised over the Christian populations both within as well as beyond the boundaries of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, contributed in a great measure to the forming of such communities. Members of the disunited Eastern Churches came over to unity, and placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Latin clergy. Traces of this influence exercised by the presence of the Crusaders in the East over the Eastern Churches can be found in many instances. It was owing to it principally that the Maronite Church shook off all taint of Monothelism and became united with Rome. Indeed it was quite natural that such a tendency should exist. Crushed by the tyranny of the Moslem, Christians beyond the frontier of the Latin kingdom looked for help and sympathy to the warriors which the Latin Church had sent to the East to win back the sanctuaries of Christianity from the grasp of the followers of Islam, and crush the tyranny of the Moslem world. All this would sufficiently account for the establishment of Latin communities in the heart of the Eastern Churches, quite apart from the strenuous efforts made by the missionaries which Rome sent to the East during the middle ages, and even up to the present; but to speak of those missions is hardly beside the subject of the present essay; and so it must be left to be told elsewhere. What has been here said will be quite sufficient to refute the absurd statements found in many English hand-books on Palestine, among others that of Murray, where it is stated (page 23) :¹ "The Papal schismatic (*sic*) Churches are called the Greek-Catholic, or Melchite, and the Syrian Catholic. These have sprung up from the missionary efforts of Romish priests and Jesuits during the past two centuries!"

¹ Confer. Murray's *Handbook, Syria and Palestine*. London, 1875.

This statement is simply false and misleading in the extreme. Converts made by Romish missionaries from any of the non-united Churches become *ipso facto* Latins, and not Melchites, &c. The fact is, that, with but few exceptions, all the united branches of the Eastern Churches date back to those times when heresy and schism tore their Church asunder; to a period long anterior to any so-called invasion of Roman missionaries. The sole instances of any account where Roman missionaries have had anything to do with the bringing back to unity with Catholicity any of the Eastern Churches, or parts of those Churches, are such as took place from the fourteenth century up to the Council of Florence. Now and then a community of the non-united Churches expresses its willingness to become united with Rome, and in such cases alone does that particular community retain its old liturgy, and so fall under the jurisdiction of the Syrian, Armenian, or Coptic Catholic bishop, as the case may be, and not under the Latin clergy. A new edition of Murray's handbook for Syria and Palestine is about to be brought out, and it is to be hoped that as it will naturally be availed of by English Catholic tourists in these countries, such like false and misleading statements will be corrected, as well as others regarding the management, &c., of the sanctuaries.

The Latin Church in the East, including Egypt, and apart from its missionary work—merely regarding it as an established Church, guarding the native communities under its jurisdiction—is at present divided into four principal vicar apostolicates, several prefectures apostolic and has an archbishopric at Smyrna, and a resident patriarch at Jerusalem. These four vicariates apostolic for the government of the Latin communities within their districts are ruled over by so many apostolic delegates whose duty it is to represent the Holy See in all matters concerning the Eastern united Churches. Thus the apostolic delegate of Alexandria,¹ in Egypt, acts as such for the Coptic Church;

¹ Monsignor Guido Corbelli, O.S.F., formerly *Custos Terræ Sanctæ*, nominated 1888.

the apostolic delegate of Beyrout,¹ for all those parts of the Armenian, Syrian, Greek (Nulchite) and Chaldean Catholics in all Syria and Palestine; the apostolic delegate in Mossul,² for the Chaldean Church in Mesopotamia and Eastern Armenia; and the apostolic delegate of Constantinople³ for the remaining parts of the Turkish Empire. Up to 1837 the Coptic Church, in union with Rome, was under the apostolic delegate of Syria,⁴ but since then a separate delegation has been appointed, with residence in Alexandria. A resident patriarch was appointed for Jerusalem in 1847, the last presiding patriarch, previous to then, having left Palestine upon the fall of the last stronghold of the Crusaders, *i. e.*, Acre, in 1291, and the Custos of the Franciscans in Jerusalem, during the long interval acting as vicar apostolic. The difficulties which had up to then existed, prevented the appointment of a resident patriarch to that venerable See; but with the dawn of religious liberty, even under the Crescent, Pius IX. succeeded in appointing Mons. Valerga.⁵

Thus it is that in almost every town and city in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, as well as all along the coast of Asia Minor proper, are to be found native communities following the liturgy of the Western Church, and many, if not most of them, dating their establishment back to the days of the Crusaders. Roughly speaking, in Egypt and Syria, the Latin communities are, with few exceptions, under the jurisdiction of the Franciscans of the Holy Land. They are, however, ably assisted by the Jesuits and Lazarists; the former having splendid colleges in Cairo, Alexandria, and in Beyrout, besides numbers of schools in different parts of Syria. At present the Lazarists

¹ Monsignor Gaudenzio Bonfigli, O.S.F., late Custos of the Holy Land, appointed Delegate Apostolic for Syria, 1889.

² Monsignor Altmayer, O.P., present incumbent.

³ Present incumbent, Monsignor Bonetti.

⁴ Confer. Alzog., *Universal Church History*, vol. iv., page 320.

⁵ Died Dec. 2nd, 1872; succeeded by Mons. Bracco, who died June. 1889; present patriarch, Monsig. Lodovico Piavi, O.S.F., late Delegate Apostolic for Syria, and Vicar Apostolic for the Vicariate of Aleppo.

have but few residences in Syria. In Mesopotamia the Latin communities are under the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic of Mossul, who, with a number of French Dominicans, look after the Latin Catholics in all that part of the Turkish Empire. Armenia has likewise numerous Latin communities, which are under the care of the Capuchins and Jesuits; the former being in Trebizond, Kars, Erzeroum, Mardin, Kharpoot, Orfa, and other places of minor importance. In the other parts of Asia Minor, along the Archipelago, the Lazarists and Capuchins are the clergy in charge of the Latins.

To enter into a minute detail of the missionary work carried out by these religious bodies would be impossible in these pages; so the writer leaves that for another time; nor would it be possible to give anything like an account of the Churches which Protestantism has, during the past forty years or so, been endeavouring to found in the East. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Anglicans, have alike tried their hand to establish themselves in the East; but the only section anywhere worth notice, or numerous, is that of the American Congregationalists, who have many adherents in various parts of Armenia. The Anglican Church having disastrously failed to keep up the sham of a bishopric in Jerusalem, the two sections of the Protestant community there, *i.e.*, the United Lutheran, and the few Anglicans, have been unable to agree to pull together under the terms arranged for them by the Prussian and English Governments in 1857. At present each section has its own bishop; but, as a matter of course, the whole thing will soon fall through, owing to the few members, especially of the Anglican Church, and to *want of funds*.

Such, then, is a brief account of the actual state of the East, as far as its Churches are concerned. The reader may ask himself what are the prospects of any of those Churches—of Catholicity itself—of Islamism—of Protestantism; but to such a demand, it is impossible at present to give an adequate or satisfactory reply. Perhaps history may give that reply. They arose, and they have fallen. They sprung from that Gospel preached by twelve peasants from lowly

Galilee, crushing as they sprung into life the mighty spell with which the myths of Assyria, Egypt, and Greece, enthralled the civilized world of those days; they fell before the barbarian hordes that rushed to death under the banner of Mahomet. Their glory has departed. Sees, the names of which can never be forgotten in the annals of civilization, are now the homes of the Bedouin of the desert. Assuredly Providence foresaw all this—perhaps willed it. What that same Providence may decree in the future, it is impossible to tell, or even to imagine. What may happen, what Western Christianity would fain accomplish in order to uplift her fallen sister, the Church of the East; what efforts she is now putting forth in order to accomplish that end; what have been both in the past, as well as at present, the successes or failures which her efforts have encountered—all that enters into what may be said about her missions; and that must be reserved for another time.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

DUBIORUM LITURGICORUM SOLUTIO.¹

IS ONE JUSTIFIED IN USING SUCH BOOKS AS PUSTET'S
 "COMPENDIUM ANTIPHONARII ET BREVIARII ROMANI,"
 &C.,² IN DISCHARGING THE OBLIGATION OF THE DIVINE
 OFFICE?

QUESTIO.

Plures extant libri liturgici, quos Typographus Fridericus Pustet excerpit ex aliis typicis et in lucem prodit, sed vel nullam vel approbationem specialem non præseferunt, ut ex. gr. Cantus officiorum Nativitatis D. N. I. C.—Tridui sacri—Diurnale parvum—Cantus diversi—etc. Ex iis autem nonnulli pro approbatione habent: *Imprimi permittitur*, vel,

¹ We are indebted to the *Ephemerides Liturgicae* (Romae) for the following interesting questions.—ED. I. E. R.

² These books have the *Imprimatur* of the Vicar-General, but not the attestation of the bishop that they agree with the Editio Typica.

Imprimatur die 12 Iunii, 1889, G. Erlembrohn Vic. in Spiritual, Gen. Nonnulli autem nullam approbationem habent, dicitur tamen ex typica editione eos esse excerptos. Quaeritur ergo, utrum qui ad Horas Canonicas tenetur, cum his libris officium recitans satisfaciatur nec ne?

RESPONSIO.

Triplex in casu institui potest quaestio: prima, num eiusmodi approbatio in casu valeat: secunda, utrum regularis opprobatio in casu requiratur: tertia, utrum officium in eiusmodi libris recitans satisfaciatur.

Primam resolvimus *negative*. Fridericus Pustet est Typographus S. R. Congregationis: ut sacri codices omnes qui ab ea vulgantur, peculiarem habeant ab eadem S. C. revisionem et approbationem, et maxime primas sacrorum librorum editiones, quae pro typicis, seu ad imitandum propositis (non tamen ad errores quod attinet, si quos habeant), sunt ab omnibus retinendae.

Quinimo ad abundantiam, ut credimus, etiam Ordinarius loci suam approbationem ponere maluit, uti constat nobis esse factum circa secundam Pontificalis et Ritualis Romani Editionem. Ut proinde has Editiones esse vere authenticas dubitare nemo rationabiliter valeat.

At in casu agitur de aliquibus partibus, a libris quidem authenticis excerptis, sed nulla S. R. Congregationis approbatione gaudentibus. Iam vero oportet, ut ad Horas Canonicas obligatus certo sciat ex attestazione Episcopi, editionem qua utitur, cum typica concordare. Atqui id non dicit attestatio Vicarii in Spiritualibus Generalis, declarans simpliciter, editionem aliquam fuisse e typica depromptam. Quamvis enim id verum esse constet, quibusdam tamen mutationibus obnoxia esse potuit, ut dissonet a typica. Ergo approbatio, de qua in casu, nullius est ponderis, ut tamquam non sufficiens habenda sit, proindeque non valeat.

Ad alterum respondemus *affirmative*, hoc est: in praefatis editionibus omnino requiri regularem approbationem Episcopi loci. Et sane, quicumque ex Typographis, accepta facultate, liturgicos libros valet edere, in iisque edendis, typicis editionibus tenetur uti. Verum sufficietne lectores

monere, illos libros fuisse ex authenticis editionibus excerptos? Negative ex super allata ratione; requiritur enim ut Episcopus declaret, novas editiones revera concordare cum typica. Constat id satis ex S. R. Congregationis Decreto Generali 4739, vi cuius, Ordinarii locorum testari in singulis editionibus tenentur, nova exemplaria concordare cum iis, quae Romae sunt impressa, impraesenti vero, cum typicis. Ita factum cernimus in cunctis recentioribus editionibus, ut in Tornacensi per *Desclée*, in Mechliniensi per *Dessain*, in Taurinensi per *Marietti*, etc. Nec ratio est, ob quam a lege hac tenenda eximantur editiones, licet a typicis depromptae, quas Fridericus Pustet evulgat. Licet ergo iste, Typographi honore fruatur S. R. Congregationis, quando haec suam approbationem non ponit, ut in casu evenit, in illius editionibus, eam ponere tenetur loci Episcopus. Qui testari de more debet, non iam illas editiones esse excerptas e typica, quod supponitur, sed cum typica perfecte concordare.

Ad alterum denique quod pertinet, respondemus, seriam non posse institui quaestionem, utrum qui in libro liturgico approbatione Episcopi carente, officium recitat, satisfaciatur obligationi, si tamen officii forma illa sit, quam S. Pius V in sua Bulla *Quod a nobis* requirit. Ratio est, quia etsi liber approbatione Episcopi careat, nihilominus forma officii Bullae S. Pii V perfecte respondet, ut supponimus, sub qua idem Sanctus Pontifex Horas Canonicas recitari praescribit. Arrogas, librum in casu non carere approbatione quod forma praescripta deficiat, sed ex alia causa, puta ex incuria, ex falsa hypothesi, vi cuius approbatione haud indigere censetur etc. alioquin eadem approbatione non careret. Cum ergo forma officii ea certo sit, quam Ecclesia exigit, indubia est quoque satisfactio, neque aliud erui potest ex praefata Bulla.

Attamen codices sine approbatione edere aut vulgare non licet, et severius loquendo, nec cum iis officium recitare. Idque, sive ut legi inhaereamus, quae eiusmodi attestationem vult, sive ut incommoda evitemus, quae ex hac legis inobservantia derivare possunt.

SHOULD THE PSALM "DE PROFUNDIS" AND THE PRAYER "FIDELIUM DEUS OMNIUM" BE SAID BY THE CELEBRANT AND CLERGY AFTER THE ABSOLUTION AT THE CATAFALQUE?

QUESTIO.

Post Absolutionem ad tumulum, quae quotidie peragitur post Missam cum cantu, secundum quod haec de die est aut de requie, Celebrans post *De profundis* in reditu ad sacrum recitatum, debetne recitare Orationem *Fidelium* cum suis praecedentibus versibus, uti indicare videntur quidam libri liturgici Ratisbonae editi?

RESPONSIO.

Ante dubii solutionem animadvertere liceat, dubium aliquam prae se ferre obscuritatem in illis verbis *secundum quod Missa, est de die aut de requie*; videtur enim innuere, posse eiusmodi absolutionem fieri seu post Missam de die, seu post Missam de requie. Iuvet itaque observare, si ita res se habet, id esse prohibitum, et Absolutionem pro defunctis post Missam de die fieri non posse, nisi sit omnino a Missa separata et independens, quod certo constat ex pluribus decretis.

Ad dubium propositum respondemus, Rubricam Missalis Typici pro Agendis defunctorum, esse: "Quibus expeditis (*Absolutione praesente cadavere*), omnes in sacristiam . . . revertentes, voce submissa, sed intelligibili, Celebrans dicit *Si iniquitates*, inde alternatim cum choro Psalm. *De profundis*, etc." Hae autem preces per Orationem *Fidelium* cum consuetis versiculis concluduntur. Idem servandum esse iubet in Absolutione absente cadavere. Id Rituale non habet profecto; sed Missale typicum observandum esse quomodo dubitari potest?

IS THE ANTIPHON "SI INIQUITATES" TO BE SAID IN FULL, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE PSALM WHICH IS SAID BEFORE THE BODY IS BORNE TO THE CHURCH?

RESPONSIO.

Negative. Rubrica Ritualis ita se exprimit: "Parochus vero antequam cadaver efferatur, aspergit aqua benedicta,

mox dicit antiphonam *Si iniquitates* cum psalmo *De profundis*, etc. In fine . . . repetit antiphonam totam *Si iniquitates observaveris Domine, Domine quis sustinebit* (tit. vi., cap. 3, n. 2).” Licet Rubrica habeat verbum *dicit* in initio, cum habere potuisset *inchoat*, unde non adeo perspicua hic dici posset; nihilominus, si perpendatur totius antiphonae inscriptio in fine, satis dignoscitur, n initio esse solummodo inchoandam. Insuper in fine Rubrica dicit: *Repetit antiphonam totam*; ergo supponit, eam inchoari tantum prima vice. Praeterea unitas functionis fert, ut non duplicatur antiphona, sicut non duplicatur *Exultabunt Domino* dum cadaver effertur. Insuper natura ritus minus solemnis idem quoque suggerit. Denique ita quoque expresse De Herdt docet, citatque Cavalerii auctoritatem; et eiusmodi fert etiam romana consuetudo.

SHOULD THE PECTORAL CROSS APPEAR OVER THE
CHASUBLE AT MASS ?

QUESTIO.

Episcopi non debent, sicut Sacerdotes, stolam induentes pro Missa, in crucis formam componere, profecto ut crux pectoralis in iisdem Episcopis appareat. Ergo ea non videtur subtus casulam recondenda esse, sed potius supra, ut appareat. Insuper pretiosiores cruces, quibus Episcopi saepe donantur ex liberalitate summi Pontificis, peculiariter donari videntur pro Pontificalibus agendis; verum, si contegi debent planeta, fere inutile evadit donum. Nonne ergo defendi sententia potest, docens, Episcopos iure merito posse gestare super casulam pectoralem crucem, seu in Missa privata, seu in Pontificalibus ?

RESPONSIO.

Ut ab ultima, quam Rmus. Inquirens exponit, animadversione incipiamus, dicendum imprimis est, Summum Pontificem, cum singulari nonnullos ex Episcopis benevolentia prosequens, speciali aliquo sacro dono afficit, nil aliud posse pro fine habere, nisi ut dona adhibeantur,

prouti liturgicae leges postulant. Neque aliter iudicari potest, quin sapientiae, qua Pontifices excellere oportet, et excellunt, gravis inferatur iniuria. Sane, nonne risu dignus diceretur, qui assereret, Episcopum aliquem, puta Titularem, posse ad libitum in quacumque sacra functione baculo pastoralis uti, quod illum dono a summo Pontifice acceperit? Similiter quis pretiosiores posset deferre stolam super planetam, quia illa pariter a Summo Pontifice donatus fuit. Quaestio itaque ad hoc reducitur, ut sciamus, qualis esse debeat crucis, pectoralis usus in functionibus liturgicis, iuxta rituales leges, hunc enim solum sibi praefigere finem possunt Pontifices, dum sacrum aliquod Episcopis largiuntur donum. At sponte se offert lex Caeremonialis Episcoporum, quae docet: “Diaconus . . . sumpta Cruce pectorali, eamque etiam in parte prius osculatam, ipsi Episcopo osculandam praebet, et eius collo imponit, ita ut ante pectus pendeat (lib. ii., cap. viii., n. 14).” Postea, cum agit de casula induenda, prosequitur: “Mox surgit Episcopus, et induitur ab eisdem planeta, quae hinc inde super brachia aptatur et revolvitur diligenter, ne illum impediat (loc. cit., n. 19).” Altum ergo de cruce pectorali extra casulam ponenda silentium servat lex, ut omnino arbitrarium foret, si id fieret. Insuper lex agit explicite de omnibus pontificalibus ornamentis atque etiam de cruce, et praescribit ordinem, quo indui iis debet Episcopus. Iam vero crucem, iuxta legem. Episcopus debet accipere post albam et singulum (*Caerem.*, loc. cit., n. 13), ergo nequaquam post casulam. At si cruce ante stolam induendus est Episcopus, haud potest casulam, videtur omnino contra legem ponere crucem post planetam; quia si id lex voluisset, minime tacuisset, sed dixisset potius, crucem post casulam esse induendam. Parum enim vel nihil interesse poterat, ut intus vel extra maneret catenula, sed obiectum Caeremonialis erat crux. Cum ergo crucem ante casulam induendam ordinet Caeremoniale, iam patet, si quid videmus, illam debere subter, haud super, casulam remanere.

Ad rem cl. Martinuccius, cuius textualia verba referre iuvat: “Paramentis sacris indui debet Episcopus eo ordine, quo indicatur a Caeremoniali Episcoporum et Rubricis Gene-

ralibus Missalis Romani. Episcopus stolam in pectore non decussat, ut praescribitur Presbyteris, eo quod utitur cruce pectorali, quam debet induere ante stolam. Quocirca crux pectoralis debet semper superstare Albae . . . Si Episcopus deberet crucem praedictam super planetam ponere, praeterquamquod hoc a Rubricis praescriberetur, non solum deberet stolam in pectore decussare, sed induere crucem post planetam ipsam. Summus Pontifex in celebrando Sacro, tum privato tum solemniter, semper utitur cruce pectorali, nec unquam eam extrahit et reponit super planetam, sed retinet super Alba. Hinc infertur, quod contra regulas quidam Caeremoniarum magistri docent Episcopos, ut ponant crucem pectoralem super planetam, etc. (*Manual. Caerem.*, lib. v., cap. ix., n. 60, not. a.)

Ex dictis infertur etiam, allatam a Rmo. Inquirente rationem stolae non decussandae ut crux appareat, quid speciosi praesefere quidem, sed non veritatis. Etenim Caeremoniale exigit, ut stola non sit ante pectus *transversa in modum crucis, sed aequaliter ante pectus pendeat* (loc. cit., n. 14). Missale vero dicit: "Si Celebrans sit Episcopus . . . non ducit stolam ante pectus in modum crucis, sed sinit hinc inde utrasque extremitates pendere (*Rit. serv. in celebr. Missae.*, tit. 1, n. 4)." Ergo ratio unica, ex lege patens, ob quam stola in Episcopis non decussatur, est crux pectoralis: adeo ut, sicuti Sacerdotibus est decussanda ut crucem ante pectus habeant, ita non decussanda Episcopis, quia crucem pectoralem induunt. Verum sicut in Presbyteris non debet videri stola, ad modum crucis tamen, ita neque crux pectoralis in Episcopis. Ergo non possumus, quin respondeamus ad propositum dubium, *negative*.

Document.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII.
“DE CONDITIONE OPIIFICUM.”

(Concluded.)

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE
XIII. LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES
ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS UNIVERSOS CATHOLICI ORBIS
GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

DE CONDITIONE OPIIFICUM.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS
ET EPISCOPIS UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COM-
MUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Rem hoc loco attingimus sat magni momenti : quae recte intelligatur necesse est, in alterutram partem ne peccetur. Videlicet salarii definitur libero consensu modus : itaque dominus rei, pacta mercede persoluta, liberavisse fidem, nec ultra debere quidquam videatur. Tunc solum fieri injuste, si vel pretium dominus solidum, vel obligatas artifex operas reddere totas recusaret : his caussis rectum esse potestatem politicam intercedere, ut suum cuique jus incolume sit, sed praeterea nullis. Cui augmentationi aequus rerum iudex non facile, neque in totum assentiatur, quia non est absoluta omnibus partibus : momentum quoddam rationis abest maximi ponderis. Hoc est enim operari, exercere se rerum comparandarum caussa, quae sint ad varios vitae usus, potissimumque ad tuitionem sui necessariae. *In sudore vultus tui vesceris pane.*¹ Itaque duas velut notas habet in homine labor natura insitas, nimirum ut *personalis* sit, quia vis agens adhaeret personae, atque ejus omnino est propria, a quo exercetur, et cujus est utilitati nata : deinde ut sit *necessarius*, ob hanc causam, quod fructus laborum est homini opus ad vitam tuendam : vitam autem tueri ipsa rerum, cui maxime parendum, natura jubet. Jamvero si ex ea dumtaxat parte spectetur quod personalis est, non est dubium quin integrum opifici sit pactae mercedis angustius

¹ Gen. iii. 19.

finire modum : quemadmodum enim operas dat ille voluntate, sic et operarum mercede vel tenui vel plane nulla contentus esse voluntate potest. Sed longe aliter judicandum si cum ratione *personalitatis* ratio conjungitur *necessitatis*, cogitatione quidem non re ab illa separabilis. Reapse manere in vita, commune singulis officium est, cui scelus est deesse. Hinc jus reperendarum rerum, quibus vita sustentatur, necessario nascitur; quarum rerum facultatem infimo cuique non nisi quaesita labore merces suppetat. Esto igitur, ut opifex atque herus libere in idem placitum, ac nominatim in salarii modum consentiant: subest tamen semper aliquid ex justitia naturali, idque libera paciscentium voluntate majus et antiquius, scilicet alendo opifici, frugi quidem et bene morato, haud imparem esse mercedem oportere. Quod si necessitate opifex coactus, aut mali peioris metu permotus duriorem conditionem accipiat, quae, etiamsi nolit, accipienda sit, quod a domino vel a redemptore operum imponitur, istud quidem est subire vim, cui justitia reclamat.

Verumtamen in his similibusque caussis, quales illae sunt in unoquoque genere artificii quota sit elaborandum hora, quibus praesidiis valetudini maxime in officinis cavendum, ne magistratus inferat sese importunius, praesertim cum adjuncta tam varia sint rerum, temporum, locorum, satius erit eas res judicio reservare collegiorum, de quibus infra dicturi sumus, aut aliam inire viam, qua rationes mercenariorum, uti par est, salvae sint, accedente, si res postulaverit, tutela praesidioque reipublicae.

Mercedem si ferat opifex satis amplam ut ea se uxoremque et liberos tueri commodum queat, facile studebit parsimoniae, si sapit, efficietque, quod ipsa videtur natura monere, ut detractis sumptibus, aliquid etiam redundet, quo sibi liceat ad modicum censum pervenire. Neque enim efficaci ratione dirimi caussam, de qua agitur, posse vidimus, nisi hoc sumpto et constituto, jus privatorum bonorum sanctum esse oportere. Quamobrem favere huic jurileges debent, et quoad potest, providere ut quamplurimi ex multitudine rem habere malint. Quo facto, praeclarae utilitates consecuturae sunt; ac primum certe aequior partitio bonorum. Vis enim commutationum civilium in duas civium classes divisit urbes, immenso inter utrumque discrimine interjecto. Ex una parte factio praepotens, quia praedives: quae cum operum et mercaturae universum genus sola potiatur, facultatem omnem copiarum effectricem ad sua commoda ac rationes trahit, atque in ipsa administratione reipublicae non parum potest. Ex

altera inops atque infirma multitudo, exulcerato animo et ad turbas semper parato. Jamvero si plebis excitetur industria in spem adipiscendi quippiam, quod solo contineatur, sensim fiet ut alter ordo evadet finitimus alteri, sublato inter summas divitias summamque egestatem discrimine—Praeterea rerum, quas terra gignit, major est abundantia futura. Homines enim, cum se elaborare sciunt in suo, alacritatem adhibent studiumque longe majus: immo prorsus adamare terram instituunt sua manu percultam, unde non alimenta tantum, sed etiam quamdam copiam et sibi et suis expectant. Ista voluntatis alacritas, nemo non videt quam valde conferat ad ubertatem fructuum, augendasque divitias civitatis. Ex quo illud tertio loco manabit commodi, ut qua in civitate homines editi susceptique in lucem sint, ad eam facile retineantur: neque enim patriam cum externa regione commutarent, si vitae degendae tolerabilem daret patria facultatem. Non tamen ad haec commoda perveniri nisi ea conditione potest, ut privatus census ne exhauriatur immanitate tributorum et vectigalium. Jus enim possidendi privatim bona cum non sit lege hominum sed natura datum, non ipsum abolere, sed tantummodo ipsius usum temperare et cum communi bono componere auctoritas publica potest. Faciat igitur injuste atque inhumane, si de bonis privatorum plus aequo, tributorum nomine, detraxerit.

Postremo domini ipsique opifices multum hac in causa possunt, iis videlicet institutis, quorum ope et opportune subveniatur indigentibus, et ordo alter proprius accedat ad alterum. Numeranda in hoc genere sodalitia ad suppetias mutuo ferendas: res varias, privatorum providentia constitutas, ad cavendum opifici, itemque orbitati uxoris et liberorum, si quid subitum ingruat, si quid subitum ingruat, si debilitas affligerit, si quid humanitas accadat: instituti patronatus pueris, puellis, adolescentibus natumque majoribus tutandis. Sed principem locum obtinent sodalitia artificum, quorum complexu fere cetera continentur. Fabrum corporatorum apud majores nostros diu bene facta constitere. Revera non modo utilitates praeclaras artificibus, sed artibus ipsis, quod perplura monumenta testantur, decus atque incrementum peperere. Eruditio nunc aetate, moribus novis, auctis etiam rebus quas vita quotidiana desiderat, profecto sodalitia opificum flecti ad praesentem usum necesse est. Vulgo coiri ejus generis societates, sive totas ex opificibus conflatas, sive ex utroque ordine mixtas, gratum est: optandum vero ut numero

et actiuosa virtute crescant. Etsi vero de iis non semel verba fecimus, placet tamen hoc loco ostendere, eas esse valde opportunas, et jure suo coalescere: item qua illas disciplina uti, et quid agere oporteat.

Virium suarum explorata exiguitas impellit hominem atque hortatur, ut opem sibi alienam velit adungere. Sacrarum litterarum est illa sententia: *Melius est duos esse simul, quam unum: habent enim emolumentum societatis suae. Si unus ceciderit, ab altero fulciatur. Vae soli: quia cum ceciderit non habet sublevantem se.*¹ Atque illa quoque: *Frater, qui adjuvatur a fratre, quasi civitas firma.*² Hac homo propensione naturali sicut ad conjunctionem ducitur congregationemque civilem, sic et alias cum civibus inire societates expetit, exiguas illas quidem nec perfectas, sed societates tamen. Inter has et magnam illam societatem ob differentes causas proximas interest plurimum. Finis enim societati civili propositus pertinet ad universos, quoniam communi continetur bono: cujus omnes et singulos proportionem compotes esse jus est. Quare appellatur *publica* quia per eam *homines sibi invicem communicant in una republica constituenda.*³ Contra vero, quae in ejus velut sinu junguntur societates, privatae habentur et sunt, quia videlicet illud, quo proxime spectant, privata utilitas est ad solos pertinens consociatos. *Privata autem societas est, quae ad aliquod negotium privatum exercendum conjungitur, sicut quod duo vel tres societatem ineunt, ut simul negotientur.*⁴ Nunc vero quamquam societates privatae existunt in civitate, ejusque sunt velut partes totidem, tamen universe ac per se non est in potestate reipublicae ne existant prohibere. Privatas enim societates inire concessum est homini jure naturae: est autem ad praesidium juris naturalis instituta civitas, non ad interitum: eaque si civium coetus sociari vetuerit, plane secum pugnantia agat, propterea quod tam ipsa quam coetus privati uno hoc e principio nascuntur quod homines sunt natura congregabiles.

Incidunt aliquando tempora cum ei generi communitatum rectum sit leges obsistere: scilicet si quidquam ex instituto persequantur, quod cum probitate, cum justitia, cum reipublicae salute aperte dissideat. Quibus in causis jure quidem potestas

¹ Eccl. iv. 9-12.

² Prov. xviii. 19.

³ S. Thom. *Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem*, cap. ii.

⁴ *Ib.*

publica, quo minus illae coalescant, impediet: jure etiam dissolvat coalitas: summam tamen adhibeat cautionem necesse est, ne jura civium migrare videatur, neu quidquam per speciem utilitates publicae statuatur quod ratio non probet. Eatenus enim obtemperandum legibus, quoad cum recta ratione adeoque cum lege Dei sempiterna consentiant.¹

Sodalitates varias hic reputamus animo et collegia et ordines religiosos, quos Ecclesiae auctoritas et pia christianorum voluntas genuerant: quanta vero cum salute gentis humanae, usque ad nostram memoriam historia loquitur. Societates ejusmodi, si ratio sola dijudicet, cum initae honesta causa sint, jure naturali initas apparet fuisse. Qua vero parte religionem attingunt, sola est Ecclesiae cui juste pareant. Non igitur in eas quicquam sibi arrogare juris, nec earum ad se traducere administrationem recte possunt qui praesint civitati: eas potius officium est reipublicae vereri, conservare, et, ubi res postulaverint, injuria prohibere. Quod tamen longe aliter fieri hoc praesertim tempore vidimus. Multis locis communitates hujus generis respublica violavit, ac multiplices quidem injuria: cum et civilium legum nexu devinxerit, et legitimo jure personae moralis exuerit, et fortunis suis despoliarit. Quibus in fortunis suum habeat Ecclesia jus, suum singuli sodales, item qui eas certae cuidam causae addixerant, et quorum essent commodo ac solatio addictae. Quamobrem temperare animo non possumus quin spoliationes ejusmodi tam injustas ac perniciosas conqueramus, eo vel magis quod societatibus catholicorum virorum, pacatis iis quidem et in omnes partes utilibus, iter praecludi videmus, quo tempore edicitur, utique coire in societatem per leges licere: eaque facultas large revera hominibus permittitur consilia agitantibus religioni simul ac reipublicae perniciose.

Profecto consociationum diversissimarum maxime ex opificibus, longe nunc major, quam alias frequentia. Plures unde ortum ducant, quid velint, qua grassentur via, non est hujus loci quaerere. Opinio tamen est, multis confirmata rebus, praesesse ut plurimum occultiores auctores, eosdemque disciplinam adhibere non christiano nomini, non saluti civitatum consentaneam: occupataque

¹ *Lex humana in tantum habet rationem legis, in quantum est secundum rationem rectam, et secundum hoc manifestum, est quod a lege aeterna derivatur. In quantum vero a ratione recedit, sic dicitur lex iniqua, et sic non habet rationem legis, sed magis violentiae cujusdam* (S. Thom. Summ. Theol. i.-ii., Quaest. xiii., a. iii.)

efficiendorum operum universitate, id agere ut qui secum consociari recusarint, luere poenas egestate cogantur. Hoc rerum statu, alterutrum malint artifices christiani oportet, aut nomen collegiis dare, unde periculum religioni extimescendum : aut sua inter se sodalitia condere, viresque hoc pacto conjungere, quo se animose queant ab illa injusta ac non ferenda oppressione redimere. Omnino optari hoc alterum necesse esse, quam potest dubitationem apud eos habere, qui nolint summum hominis bonum in praesentissimum discrimen conjicere ?

Valde quidem laudandi complures ex nostris, qui probe perspecto quid a se tempora postulent, experiuntur ac tentant qua ratione proletarios ad meliora adducere honestis artibus possint. Quorum patrocínio suscepto, prosperitatem augere cum domesticam tum singulorum student : item moderari cum aequitate vincula, quibus invicem artifices et domini continentur : alere et confirmare in utrisque memoriam officii atque evangelicorum custodiam praeceptorum ; quae quidem praecepta, hominem ab intemperantia revocando, excedere modum vetant, personarumque et rerum dissimillimo statu harmoniam in civitate tuentur. Hac de causa unum in locum saepe convenire videmus viros egregios, quo communicent consilia invicem, viresque jungant, et quid maxime expedire videatur, consultant. Alii varium genus artificum opportuna copulare societate student ; consilio ac re juvant, opus ne desit honestum ac fructuosum, provident. Alacritatem addunt ac patrocínium impertiunt Episcopi : quorum auctoritate auspiciisque plures ex utroque ordine cleri, quae ad excolendum animum pertinent, in consociatis sedulo curant. Denique catholici non desunt copiosis divitiis, sed mercenariorum velut consortes voluntarii, qui constituere lateque fundere grandi pecunia consociationes adnitantur : quibus adjuvantibus facile opifici liceat non modo commoda praesentia, sed etiam honestae quietis futurae fiduciam sibi labore quaerere. Tam multiplex tamque alacris industria quantum attulerit rebus communibus boni plus est cognitum, quam ut attineat dicere. Hinc jam bene de reliquo tempore sperandi auspicia sumimus, modo societates istiusmodi constanter incrementa capiant, ac prudenti temperatione constuantur. Tutetur hos respublica civium coetus jure sociatos : ne trumat tamen sese in eorum intimam rationem ordinemque vitae : vitalis enim motus cietur ab interiore principio, ac facillime sane pulsu eliditur externo.

Est profecto temperatio ac disciplina prudens ad eam rem

necessaria ut consensus in agendo fiat conspiratioque voluntatum. Proinde si libera civibus coeundi facultas est, ut profecto est, jus quoque esse oportet eam libere optare disciplinam, easque leges quae maxime conducere ad id, quod propositum est, judicentur.

Eam, quae memorata est temperationem disciplinamque collegiorum qualem esse in partibus suis in singulis oporteat, decerni certis definitisque regulis non censemus posse, cum id potius statuendum sit ex ingenio cujusque gentis, ex periclitatione et usu, ex genere atque efficientia operum, ex amplitudine commerciorum, aliisque rerum ac temporum adjunctis, quae sunt prudenter ponderanda. Ad summam rem quod spectat, haec tamquam lex generalis ac perpetua sancitur, ita constitui itaque gubernari opificum collegia oportere, ut instrumenta suppeditent aptissima maximeque expedita ad id quod est propositum, quodque in eo consistit ut singuli e societate incrementum bonorum corporis, animi, rei familiaris, quoad potest, assequantur. Perspicuum vero est, ad perfectionem pietatis et morum tamquam ad causam praecipuam spectari oportere: eaque potissimum causa disciplinam socialem penitus dirigendam. Secus enim degenerarent in aliam formam, eique generi collegiorum, in quibus nulla ratio religionis haberi solet, haud sane multum praestarent. Ceterum quid prosit opifici rerum copiam societate quaesisse, si ob inopiam cibi sui de salute periclitetur anima? *Quid prodest homini, si mundum universum lucretur, animae vero suae detrimentum patiatur.*¹ Hanc quidem docet Christus Dominus velut notam habendam, qua ab ethnico distinguatur homo christianus: *Haec omnia gentes inquirunt . . . quaerite primum regnum Dei et justitiam ejus, et haec omnia adjicientur vobis.*² Sumptis igitur a Deo principiis, plurimum eruditioni religiosae tribuatur loci, ut sua singuli adversus Deum officia cognoscant: quid credere oporteat, quid sperare atque agere salutis sempiternae causa, probe sciant: curaque praecipua adversus opinionum errores variasque corruptelas muniantur. Ad Dei cultum studiumque pietatis excitetur opifex, nominatim ad religionem dierum festorum colendam. Vereri diligereque communem omnium parentem tē Ecclesiam condiscat: itemque ejus et obtemperare praeceptis e sacramenta frequentare, quae sunt ad expiandas animi labes sanctitatemque comparandam instrumenta divina.

¹ Matth. xvi. 26.

² Matth. vi. 32, 33.

Socialium legum posito in religione fundamento, pronum est iter ad stabiliendas sociorum rationes mutuas, ut convictus quietus ac res florentes consequantur. Munia sodalitatum dispartienda sunt ad communes rationes accommodata, atque ita quidem ut consensum ne minuat dissimilitudo. Officia partiri intelligenter, perspicueque definiri, plurimum ob hanc causam interest, ne cui fiat injuria. Commune administretur integre, ut ex indigentia singulorum praefiniatur opitulandi modus: jura officiaque dominorum cum juribus officiisque opificum apte conveniant. Si qui ex alterutro ordine violatum se ulla re putarit, nihil optandum magis, quam adesse ejusdem corporis viros prudentes atque integros, quorum arbitrio litem dirimi leges ipsae sociales jubeant. Illud quoque magnopere providendum ut copia operis nullo tempore deficiat opificem, utque vectigal suppeditet, unde necessitati singulorum subveniatur nec solum in subitis ac fortuitis industriae casibus, sed etiam cum valetudo, aut senectus, aut infortunium quemquam oppressit.

His legibus, si modo voluntate accipiantur, satis erit tenuiorem commodis ac saluti consultum: consociationes autem catholicorum non minimum ad prosperitatem momenti in civitate sunt habiturae. Ex eventis praeteritis non temere providemus futura. Truditur enim aetas aetate, sed rerum gestarum mirae sunt similitudines, qui reguntur providentia Dei, qui continuationem seriemque rerum ad eam causam moderatur ac flectit, quam sibi in procreatione generis humani praestituit. Christianis in prisca Ecclesiae adolescentis aetate probro datum accepimus, quod maxima pars stipe precaria aut opere faciendo victitarent. Sed destituti ab opibus potentiaque, pervicere, tamen ut gratiam sibi locupletium, ac patrocinium potentium adjungerent. Cernere licebat impigros, laboriosos, pacificos, justitiae maximeque caritatis in exemplum retinentes. Ad ejusmodi vitae morumque spectaculum, evanuit omnis praejudicata opinio, obtrectatio obmutuit malevolorum, atque inveteratae superstitionis commenta veritati christianae paullatim cessere. De statu opificum certatur in praesens: quae certatio ratione dirimatur an secus, plurimum interest reipublicae in utramque partem. Ratione autem facile dirimetur ab artificibus christianis, si societate conjuncti ac prudentibus auctoribus usi, viam inierint eandem quam patres ac maiores singulari cum salute et sua et publica tenuerunt. Etenim quantumvis magna in homine vis opinionum praejudicatarum cupiditatumque sit; tamen nisi

sensum honesti prava voluntas obstupescerit, futura est benevolentia civium in eos sponte propensior, quos industrios ac modestos cognoverint, quos aequitatem lucro, religionem officii rebus omnibus constiterit antepone. Ex quo illud etiam consequetur commodi, quod spes et facultas sanitatis non minima suppeditabitur opificibus iis, qui vel omnino despecta fide christiana, vel alienis a professione moribus vivant. Isti quidem se plerumque intelligunt falsa spe simulataque rerum specie deceptos. Sentiunt enim, sese apud cupidos dominos valde inhumane tractari, nec fieri fere pluris quam quantum pariant operando lucri: quibus autem sodalitatibus implicati sunt, in iis pro caritate atque amore intestinas discordias existere, petulantis atque incredulae paupertatis perpetuas comites. Fracto animo, extenuato corpore, quam valde se multi vellent e servitute tam humili vindicare: nec tamen audent, seu quod hominum pudor, seu metus inopiae prohibeat. Jamvero his omnibus mirum quantum prodesse ad salutem collegia catholicorum possunt, si haesitantes ad sinum suum, expediendis difficultatibus, invitarint, si resipiscentes in fidem tutelamque suam acceperint.

Habetis, Venerabiles Fratres, quos et qua ratione elaborare in causa perdifficili necesse sit. Accingendum ad suas cuique partes, et maturime quidem, ne tantae jam molis incommodum fiat insanabilius cunctatione medicinae. Adhibeant legum institutorumque providentiam, qui gerunt respublicas: sua meminerint officia locupletes et domini: enitantur ratione, quorum res agitur, proletarii: cumque religio, ut initio diximus, malum pellere funditus sola possit, illud reputent universi, in primis instaurari mores christianos oportere, sine quibus ea ipsa arma prudentiae, quae maxime putantur idonea, parum sunt ad salutem valitura. Ad Ecclesiam quod spectat, desiderari operam suam nullo tempore nulloque modo, sinet, tanto plus allatura adiumenti, quanto sibi major in agendo libertas contigerit: idque nominatim intelligant, quorum munus est saluti publicae consulere. Intendant omnes animi industriaeque vires ministri sacrorum: vobisque, Venerabiles Fratres, auctoritate praeceuntibus et exemplo, sumpta ex evangelio documenta vitae hominibus ex omni ordine inculcare ne desinant: omni qua possunt ope pro salute populorum contendant, potissimumque studeant et tueri in se, et excitare in aliis, summis juxta atque infimis, omnium dominam ac reginam virtutum, caritatem. Optata quippe salus expectanda praecipue est ex magna effusione caritatis: christianae

caritatis intelligimus, quae totius Evangelii compendiaria lex est, quaeque semetipsam pro aliorum commodis semper devovere parata, contra saeculi insolentiam atque immoderatum amorem sui certissima est homini antidotus: cujus virtutis partes ac lineamenta divina Paulus Apostolus iis verbis expressit; *Caritas patiens est, benigna est, non quaerit quae sua sunt: omnia suffert; omnia sustinet.*¹

Divinorum munerum auspicem ac benevolentiae Nostrae testem vobis, singulis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque vestro apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XV Maii An. MDCCCXCI, Pontificatus Nostri Decimoquarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

Notices of Books.

TRIUMPHALIA CHRONOLOGICA MONASTERII SANCTAE CRUCIS
IN HIBERNIA.

DE CISTERCIENSIIUM HIBERNORUM VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS.
Edited with a Translation, Notes, and Illustrations, by
Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A.

THE work named above—a history of the celebrated monastery of Holy Cross, and of the Cistercian Order in Ireland, has just been published. The work is edited, with an Introduction, Translation, and Notes, by Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J. Father Murphy has made for himself a name that is certain to live as a distinguished Irish historian and archæologist. His name on the title-page of a book is a guarantee that the work is well done, and is a valuable one. And at a time when non-Catholics, almost without number, are investigating the ancient ruins of our country, and studying our ancient manuscripts, in order to draw from them arguments against the ancient faith of our people, the work of scholars like Father Murphy deserves from

¹ Cor. xiii. 4, 7.

Catholics special commendation and encouragement. He is studying Irish archæology and history to find out and sustain the truth, and the work now before us gives him a new claim on the gratitude of Irish Catholics.

This work is a translation of a curious old Latin manuscript now in the possession of the Most Rev. Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel. It was written by the Rev. Brother John Hartry, a Cistercian monk, a native of Waterford, in 1640. The first part of the MS. gives the history of Holy Cross, up to the time of its suppression. The second part gives the history of a number of illustrious Irish members of the Cistercian Order. In this second part will be found recorded the sufferings endured by so many of our countrymen in those "dark and evil days" when our holy religion was banned, and its professors done to death in the name of law in Ireland, and that for no other cause than their attachment to this ancient faith. The Latin original is given on one page, and Father Murphy's translation on the opposite page. He has also added some footnotes and appendices, which greatly enhance the value of the book.

In the Introduction, extending over eighty pages, Father Murphy gives a history of the rise and spread of the Cistercian Order in Ireland, and of the principal houses of the Order, dwelling on the great monastery of Holy Cross. He gives also a very interesting sketch of the celebrated relic of the True Cross, formerly kept at Holy Cross and now in the possession of the Ursuline nuns of Blackrock, Co. Cork. This Introduction is a very valuable addition to our ecclesiastical history. The work is beautifully illustrated. Indeed some of the plates are most elaborate works of art. The coloured title-page is especially interesting, and all the plates, down to the most minute details, are done at home, and are highly creditable to our Irish artists. The book is splendidly got up, resembling in its general appearance the volumes of the Irish Archæological Society. It is a mine of curious and interesting information, and, at the low price of 10s., it must secure, as it well deserves to secure, a very wide circle of readers. We sincerely congratulate Father Murphy on the signal service he has done to our ecclesiastical literature by the publication of this most curious and interesting book.

J. M.

LIFE OF FATHER JOHN CURTIS, OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

By the author of "Tyborne," &c. Revised by Father Edward Purbick, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS is a very tender and touching record of a very gentle and holy life. It is true, in the words of the biographer, that the life of Father Curtis was an "uneventful" one, in the ordinary acceptation of the term; but yet it was a life of more than usual activity, and was fruitful of great blessings to hundreds and hundreds of souls. Father Curtis lived through a lengthened period, and was a witness of many stirring changes in his prolonged career. He was born in 1794, and lived on, in the complete enjoyment of all his mental faculties till the close of the year 1885, having reached the truly patriarchal age of ninety-one years, seventy of which were passed in the illustrious Order of which he was so distinguished an ornament.

His priestly career was, as we have said, a singularly active one. He was chosen by his superiors for all the prominent positions in the houses and colleges in which he resided, and was for several years superior of the Order in this country. Few names were more familiar to the priests and nuns of Ireland than was that of this learned and zealous Jesuit. He was ever ready to give them the benefit of his great experience and solid judgment on many intricate points of the spiritual life, and many of the letters preserved in the little volume now before us, abound with comments and suggestions of the rarest beauty and value. His discourses at the retreats of the clergy throughout Ireland were always prized for their simplicity, their earnestness, and sound sense. "Father Curtis," says his biographer, "had never been what is understood by a good preacher. His delivery and voice were unsuited for pulpit oratory; but the matter of his sermons was always solid and beautiful, and many bore witness to the lasting effect his discourses had on them." It is a notable incident in his life that he conducted a week's retreat for the secular clergy of Dublin in Maynooth College, when he had attained his seventy-ninth year.

Notwithstanding the many calls upon his time and thoughts, Father Curtis was able to accomplish much literary work. He translated into English Father Cepari's *Life of St. Aloysius*, the French treatise of *Blessed Grignon de Montfort on Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*, and wrote some short but pithy biographies of

different Jesuit fathers. His book on the *Spiritual Exercises* is well known in these countries, and is replete with pious and practical suggestiveness. Our space will not allow a more detailed reference to this very interesting "Life." It is written without pretentiousness, and, perhaps, without sufficient regard to methodical arrangement; but it is none the less welcome as an affectionate tribute to the memory of a revered and saintly priest. Its publishers are Gill & Son, of Dublin.

J. D.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS PER MODUM CONFERENTIARUM.

Auctore P. Bengamen Elbel, O.S.F. Padertorn, A.D. 1891.

A NEW edition of the above-named excellent work is issuing from the press at Padertorn. The character of Elbel as a moral theologian stands deservedly high. His work was first published at Prague, in 1748. It has retained its popularity ever since, and the edition now appearing is a favourable indication of the esteem in which the work is still held. The work is arranged in "Conferences." Each conference opens with a clear, correct, and methodical explanation of the subject-matter. This is followed by a discussion of a number of practical cases illustrating the doctrine and principles laid down in the Conference. This arrangement renders the book a very useful one to priests who have not time to wade through extraneous matter when they are anxious to find the solution of a practical and, perhaps, pressing doubt. The new edition is to be in ten parts, five of which have already appeared. The type and paper are excellent, and in every sense the new edition is a most valuable book.

J. M.

LIFE OF ST. ALOYSIUS GONZAGA, S.J. Translated from the work of Father Virgilius Cepari, by a Priest of the same Society. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

WE welcome this new English edition of a valuable Italian work. It contains everything of interest found in the original work of Father Cepari, though it has been considerably abridged.

Father Cepari was an intimate friend of the angelic Saint Aloysius, and none had better opportunities of giving a graphic description of the saint, or of appreciating his great sanctity. The large circulation the work has met with in

Italy is the best proof of its value. This new English edition, carefully prepared by one of the fathers of the society, is published, neatly bound, at Messrs. Gill & Son, for one shilling. It will be a valuable acquisition for Catholic families, and we trust it will tend to spread devotion to a saint already held in such veneration on the Continent.

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGY. By Paul Schanz, D.D. Translated by the Rev. Michael F. Glancey and Rev. Victor J. Schobel, D.D. Dublin: 1891. Vol. II.

THE second volume of the great *Apology* of Dr. Schanz is just out. Like its predecessor, it reflects the highest credit upon its author, as well as on Father Glancey and Dr. Schobel, who has done so admirably the work of translation. This volume deals principally with the problems arising out of modern Biblical criticism, and it more than justifies the anticipations excited by the first volume. It goes over the whole range of difficulties raised against the Christian revelation by pseudo-science. In the opening chapters the history of revelation is traced both in its origin and all through those corrupted forms in which fragments of it were disguised up to the coming of our Lord. The relations of reason and revelation are traced in a special and most interesting chapter. Next come the criteria of revelation—miracles and prophecy—discussed in two chapters, in which the logical mind of the author, and his great store of knowledge, are conspicuously shown.

The chapters on the inspiration and trustworthiness of Scripture are perhaps the most interesting in the volume, and no one can read them without feeling how unfair was the unfriendly criticism passed on the first volume by some writers whose zeal seems to have gone beyond their knowledge. In the lucid statements of doctrines and facts given in this volume, difficulties are removed by anticipation, and the defender of revelation finds in it ready to hand arms wherewith to confront his foes. No priest in this day should be without some such book; and we have no hesitation in saying that this is the best of the kind we have seen.

J. M.

LIFE AND SCENERY IN MISSOURI. Reminiscences of a
Missionary Priest. Dublin: James Duffy & Co.

WE are violating no secret in mentioning that the author of this very entertaining little volume is the estimable and erudite pastor of Irishtown parish, Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, the well-known compiler of the *Lives of the Irish Saints*. Canon O'Hanlon spent his early life as a priest in the archdiocese of St. Louis, in Missouri State, and in the volume now before us he records the experiences and reminiscences of his active and zealous missionary career during those years. He has made the record extremely interesting, and conveys through it much novel and valuable information of the then condition, and the subsequent marvellous development, of the great city of St. Louis—in its religious, commercial, and political belongings. His descriptions of the scenic beauties of Missouri are very graphic and picturesque, and he shows a thorough familiarity with the ways and customs of the people.

The book has naturally much to say of the illustrious and singularly gifted prelate, the Most Rev. Dr. Kenrick, who has directed the spiritual affairs of St. Louis with such splendid success, and through so many years of trials and vicissitudes. The book will, on that account, be all the more welcome just now, inasmuch as the venerable prelate will have attained during this year, his golden jubilee in the episcopacy, and will be receiving from the Catholics of America their affectionate tribute of congratulation and of love. The incident of his Grace's golden jubilee cannot fail to be of interest to Irishmen here at home, as his Grace is a native of the city of Dublin, and has always shown a deep concern for the welfare of the land of his birth. Canon O'Hanlon's recollections and impressions are full of interest, and bring the venerated and holy prelate vividly before the eyes of his readers. We cordially bespeak for *Life and Scenery in Missouri* a hearty welcome, and wish for it a large and a speedy success. D. J.

**THE CHRISTIAN VIRGIN, IN HER FAMILY AND IN THE
WORLD: HER VIRTUES AND HER MISSION AT THE
PRESENT TIME.** London: Burns & Oates.

THE author of this book has chosen to conceal her name, but it would appear that she is a lady of the world—young and unmarried—who has felt herself impelled to give to young

unmarried females like herself an instructive and edifying series of chapters on virginity in the world. As her work went onward, she submitted it to the judgment and correction of a learned and zealous priest, who watched its development with careful and assiduous vigilance. The work, when completed, was placed before the auxiliary Bishop of Lyons, and his Lordship has spoken of it in terms of unbounded praise and admiration. The idea of the book is a novel one, but it is excellently and practically carried out, and gives evidence of intelligence, earnestness, and practical piety. The main object of the work is conveyed in the question put by the writer in her "Dedication" of the work: "Does it not seem," she asks, "as if, at the present time, nothing would be more useful than the establishment of a secular association of virgins, who, loving God alone, making His glory their aim, and the salvation of souls their ambition, should live in the very midst of the world to give an example of virtue, and rouse all those with whom they are thrown to fervour? Might not such souls, as seed cast upon the earth, do much good among the families with whom they associate?" There is abundance of useful and charitable work marked out in this volume for such an association, and time would not hang heavily on the members' hands, if the programme laid down for observance were even partially carried out. There are passages of genuine eloquence and impressiveness throughout the volume, and the translation appears to have been carefully and skilfully rendered. Towards the close of the book there is a series of very fervent and devotional exercises. The book bears the *Nihil obstat* of Father Robinson, of the Oblates of St. Charles, and the *Imprimatur* of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. It is issued from the active presses of Burns & Oates, of London, and is excellently produced.

THE VEN. JEAN BAPTISTE VIANNEY, CURE D'ARS. By Kathleen O'Meara. London: 18, West-square, S.E.

THERE are few lives so replete with practical instruction for the zealous priest as that of the Venerable Curé d'Ars. His perfect humility and self-abnegation, his great sanctity, and the untiring charity with which he ministered to the spiritual and even temporal wants of all who sought his aid, won for him the heartfelt love and veneration of hundreds of thousands of people from all parts of France. The throngs of people from all parts that crowded to his confessional bore unmistakable testimony of

his wisdom as a spiritual director. His admirers were from all classes, rich and poor, learned and ignorant. The celebrated Dominican, Père Lacordaire, used to pride himself on the happy day that he spent with the venerable Curé, whom he always spoke of as "a saint." Archbishop Ullathorne said of him :—"The Curé d'Ars gave me a greater impression of sanctity than any man I ever met." Though in delicate health, he managed even in his old age to get through more work than usually falls to the lot of six priests. Taught in the school of suffering, both spiritual and temporal, he learned to pity the suffering of others ; and though there was nothing he hated so much as sin, he loved and lived for poor sinners.

The above life by Kathleen O'Meara gives a brief and concise account of his life, labours, and sufferings from his birth to his death. The name of the distinguished authoress is a sufficient comment on the style. It is only a hundred pages, yet contains a complete epitome of his life, and gives a great deal of instructive information. The interest is kept up all through. We can heartily recommend it to all, especially to those whose time may be so occupied as to prevent them entering on more lengthy biographies.

M. H.

HOW TO GET ON. By Rev. Bernard Feeney, Professor in Mount Angel Seminary and College, Oregon ; author of "Lessons from the Passion," "Home Duties," &c. With Preface by Most Rev. W. H. Grass, D.D., C.S.S.R., Archbishop of Oregon. New York: Benziger Brothers.

FATHER FEENEY has presented us in this volume with a really admirable and valuable work. It has received the authoritative *Imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Oregon, and has been honoured by his Grace with the special favour of a preface from his pen. The book, though, as might be expected, mainly intended for American Catholics, is well deserving of a wider extension, and will not fail to be a great influence for good wherever it finds its way. The archbishop in his preface, having alluded to some of the agencies at work throughout America for the undermining of Christian teaching and morality, proceeds thus :—"We, therefore, gladly welcome any and every work that may serve to counteract the dangerous influences abroad, and help to turn to great and noble purposes the splendid energy and determination so natural to the American character. We have not yet met any book which

seems to us so fitted for the purpose as the admirable work that has been kindly submitted to our criticism by the rev. author. We, therefore, gladly welcome this work of Rev. B. Feeney, entitled *How to Get On*. Its very title appeals strongly to that natural energy and strength of will so characteristic of the American people, and which, if properly directed, can achieve so much. Amidst the Babel of voices which so often mislead our youth to prostituting its fresh energy to improper ways and unbecoming purposes, this book of Rev. B. Feeney speaks the splendid words of truth. The author holds up to our people, and especially to our youth, the high goal which all can reach." After such a glowing commendation, from such a high and competent source, no words of ours are needed in praise of Father Feeney's book. It deserves all that his archbishop says of it. It is written throughout with vigour and sprightliness, and there is not a sentence which the least cultured reader cannot understand and appreciate. We need hardly add, that the clergy are perfectly safe in using every effort to promote its circulation.

THE BLIND APOSTLE AND HEROINE OF CHARITY. By Kathleen O'Meara. London: Burns & Oates.

KATHLEEN O'MEARA's third series of *Bells of the Sanctuary* has appeared in a neat volume of 280 pages, containing the lives of a saintly priest and one of those holy souls that may well be styled earth's angels of charity, with a short interesting preface by Cardinal Manning.

The *Blind Apostle*, Gaston De Sequir, belonged to a distinguished French family, and was born about seventy years ago. His school days at Fontenoy-aux-Roses do not seem to have foreshadowed his future sanctity, though his letters to his mother show him to have had a noble heart. Of those days he wrote:—"We were not impious in college, but we were utterly indifferent. When I think that the year after my first communion nobody suggested to us that we should make our Easter duty! It took me fifteen years to get rid of the baneful effects of the impression left upon my mind by that fatal university." He was greatly attached to his grandmother, Countess Rostopchine; and here we have the effect of good example brought into striking contrast with his university experiences, for it was to her saintly example during his holidays that he attributed his conversion. At eighteen he made a general confession, and gave himself

up to divine grace. In 1841 he was sent to Rome, Attaché to the Embassy, where he became a social favourite ; but, contrary to all expectation, he developed a vocation for the priesthood. He was ordained in 1847, and celebrated his first mass at the high altar of St. Sulpice. In that mass he asked our Blessed Lady to obtain for him the infirmity that would be most crucifying to himself without hindering his ministry. That prayer was heard. Eleven years later he was a prelate in Rome, filling an important position as auditor of the Rota. He enjoyed the personal favour and friendship of the Pope and the Emperor. On the 1st of May he had just returned from a session of the Rota, when suddenly one of his eyes became stone blind. A year later, when taking a stroll with a brother, he suddenly exclaimed, "I am blind." He had lost his sight completely. He received his blindness as a divine vocation. This led to his renunciation of the high offices he held, and to his taking up the humbler yet more meritorious labours in Paris that earned for him the title of the Blind Apostle or the Blind Saint.

M. H.

LIFE OF ST. ALOYSIUS GONZAGA. Edited by Rev. J. F. O'Connor, S.J. New York.

THIS book (about 170 pages) is the joint production of sixteen students from the College of St. Francis Xavier, New York, all under the age of nineteen years. Though we cannot altogether endorse the rather superlative eulogies of the American press, considering the ages of the compilers, it is, no doubt, a success. The fact that it has already reached the eighth edition, and six thousand copies have been sold, is sufficient proof that the simplicity of its style and briefness of narration have not prevented it becoming a popular work. It is certainly more suited for the young than the more elaborate lives that we find in other languages. The language is simple, concise, and in some parts poetical.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1891.

UNIVERSAL EXPECTATION OF THE VIRGIN AND THE MESSIAS: ITS ORIGIN AND PROGRESS.

WHEN God created our first parents He placed them in a delightful garden called Paradise. In that garden He planted "the tree of life"—a plant of heavenly origin, which had the property of repelling death, as the laurel, according to the ancients, repels lightning. To this mysterious tree was attached the immortality of the human race; afar from this protecting tree death recovered his prey, and man fell back from the height of heaven into his miserable coating of clay. Thus, in substance, speaks St. Augustine (*Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.*).

Man was never immortal in this world in the same way as the pure spirits, for a body formed from dust must naturally return to dust; he was so by a favour unexampled. This favour was granted conditionally, and exalted him and maintained him in a position very superior to his proper sphere. Immortality here below was never acquired by man by right of birth; every terrestrial body must perish by the dissolution of its parts, unless a special will of the Creator opposes this. Such divine will was manifested in favour of our first parents. Satan, however, attacked man in his strength, and Adam fell from the high position to which he had been exalted into the frightful abyss of disobedience and ingratitude.

No one, I imagine, will call in question that God acted upon His just right in banishing Adam from the earthly

paradise after his fall; but banishment involved the sentence of death upon man and his posterity; without the tree of life he was no longer anything better than a frail and perishable creature, subject to the laws which govern created bodies. When the antidote fails, it is plain that poison kills. Again become mortal, Adam begot children like himself: the children must follow the condition to which their father had fallen. In this God did the human race no wrong: we are mortal by our nature; He has left us such as we were. To withdraw a gratuitous favour, when the subject of such favour tears up with his own hands the deed which confers it upon him, is not cruelty; it is justice. The justice of God demanded a punishment proportioned to the offence, and there was no hope for the human race if a divine Being had not undertaken to satisfy for us all. Wherefore, almost simultaneously with the fall of our first parents in the garden of Eden, a mysterious prophecy, in which the goodness of the Creator was visible even amidst the vengeance of an offended God, came to revive their dejected minds. A daughter of Eve was destined to crush the head of the serpent, and regenerate for ever a guilty race: that woman was Mary. From that very instant a tradition became prevalent that a woman would come to repair the evil that woman had done. Even the great dispersion of the human race in the plains of Sennar failed to efface this belief from the minds of men, and they carried with them beyond the mountains and the seas this sweet but distant hope. Later on, when all the other ancient traditions were enveloped in clouds, that one of the Virgin and the Messias resisted almost alone the action of time. And, indeed, if we but make a survey of the then known world, if we take a casual glance at the religious annals of nations, we shall find the promised virgin and her divine parturition to be the foundation of almost every theogony.

In Thibet, in Japan, and in part of the eastern peninsula of India, there is a tradition to the effect that the god Fo became incarnate in the womb of a young woman, in order to save mankind. As to the Chinese, we find that they reckon among the "sons of heaven" the emperor Hoang-Ti, whose

mother conceived him by the light of a flash of lightning. We find, too, in the Chi-king a beautiful ode on the marvellous birth of Heau-Tsi, the head of the dynasty of the Tcheons; and the paraphrase on this ode given by Ho-Sou, makes the resemblance to the divine parturition of Mary most striking. "Everyone at his birth," he says, "destroys the integrity of his mother, and causes her the most cruel sufferings. Kiang-Yuen brought forth her son without suffering, injury, or pain. This was because Tien (Heaven) would display its power, and show how much the Holy One differs from men. He was born without prejudice to his mother's virginity." The Lamas say that Buddha was born of the virgin Maha-Mahai. The Brahmins also tell us that when a god takes flesh, he is born in the womb of a virgin by divine operation. In the annals of the Macenicans, a tribe of people who dwell on the borders of Lake Zarayas in Paraguay, we read that at a very remote period a woman of rare beauty became a mother, still remaining a virgin; and, moreover, that her son, after working many miracles, raised himself in the air one day in presence of his astonished disciples, and transformed himself into a celestial luminary. We find a similar belief contained in the religious annals of several other nations; so much so, indeed, that if time and space permitted us to collect the scattered fragments of their various creeds, we would reconstruct, almost in detail, the history of the Virgin and the promised Messias.

It is certainly a matter of surprise that those legends, which are incontestably more ancient than the Gospel facts, should form, when connected together, the actual life of the Son of God. Can truth, therefore, spring from error? What are we to think of the striking analogy which exists between the Gospel facts and the marvellous traditions of heathen nations? Are we to conclude with the self-styled philosophers of the school of Voltaire, or with the German visionaries of our own day, that the Apostles borrowed these fables from the various and poetic creeds of the East? But to say nothing of the jealous care with which the books reputed divine were guarded in those ancient times, how could poor men of the humblest class, whose whole and sole

knowledge was almost limited to steering a bark over the waters of the lake of Gennesareth, and whose nets were still dripping with its fresh waters, when promoted to the apostleship—how, I repeat, could such men find time or means of perusing the sacred volumes of the Hindoos, the Chinese, the Bactrians, the Phoenicians, and the Persians? How, therefore, are these analogies to be explained? We have not here a game of chance. These traditions evidently go back to the very infancy of the world. The antediluvian patriarchs seeking to form an idea of that woman whose miraculous maternity was to save the human race, pictured her to themselves under the features of Eve before her fall. They gave to her a sacred and majestic beauty, which would create in the souls of men a religious veneration. They made her a lovely star, whose rising was to precede the sun of justice. With this tradition of a pure virgin was connected the tradition of a saviour born of her womb, who was to immolate himself for the salvation of the human race.

The bloody sacrifice, too, which we find established from the most remote times among all nations and peoples, could have no other object than to preserve amongst men the remembrance of the sacrifice of Calvary, and thereby perpetuate faith and hope in a Redeemer to come. The worship, which Adam and Eve paid to God in Paradise, consisted, no doubt, of certain prayers and offerings of fruits and flowers. But when, ungrateful as they were, they had violated the precept of easy obedience, when they had lost with the immortalizing fruits of the tree of life their talisman against death, we find them offering to God the firstlings of their flocks. Here it may be asked: How came it into the mind of man that the Creator could be pleased with the violent death of His creature, and that an act of destruction could be an act of piety? Adam was, without doubt, endowed with the tenderest feelings of humanity. The immolation of animals—to his mind, at least—had not the smallest connection with vows and prayers; and consequently, when, as yet unskilled in killing, he stretched at his feet a poor creature, gentle and timid, he must have stood pale and dismayed like the assassin after his first murder! This thought, however,

came not from him; it was not an act of choice, but of painful obedience. Who imposed it? He alone to whom it belongs to dispose of life and death—God. Moved by the repentance of our first parents, God made known to them the mode of imploring His pardon. This manner of worship was none other than sacrifice, by which man, confessing that he had deserved death, substituted innocent victims in his stead, thereby recalling perpetually to his mind the great Victim of Calvary. The bloody sacrifice, therefore, was not a work of human invention, but reposed in reality upon a thought of the divine mercy, and perpetuated among all nations the tradition of the Messias.

But what were all these traditions of heathen nations, marvellous as they may appear, compared with that flood of light which illumined the elect children of God? If we turn to the oracles of the Old Testament relating to the Messias, we are struck with astonishment at the long chain of prophecy, the first link of which hangs on to the infancy of the world, while the last is fastened to the tomb of Christ. The threat of Jehovah to the infernal serpent includes the first of the oracles relating to the Messias, and it appears that Eve concluded from the words of the angel that she herself should be the mother of the promised Redeemer. The first of the race of Seth flattered themselves with the same hope. Noe, who was constituted heir of the faith, transmitted these revelations to Sem; and Sem, whose long life almost equalled those of his ancestors, might have repeated them to the father of the faithful. These traditions are succeeded in due course by the grand prophecy of Jacob. The dying patriarch having assembled his sons around his death-bed, announces to them that Juda has been chosen amongst all his brethren to be the father of that "Shiloh," so often promised, who is to be the King of kings and the Lord of lords. He shall spring up, he says, from the ruins of his country, when the "Schebet" or sceptre (that is, legislative authority) shall have passed into the hands of a stranger. It is true, indeed, that some modern Jews strive to elude the force of this argument by translating "Schebet" and "Shiloh" differently from us. But their ancient books contradict them.

This prophecy is understood of the Messiah in the Talmud ; and Jonathan, to whom the Jews assign the first place among the disciples of Hillel, and whom they reverence almost as Moses, translates " Schebet " by principality, and " Shiloh " by Messiah.

Towards the end of the mission of Moses, and whilst the Israelites were still encamped in the desert, Balaam came in his turn, to confirm the promise of the Messiah, and to designate in the clearest manner the time of his coming. " I shall see him, but not now," he says ; " I shall behold him, but not near." The soothsayer, from the banks of the Euphrates, standing upon the rocky summits of Phogor, moved by the Spirit of God, beholds, as " with the eye of a dream," a wonderful vision. He sees the ruin of that Judea, which is not to be in existence till long afterwards ; he follows with his eye the fall of the Roman eagle, seven hundred years before the birth of the sons of Ilia, and when the wild goats of Latium are browsing upon the shrubby declivities of the seven hills.

Agès now roll on without any other promises from Jehovah ; but the oracles relating to the Messiah are confided to tradition or deposited in the sacred law. In the meantime Israel is called upon to wage an incessant contest against the idolatrous nations which surround her ; but during her many and varied fortunes her people do not forget the coming of Christ ; and, in default of new revelations, their very life becomes prophetic. Nothing but the present incredulity of the Jews could equal in depth the faith of their ancestors. On the threshold of eternity they hailed from afar the hope of the Redeemer, as Moses hailed with a sigh " that land of milk and honey " which the Lord closed against him. From the time of David, and under the kings, his children, the thread of prophecy is joined again, and the mystery of the promised Messiah becomes clearer than before. David spoke of the virginal parturition of Mary. Solomon, too, delighted in tracing her image with sweet strokes of the pencil. He sees her rising up in the midst of the daughters of Juda, " as a lily among the thorns," and her beauty rivals in splendour the " rising moon." Finally, we have the great oracle of

Isaias. He declares to the house of David, that God will give an encouraging sign of the future condition of Judea—a future to be yet long and glorious. “A virgin shall conceive,” he says; “she shall bring forth a Son, and His name shall be called Emmanuel, that is, God with us.” This Child, miraculously given to the earth, shall be an offset from the stock of Jesse, a flower sprung from his root. He shall be called God, the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace. He shall stand for an ensign of people; Him the Gentiles shall beseech, and His sepulchre shall “be glorious.” This oracle has been the subject of a long dispute between the Jews and the Christians. The Rabbins contend that the word “Halma,” used by Isaias, signifies merely a young woman, and not a virgin, as the Septuagint translates it. But St. Jerome, who, without exception, was the greatest of commentators and most profoundly versed in the Hebrew tongue, pronounces, without fear of contradiction, that “Halma,” wherever the word occurs in the Sacred Scripture, signifies exclusively a virgin in all her innocence, and nowhere a married woman. Luther, too, who made so deplorable a use of really great learning, admits the same; and even Mohomet himself has borne testimony to the Virginity of the Mother of God.

The mystery of the Messiah was entirely unveiled to the prophets; some of them see Bethlehem rendered illustrious by His birth; others foretell His triumphant entry into Jerusalem. Nothing is wanting to the completion of the prophecies; Jacob has determined the coming of the “Shiloh” at that precise moment when the Jews shall cease to be governed by their own laws, which implies the ruin of a state; Balaam adds that this ruin shall be the work of a people come from Italy; and the satrap Daniel reckons up precisely the weeks which are to elapse to that time.

“All that happens in the world,” says a man of genius, “has its sign before it. When the sun is about to rise, the horizon is tinted with a thousand colours, and the east appears all on fire. When the tempest comes, a dull murmur is heard on the shore, and the waves are agitated as if by

themselves." The figures of the Old Testament are the signs which announce the rising of the Sun of Justice and of the Star of the Sea. "All these things happened to them in figure." God matures His counsels in the course of ages, for a thousand years are with Him as one day; but man is eager to obtain, for man endures but a short time. After an expectation of four thousand years, the time marked out by so many prophecies arrived at last; the shadows of the old law disappear, the figure gives way to the substance, and Mary arises in the horizon of Judea, like the star which is the harbinger of day.

PHILIP DUFFY, C.C.

MISSION OF OUR LADY OF THE ROSARY.

"**I**RELAND," says Archbishop Lynch, "has a divine mission." In this assurance we have our greatest consolation, when we come to consider the ever-flowing tide of emigration which has rolled away from our shores during the past three hundred years. In early ages, indeed, the children of St. Patrick illumined the dark regions of Northern Europe with the light of faith. Germany alone, we are told, honours no less than one hundred and fifty-six Irish saints. France, Belgium, Italy, Norway, and Iceland, have each a large proportion of Irish saints on their calendar.

But the Irish saints of later days, whose lot has been to plant the faith upon the banks of the Hudson, the Potomac, and the Savannah; to light up the holy fane along the Western prairies; to traverse the untrodden waste, and raise aloft the glorious standard of the cross among the snow-capped peaks of Oregon, far outnumber these.

The divine mission has been faithfully discharged. Ireland has given the best blood of her warm heart to fulfil that duty; and with its accomplishment, as the harbinger of

her reward, we behold the first gleam of hope breaking through the dark clouds, which have so long overshadowed the sunny valleys of her own fair land.

Whatever weight may be attached to the statement of Archbishop Lynch, certain it is, that but for Ireland, the Church would hold a poor place in the great Republic. Nor can it be denied that it was the children of Erin erected the majestic cathedrals of the New World, and filled them with devout worshippers. For from 1633, when Leonard Calvert sailed for Maryland with a small colony, most of whom were Irish, until the present day, Ireland has continued to contribute far out of her proportion to the growth of America. The Irish Registrar-General in his emigration statistics for 1888, states that since 1851, when the collection of these statistics first commenced, three million two hundred and seventy-six thousand emigrants have left Ireland; while the Board of Trade returns show that during the past nine months no fewer than fifty-seven thousand six hundred and ninety-seven persons emigrated from our shores. From other sources, however, we find that, at the time these statistics were first taken, the Church had already grown to large proportions in the States. Six archbishops, thirty-three bishops, and eighteen hundred priests looked after the spiritual wants of three million souls, of whom nearly all were Irish. For it was especially between 1840 and 1850 that the American Church received an astonishing increase in numbers. During that decade more than two hundred thousand Irish annually passed through the portals of the New World. From these figures, then, it would appear that, making allowance for deaths and losses from other causes, Ireland has given to America not less than eight millions of her children.

Yes, we must not forget to make allowance for losses, for be it remembered that the early progress of Catholicity in America was not along a path of roses. "We ought, if there were no loss," wrote Bishop England in 1836, "to have five millions of Catholics, and as we have less than one million and a-quarter, there must be a loss of three millions

and three-quarters at least, and the persons so lost are found amongst the various sects to the amount of thrice the number of the Catholic population of the whole country."

To what causes then may we attribute all this enormous loss :—

1. To the unholy persecution which drove Catholics from Ireland.

2. To the penal code of the colonies.

3. To the want of churches and schools.

4. And to the odium attached, in those days, among English-speaking people to the very name of Catholic.

That so many of our race have lost the faith, may seem unaccountable ; to some extent, indeed, notwithstanding the above reasons, this is the case. But when we consider, in the first place, the condition and circumstances of those who generally were compelled to fly from our shores, and, in the second place, the character of the people, and the nature of the land in which they found a home, it may tend to throw a little light upon the subject. The condition of our emigrants, for the most part, was such as was least calculated to assist them in their struggle for faith and fortune in a foreign land. They were poor ; it was poverty compelled them to go ; and the ruthless penal code prohibited their receiving the blessing of a good education. On the other hand, the Church was not before them in the States to cherish and sustain them. They were the pioneers of the Church, and in too many cases penetrated far beyond the limits of the civilization of their day, and, at their death in the far West, their children, who, perhaps had never seen a Catholic priest, became the easy prey of proselytism or unbelief.

There was yet another cause of loss. It arose from the perils and dangers that had to be encountered the moment our emigrants set foot on American soil. Friendless, homeless, illiterate, unprotected, they became, only too often, the victims of wily and unscrupulous monsters, who made a regular profession of alluring our innocent Irish girls to low and disreputable lodging-houses, and thence to ruin and disgrace.

To staunch the wounds from which the life-blood of the American Church was flowing; to preserve our emigrant girls from this awful fate; to throw the mantle of faith around them at the very gates of the West, the mission of our Lady of the Rosary was founded, January 1st, 1884. It was at a meeting of the Irish Catholic Colonization Society in Chicago, May, 1883, that the idea of having a priest permanently located at Castle Garden was first suggested, as up to that time there was no Catholic mission at the Garden. The proposal at once received the warm approval of Bishops Ireland, Spaulding, and Ryan; and on all sides it was admitted to be of the utmost importance to have a priest specially appointed to look after the wants of the emigrants, and take them under his special care. To this important duty Father Riordan was appointed by the late Cardinal M'Closkey, and took charge of the mission, January 1st, 1884. Few men were as well qualified as this kindly, generous-hearted priest to make the undertaking a success; his very look inspired confidence, and his every thought was directed to secure for "his poor emigrant girls" a suitable home. Had God been pleased to spare him a little longer, it cannot be doubted that his efforts would have been crowned with complete success. As it is, however, he has left in the Mission Home at Castle Garden an undying monument of his energy and zeal.

At his demise, December 15, 1887, the mission was placed under the charge of Father Hugh Kelly, who, following in the footsteps of its founder, laboured earnestly in the same good cause, till ill-health, to the regret of all the sincere friends of the mission, compelled him to resign, January 24, 1889. Father M. Callaghan, late Rector of the Church of the Assumption, Peekskill, was then appointed successor to Father Kelly, by his Grace, the Archbishop of New York. In him the mission has found a good priest, gifted with all those qualities of head and heart necessary to carry on the good work; and there can be little doubt that, under his careful management, the mission of our Lady of the Rosary will continue to bear good fruit.

The object of the mission, as set forth by its founder, Father Riordan, was:—

“1. To establish at Castle Garden, the chief landing-place for emigrants, a Catholic bureau, under the charge of a priest, for the purpose of protecting, counselling, and supplying information to emigrants landing there

“2. A Catholic emigrants' temporary home, or boarding-house, in which emigrants might be sheltered, safe from the dangers of the city, while waiting for employment or *in transitu*.

“3. To provide an emigrant's chapel, by means of which the blessings and consolations of religion might be dispensed to those who make their first start in life in the New World under the auspices of the mission.”

This threefold object has now been accomplished, and the mission, under God, has been the means of guiding thousands of emigrant girls into the employment of Christian families. The beneficent influences of the mission have been experienced all over the country, and acknowledged with gratitude from every quarter. The amount of good done since its establishment can scarcely be estimated. Some idea, however, can be formed from the fact that, apart altogether from the vast numbers that have received advice and assistance, in many ways, on passing through to the interior of the country, no fewer than twenty-five thousand emigrant girls had up to August, 1890, been sheltered beneath its hospitable roof, shielded from the dangers which Father Riordan assures us “it is impossible to exaggerate,” and placed in the bosom of good Catholic families, in which they are assured not only a comfortable home, but protection from the fearful fate that has, but too often, fallen to the lot of the hapless emigrant girl.

“ Ah! well the friendless girl can tell
 The arts the tempter knows,
 Who paints the path that leads to hell,
 But coloured like the rose.
 Oh! blessed be God's eternal fame
 Who sent to such as me
 The mission of the blessed name—
 “The Holy Rosary.”

There are few priests, who have any experience of

missionary work, but will admit that, in the case of individuals or families settling down in their district, a great deal of their future success depends on the influences that surround them, and the persons with whom they are first thrown into association. This truth is borne out, but in a far wider sense in the case of emigrants to the States. Place a Catholic emigrant in the bosom of a good virtuous family, until she becomes acclimatized and accustomed to the change of life, and the ways of the people around her, and you may be morally sure she will succeed. But place her in a low lodging-house in one of the slums of New York, where the very air is pestilential ; let her remain but a short time in companionship with the class which inhabits these parts, and the assimilation is so easy and so sure, that we have far too many examples to prove the rule.

Formerly, on landing at Castle Garden, the Irish emigrant girl had no friend to direct her course, a new world opened up before her, and she soon found out it had not the charms she once conjured up in her mind. She was, indeed, in America ; there was a time when she imagined if but there, success were assured ; but, alas ! she had now no idea whither to turn ; she was friendless and forlorn. Dangers surrounded her on every side, and, were she not fortunate enough to find employment at once, she was compelled to seek shelter in some low boarding-house, where debauchery and vice held high carnival. Now, all this is changed ; our emigrant girls are no longer friendless ; they are no longer without a home. The genial smile and gentle word of the priest cheers their drooping heart, and bids them welcome to the great Western World. The mission of our Lady of the Rosary throws open its hospitable doors to shield them from all peril, and offer them a secure refuge and haven of rest. Religion, with the sword of faith, stands sentinel on the watch-tower, and pours the balm of true consolation into their aching hearts.

The Church in America has taken active measures to safeguard our Irish emigrant girls ; but could not something be done at home, as well ? It is with the greatest deference

to the opinion of others, and a firm conviction that the matter is one of the utmost importance, that the writer ventures to offer a few suggestions. In doing so, indeed, he has waited patiently, expecting that some more facile pen than his might have advocated the cause of our poor emigrant girls. A great deal has undoubtedly been written from time to time on the subject, but more or less in a desultory kind of way, and having, as a consequence, little practical effect. After careful consideration of the question, added to several years' experience of a mission from which large numbers have been in the habit of leaving for America every week, he has come to the conclusion that until an auxiliary move is made in Ireland the work of the mission of our Lady of the Rosary cannot be as effective as it might. A great deal more could be done, and, in fact, ought to be done at home, since many of the dangers to which emigrant girls are exposed have to be encountered before ever they reach New York, and it is not without grave reason that they are cautioned against "ship acquaintances" in the little leaflets circulated by the mission.

When we consider that it is not unusual for four thousand emigrants to land in Castle Garden in one day, it will enable us to understand how utterly impossible it is for the priest in charge to pick out those who require special attention. This, indeed, would be comparatively easy did all our emigrant girls know of the existence of the Emigrant Home in Castle Garden. But how many of them leave Ireland without having heard of such an institution?

The first duty, then, for us at home would be to make emigrant girls aware of the fact that there exists at Castle Garden a Home, in care of a priest, where they will receive every attention and be secure from all danger. This is best accomplished by distributing the leaflets, which have been specially prepared to convey all necessary information to intending emigrants.

In the next place, could it not be so arranged, that, in conjunction with the Labour Bureau attached to the mission of our Lady of the Rosary, and in which all emigrants can find places, an office might be opened in some suitable part

of Ireland? Here, as in the Labour Bureau at Castle Garden, it would be possible for emigrant girls, before ever setting out from home, to secure a suitable situation, and be assured of falling into good hands. For the rules of the Bureau require that all those seeking female aid shall be supplied with letters, testifying to their character and social standing, from the Catholic priest of their district. In this office emigrants could obtain all necessary advice and information in reference to the mission of our Lady of the Rosary; leaflets could be distributed, and the names and destination, at least of all unprotected girls, taken down and forwarded to the rector of the mission, so that he might be on the look out for their arrival.

But many will say, Have not most of our emigrant girls friends to meet on the other side? The following extract from a letter received from Father Kelly tells its own tale :—

“There is another matter in which our people should be instructed—namely, self-reliance. Thousands of our young girls come here who have paid their own passage, but have no definite idea of what is best for them to do upon landing. All they seem to know is, that they are in America, and that they have an aunt, or a cousin, or a neighbour, residing somewhere in it, and if once with them they would be happy. God help them! That which is a commendable trait in their character at home sometimes leads to their ruin here—an open and affectionate heart.

“To make myself intelligible, I shall classify the people our emigrants generally have the address of :—

“First, sisters and brothers, aunts and uncles of character and means, and (rarely) convents and priests. Against such no objection can, of course, be made.

“Second, aunts, uncles, and cousins, who keep cheap boarding houses, or are comparatively poor, and who require the girl, not out of friendship or for her own sake, *but for her work*. This class I consider most objectionable.

“The third, and the most numerous, are relatives and friends whose character is of questionable repute. In this class I have been asked time and again to telegraph to acquaintances—young men whose character changed very much for the worse since their advent to America, and whose address would be some low ‘gin-mill’ in a not very respectable quarter of the city. Too many of our women, who are not all that we would wish them, can date their unhappiness, if not their misery, from the first few days

they spent in the society of such so-called friends; and well might they have exclaimed, 'From such friends, O Lord, deliver us'."

There is yet, however, another point that claims our careful consideration. The object our poor girls have in view in leaving home is to improve their social position and secure a comfortable livelihood. Now, can they ever expect to attain this end, if, the moment they land in America, they begin to drink? And yet—

"It is a lamentable fact [Father Kelly assures us], that many—too many—of our young emigrant girls can be seen standing at the bar in the Rotunda, five minutes after landing, with a bottle of beer in their hands, usually with a cousin or neighbour boy. I fear [he continues] that curses, not loud but deep, follow some of these same cousins and neighbour boys. Thank God, they are not all alike; but those I have in my mind, as I write, not only do their utmost to prevent them from going to my Home (if obliged to stay over night), but use their influence to take them to cheap lodging-houses. Why is it that a single emigrant girl arrives here who is not pledged to abstain from all intoxicating liquors? They can have milk or coffee furnished them here instead of poison surely to their souls!"

This, then, is the greatest danger of all; and how is it to be avoided? There is only one remedy—total abstinence. Let the pledge be administered to all our emigrants, especially our emigrant girls, before ever they leave their native parish, and let them be directed to become members of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America, which has branches in nearly every parish, as soon as ever they reach their destination. By this means thousands would be saved from taking the first downward step on the road to their eternal ruin, and the reproach which our countrymen have so often to bear would be for ever blotted out. It will not do to allow our emigrants to reach their new home before they take the pledge. No; the pledge should be administered by their own priest; and if so administered, will be regarded as a thousand times more sacred than if taken from the greatest advocate of the cause in the States. Moreover, grave dangers beset the emigrant on her journey, which can only be avoided by the adoption of this plan; for

sad, indeed, is the fate of the poor girl, however innocent she may be, who takes drink on an American Liner.

Had the mission of our Lady of the Rosary been established fifty years ago, how many souls would have been saved to the Church? Let the millions who have lost the faith and the countless dupes of wily procurators answer. If the mission, now that it is established, is not aided and assisted, how many souls will yet be lost to the faith, how many unsuspecting Irish girls brought to destruction? God only knows. The emigrant girls of to-day are little different in character from their predecessors; if there is a change at all, it is to be feared that it is only for the worse.

"Applying not a high but a moderate standard of morality [says Father Kelly] to some of the emigrants landed here during the past season, I fear that the enemy which through a long night of slavery and persecution we so successfully combated has at last gained a vantage point, which if a vigorous effort be not now made he will most assuredly hold."

Are we to make that vigorous effort? Are we to throw ourselves into the work with a determination to succeed? If so there is no time to be lost. The spring will be upon us very soon again, and our ports of embarkation thronged with emigrant girls, only anxious to take advantage of every means which shall be put within their reach to save themselves from the perils of their journey. Forewarned is forearmed; let them then, by all means, be forewarned; let them be taught to avoid all dangerous companionship on board their vessel; to seek shelter and advice, if required, at the Mission Home; and to *rely not upon their friends, but upon themselves*. Let them be advised to take a place at once, which they can easily secure at the Labour Bureau, and write or call upon their friends after a time; and, above all, to avoid intoxicating drink, no matter on what plea it may be offered; and their safety is morally certain. For the bright Queen of Heaven, under whose patronage the mission has been placed, will smile down upon the poor emigrant girl, shield her from every danger, and lead her securely through the awful perils that beset her path.

JOHN NOLAN, C.C.

AN EARLY ENGLISH PRYMER.¹

CATHOLICS, in common with all cultured persons of literary tastes, ought to be, and are, specially indebted to those disinterested Protestants who devote thought, time, and money, to the revival of the Church's devotional treasures of the past. Such a labour of love may well be termed disinterested, for it seldom or never meets with its reward immediately, even if its reward comes eventually. In spite of such absence of encouragement, however, many are they who engage in this work of piety, whether in the combination of societies, or as units devoted to this division of sacred literature. And the last half century is conscious of many valuable results of such work, one of the latest of which is the volume edited by Mr. Littlehales, and published by the house of Longmans.

The main, if not the sole stipulation which Catholics mentally make, in order to arouse their sentiment of gratitude for such literary efforts on the part of Protestants, is twofold: the matter reproduced must be worthy, and the form in which the reproduction is made must be faithful and true. The prymer of the fourteenth century is a book of which both these features may be affirmed—the second absolutely, the first with qualifications. The MS. has been copied for the press, printed in clear, readable type, and collated afterwards with the original more than once, apparently with every possible care; and if any doubts are expressed, as they will be expressed, on the liturgical, as apart from the devotional, value of the MS. reprinted, these doubts have been felt and will be stated with much diffidence in their validity. Such a work demands from a critic the special knowledge of an expert (equal or even superior, to that of an editor), lacking which the latter could not have attempted the task he has achieved. Without pretending to take a position

¹ *The Prymer, or Prayer-Book of the Lay People in the Middle-Ages in English, dating about 1400, A.D. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, from the Manuscript (G. 24) in St. John's College, Cambridge, by Henry Littlehales. Part I.—Text.* London and New York: Longmans & Co., 1891.

higher than that of a student of some years' standing of printed prymer, the writer at the outset finds himself, as any reviewer would find himself, placed at a disadvantage. In attempting to estimate the original of the reprint, and without the possibility of gaining access to the original, he is met with the absence of all information from Mr. Littlehales, upon which an intelligent criticism alone can be founded touching the value of the prymer. The volume in question contains the text only of an ancient prymer. It is innocent of any introduction, liturgical and explanatory; of any preface, saving a complimentary one; of footnote, or sidenote to the text; of a contemporary title, or page-heading of modern date; even of a table of contents, however brief, or of an index. Indeed, seldom has so helpless and bare a literary offspring been ushered into an unkind and exacting world, so free from every accidental aid for self-support, or incidental hint for the reader's guidance. In default of such help publicly afforded, and in view of an annotated Second Part promised in the future, the writer ventured to take an unusual course. Though personally unknown to the editor, an appeal was made to him for certain information, which presumably would, and for the perfection of his work necessarily must, be given hereafter. Such information would tend to avoid rash conclusions, or hasty generalisations which might legitimately be drawn from insufficient, if not from inexact, knowledge. The appeal was most courteously met and answered. And the following brief abstract may be considered a trustworthy, though informal apology for the work as it stands, the substance of which the editor will probably have no cause to repudiate hereafter. It may be well, however, in the first place, to indicate the opinion which was arrived at independently of Mr. Littlehales' obliging reply.

With some hesitation—but also with some confidence—the writer holds to an opinion that the prymer now published is—(1) an imperfect, (2) a faulty, and (3) a carelessly-written *replica* of a MS., which possibly, and even probably, (4) was, at its date of transcription, an unique specimen, representing only itself. This estimate of its singularity, with a full

consciousness of the almost endless variations in every part in the text of early prymers, can only, from a want of space, and on the present occasion, be stated as a mere opinion, and left undefended. Within the limits assigned to this short review, the other three points must be treated only in brief.

1. That the Prymer is a defective copy of whatsoever it represents, is obvious from the unsightly blank from page 42 to page 43, which, to the writer's literary taste, disfigures the reprint; and which, it may be added, might have been, and should have been, hypothetically filled, within cautionary brackets, with the reconstructed page in Appendix A. Nor is this the only imperfection in the way of omission which the editor of the MS. candidly acknowledges—notably in the absence of the common forms of prayer and instruction with which prymers are usually ended. Moreover, the prymer lacks many liturgical features, such as antiphons, V. and R's., prayers, and other devotions, which extant prymers, nearly or quite contemporary with the one under consideration, possess. For instance: the almost contemporary MS. edited by Mr. Maskell—whether or not in this respect it be typical—at the end of Lauds, and between the Collect to the Holy Trinity and the Prayer for Peace, includes collects, with Ant., Vers., and Resp., as follows:—On the Passion, to SS. Michael, John Baptist, Peter and Paul, Andrew, Lawrence, Nicholas, Margaret and Katherine, for the Holy Souls, and to all the Saints. These are absent from the MS. reprinted by Mr. Littlehales, and it is possible they may be exceptionally placed in Mr. Maskell's MS.

2. The MS. would seem to be faulty in many particulars, of which one may be named. The editor of it keeps in suspense his judgment on the contents of several pages, and other experts contend that the repetition of certain suffrages, &c., which only occur at the end of Lauds, and perhaps also of the other short Hours, do not recur at the end of Evensong, or Vespers, in MSS. of the first class, even though they may appear in printed copies at a later date. The editor, therefore, will be called upon, in his Second Part, to give his reasons for supporting the addition at the end of Evensong of the *suffragia*, which is justifiably

added at the end of Lauds, viz., the *Memoriae de Sancto Spirito, de Sancta Trinitate, de Omnibus Sanctis, de Pace*, and to afford evidence that these appear in the best MSS., or in printed copies of authority

3. The MS.—and this criticism is beyond contention—has been very carelessly copied, not by its modern editor, but by its middle-age scribe. The errors in manual execution are numerous, and inexcusable under any conditions. Apart from the variations always to be found in the spelling of Early English books—in this book more than ordinarily frequent—the mistakes of adding a letter, of omitting a letter, of misplacing a letter, of placing one letter for another, in the present MS., are of constant occurrence. For instance, *Anglicè*—to take but a few random instances—*ulessed*, for *blessed*; *wordl*, for *world*; *halve*, for *have*; *thee*, for *the*; *he*, for *the*; *leyl*, for *heyl*; *godis*, for *godes*; *hit*, for *it*; *his*, for *is*. The same word, also, is frequently met with, even in the same page, and frequently in various pages, differently spelled.

This judgment is expressed with diffidence, not only because of the qualifications of the reviewer, of which there may be doubt; but also, of the obscurity and difficulty of the many-sided topic reviewed, of which there can be no doubt. For it is certain that comparatively few persons, at the present day, are competent to offer a decided opinion on the *minutiae* of the contents and arrangements of Sarum prymers; whilst the data, upon which any person can form a trustworthy judgment in relation to these liturgical points, are rare and difficult of access. Indeed, it may be a question whether there be extant *authoritative* MS. prymers of the Sarum use, with which to compare Mr. Littlehales' reprint, and whether there ever existed an *authoritative* text in mediæval times at all comparable to the authorized text of the Roman Missal since its last reform. And it must ever be borne in mind that, in like manner, as textual critics of the New Testament do not always accept a MS. in virtue of its supposed early date alone, apart from other considerations, so it is with the early prymers. It is not always the most ancient prymer which is of the highest authority; a later MS. which

remains may have been copied from an earlier copy which has perished; and the latter may be of higher value than the copy of another early MS. which has survived. Under such circumstances it behoves an editor to walk warily, and to decide with caution; and it becomes a critic to write with modesty, and to condemn (if he is forced to condemn) with moderation. This will tend not only to friendliness in critical controversy, but also to the solution of liturgical problems, if editors and reviewers alike will agree to give and take, in knowledge and ignorance alike, in order that eventually both may reach a common goal—a course which both may legitimately take, seeing that the goal is not the revelation of dogmatic truth, but the exactitude of liturgical fact, detail, and history.

But, even if these criticisms, which are only specimens taken at haphazard, more of which might be added, and other similar objections, be well-founded, the book, in the opinion of the writer, from its date and rarity, from what can be proved of it and what can be intelligently imagined about it, is not unworthy—indeed is well worthy—of reproduction. In any case, and though a more perfect and valuable MS. might have been selected, it is a pure gain to Catholics to possess the reprint of an office-book, which may be typical, and which certainly was used by some pious forefather in the faith, nearly five centuries ago.

On the other hand, Mr. Littlehales, in the preface and notes to his Second Part, the issue of which may be expected in the coming year, 1892—and not, as he rather unguardedly says in his preface, in “some few years’” time—will be able to throw much light on the above and many other collateral topics which are now obscure. He will probably intimate that, although the MS. was neither quoted, nor utilized by that great liturgiologist, Mr. Maskell, he may have referred to it in the second edition of his *Monumenta Ritualia*. He will possibly contend that the book, which he has been at the pains of copying and at the cost of printing, represents a class which was in common use at its date of issue—represents it more closely than other and better-known prymers; indeed, represents the form which

was most widely accepted in England during the Middle Ages. In spite of some evidence to the contrary, he will probably produce further evidence to show that the MS. is not only a fair specimen, but an exceedingly good specimen, both of its class and date—a point on which the editor presumably has wider possibilities of forming a correct judgment than most of his readers, and certainly than his critic. Whilst, if the prymer be wanting in some features that have been glanced at, in which MSS. of primary value, or authorized printed copies, are not deficient, it contains other features, such as the Kalendar and Easter-tables, in which even prymers of the first rank are sometimes deficient. It will not be thought an unpardonable indiscretion, perhaps, on the part of the present writer, if he adds to this supposititious defence by the editor of the volume, that the much desiderated Second Part will probably contain, in parallel columns, the contents, in an abbreviated form, of six other prymers—an addition which will greatly enhance the value of the work, and will prove a welcomed novelty in comparative liturgiology in the English language. It is much to be hoped that these six selected prymers may prove to be not only representative specimens, but MSS. which have not yet been issued from the printing press. If Mr. Littlehales fulfils these hypothetical positions, he will make himself a double benefactor to the cause of Catholic literature. He will have regained for the Church not only an ancient MS. of great curiosity, but an ancient MS. of extreme value. Whilst the publication of his suggested Hexapla of Prymers—taken in conjunction with the issue of a *catalogue raisonné*, now passing through the press, of all the English prymers that are known to exist, which also, it may not be an indiscretion to mention, by the hand of another student of prymers—will inaugurate a new era in relation to this department of the science of liturgiology.

Amongst other points which may be casually mentioned, as deserving of notice in this fourteenth-century MS., these which follow are noteworthy, though they be not all quoted as singular:—the form of its *Gloria Patri*, “Joy to the

Father," &c.; the graceful and poetical title of the Annunciation, as the "Greeting of our Lady;" the employment of the relative "that" for "who" in the Lord's Prayer, and "our Lord" for "the Lord" (though both forms are used) in the Ave, and elsewhere; the quaintness of some of its expressions, "Holy God's Mother," for "Holy Mother of God;" the rhythmical swing of some of the versions of the anthems of our Blessed Lady, which almost recall the poetic and rhythmical forms in common use; and the purity and beauty of some of the translations of the collects and some verses of the psalms—translations which here or elsewhere clearly inspired much of the language of the Anglican Psalter and Book of Common Prayer.

This similarity between the Protestant Prayer Book of the sixteenth century and a Catholic prymer of the fourteenth century, and the indebtedness which the former owes to the latter, leads by an easy train of thought to a criticism which the writer feels bound to make. In his short preface, Mr. Littlehales allows himself to couple together as similar factors in religion, and to place on one historical or critical level for purpose of comparison, "the Churches of England and Rome," and the office-books of either respectively. This apparent attempt to treat both communions as co-ordinate and co-equal spiritual bodies need not have, and has not, any controversial intention. Neither has the criticism of this attempt. But, from a liturgical view only of the matter—and not from an historical, dogmatic, or moral view—it surely is utterly uncritical to compare a Catholic office-book with a Protestant book of devotion; or an office replete and instinct with Catholic truth in word and act and intention, and a mere outward form and imitation of the same, in which the whole intention, *e.g.*, of sacrifice, is deliberately omitted; the whole action indicative of the supernatural in presence, person and power, is suppressed, and every word of the language with a dogmatic leaning to Catholicity is altered to suit the Protestant misbelief of the sixteenth century. For instance: what central point, or pervading truth, fact, or mystery, in the Office of Our Lady, or in the Office of the

Dead, which Mr. Littlehales names, or in that of the divine mystery of the Holy Mass which he does not name, can be found in the Common Prayer Book of the State-Established Religion? To attempt to compare such incomparable objects is to strive to make two lines meet which lie in different planes. Both are insoluble problems. Notwithstanding this liturgiological slip of the pen—may it be called even a solecism?—the mention of which he will pardon as inevitable in a Catholic review, by a Catholic reviewer, Mr. Littlehales must be, and is, heartily thanked for his sumptuous and comparatively inexpensive reproduction of this old English book of devotion to our Blessed Lady. He will not consider the gratitude expressed less warm if a final proposition be made, on behalf of the less learned reader whom he probably wishes to instruct, as well as to edify the more learned. The proposal amounts to this: to keep the present volume in print for the satisfaction of liturgical experts and students; but, together with the valuable and contemplated Hexapla, to add in a supplemental volume the present MS. in a form “understood of the people.” In other terms, to print this fourteenth-century prymer in the language and manner of the nineteenth century, with modernized spelling (without contractions), the grammar of the day, and the usual punctuation; together with a division of integral parts and verses; and also with the addition of the details alluded to at the outset of this notice as having been omitted—and, in the light of an effort to instruct the average reader, it may be said, as having been unhappily omitted.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

SOME RECOLLECTIONS OF FATHER PETER KENNEY, S.J., AS A PREACHER.¹

THOUGH nearly twenty years have passed away since I saw or heard Father Kenney, I have a very distinct recollection of him. The first trace of his luminous and powerful mind I saw was in some manuscript meditations which he composed during the short period of his holding the office of vice-president in this college (Nov., 1812, to Nov., 1813), copies of which were handed down through some of the college officials. It was in the second or third year of my course (I entered college in the end of August, 1829) that I was fortunate enough to obtain the loan of a copy of some of these meditations—how I now utterly forget. But I remember well that I was quite enchanted with them—they were so different from anything of the kind I had up to that time ever seen. I transcribed as many of them as I could—they were given to me only for a short period—into a blank paper book which I have still in my possession.

He conducted our September retreat some time towards the end of my college course. This was the first time I heard him. Subsequently I heard him several times when conducting the July retreat for priests in this college. The last time I ever heard him was in Gardiner-street, two or three years before his death, on the Feast of St. Francis Xavier.

I have heard but few pulpit celebrities in my time, and therefore I do not fully convey my appreciation of Father Kenney's excellence in that line by merely saying that, according to my idea of the nature of true pulpit eloquence, he greatly surpassed the best of them. His eloquence was not only superior in degree; it was of a different order. I once heard the late Dr. Cahill, when he was at the zenith of

¹ This essay was found among the papers of the late Very Rev. Dr. Murray, Professor of Theology in Maynooth College. It is noted in the manuscript, in the handwriting of Dr. Murray himself, that the paper was written some time between the close of the summer of 1868 and the summer of 1869.

his fame. It would be most unfair to judge of the general character of his eloquence from the specimen I then witnessed—for the subject was a hackneyed one, and therefore not well calculated to quicken the mental energy. Nothing could be more perfect than his delivery—in truth, it was somewhat too perfect; the sentiments simple and clear; no gaps and no redundancy; the whole went on in an easy and graceful flow, closing, too, at the proper time; that is, before any of the hearers began to wish for a close. It stole away the ear and the fancy like a fine piece of music. But it was more of a polished philosophical lecture than what I think a sermon addressed to an ordinary congregation should be. I am far from saying that St. Paul would have censured it; but I think he would not have overmuch admired it.

Father Kenney aimed not at the ear or the fancy, but, through the understanding, at the heart. Not to steal it; he seized it at once; and in his firm grasp held it beating quick in its rapt and willing captivity. In writing down these memories of him I try to revive and realize the past as faithfully as I can, and am not conscious of using the language of exaggeration; but it may be fair to say that I all along speak from the impressions of those young and perhaps too easily susceptible days.

The only other orator whom I ever thought of comparing him to was Daniel O'Connell. I recollect that, while both were yet living, I remarked, in a conversation with a very intelligent friend on Father Kenney's great powers, that he was the "O'Connell of the pulpit." My friend not only fully agreed with me, but expressed his surprise that the resemblance had never occurred to himself. The reason it did not occur to him was, no doubt, that ordinarily men do not think of searching for such comparisons out of the species, but set off pulpit orators against pulpit orators, as they set off bar orators against bar orators, and parliamentary against parliamentary.

Overwhelming strength and all-subduing pathos were the leading, as they were the common, characteristics of these two extraordinary men. I say nothing of clearness, preci-

sion, and those other conditions which must be found in all good composition, whether written or spoken, and especially in oratory addressed to the many, without which all seeming or so-called eloquence is mere hurdy-gurdy chattering. Also, I say nothing of O'Connell's inimitable and irresistible humour. There are, undoubtedly, certain occasions on which this talent may be exercised in the pulpit. But Father Kenney, if he possessed it, never in the least degree displayed it. I never saw a more serious countenance than his was on every occasion of my hearing him. Not solemn, not severe, but serious, and attractively and winningly so. There he stood—or sat, as the case might be—as if he had a special commission direct from heaven, on the due discharge of which might depend his own salvation and that of every soul present. Indeed so deeply did he seem to be penetrated with the importance of his sacred theme ; so entirely did the persuasion of that importance display itself in his whole manner, that his discourses appeared to be the simple utterances of what his heart and soul had learned or digested in a long and absorbing meditation before the crucifix. That they often were, in fact, such utterances, I have no doubt whatever ; one instance of this I once, by mere accident, happened to witness with my own eyes.

In another point he also strikingly resembled O'Connell. He never indulged in those poetic flights of fancy which delight only, or mainly, for their own sake. Imagination he, of course, had, and of a high order, too ; otherwise he could never have been a true orator. But it was imagination subservient, not dominant ; penetrating the main idea as a kindling spark of life, not glittering idly round about it ; the woof interwoven with the warp, not the gaudy fringe dangling at the end of the texture. You will find none of these poetic flights to which I allude in Demosthenes or Cicero, in Chrysostom or Bourdaloue ; and where they are found in modern orators of high name, they are blemishes not beauties. Of course, too, he had great felicity of diction, which is equally essential—using the very words and phrases which above all others exactly suited the thought, and set it off in its best light ; so that the substitution of any words

would be at once felt as an injury, like the touch of an inferior artist covering the delicate lines of a master. This was all the more wonderful as I believe he received his higher education rather late in life, and was never very deep in English literature. But, as mere talent draws but little from a great heap, keeping that little as it was got, so true genius out of the scanty makes much, and out of the little great. What one man can construct out of ten lines, another man will require ten pages to find constructed there.

Real eloquence must be the offspring of genius, but of genius well cultivated and tutored. Of course I put aside the wonderful effects produced by the words of the saints—sermons, instructions, call them what you will—as in the case of the Curé of Ars in our own day. It was not what we call eloquence that did this ; it was not the preacher, but the saint ; it was not the sermon in itself or in its delivery ; it was, if I may so speak, the ardour of the Holy Ghost with which it came laden from the heart and the lips.

There have been saints whose very appearance in the pulpit, accompanied by a few broken sentences, melted every heart and moistened every eye. Saints do these things, and it is one of the ways in which God is wonderful in them. But men even of exalted piety, yet not saints in the higher sense of the word, must, to borrow the sentiment of St. Ignatius, cultivate their natural powers, and work as earnestly and assiduously in doing so as if success depended entirely on their own exertions—then calmly leaving the whole issue in the hands of God, as if all depended entirely on Him. To those who have any natural impediments to overcome, this sort of labour may be severe and protracted before its end be fully attained. But I should imagine that, in most truly great orators, the gifts that go to constitute the character are so abundantly supplied by nature, that the labour, at least after a short time, is but a labour of love.

However this may be, Father Kenney had, like O'Connell, attained that highest perfection of his art, which consists in so appearing, that no one dreams of any culture or art having been used—according to the well-known saying,

"*Summæ artis artem celare.*" So perfect was O'Connell in this respect, that, though I heard him often in the winter of 1837-38, and in the following years, it never once entered my mind to suspect that he had ever given any great attention to oratory as an art. His delivery always appeared to me spontaneous and unstudied, as are the movements and prattle of a child.

It was only after his death that I learned from some published memorials of him, and was at the time surprised to learn, that in early life he had taken great pains in forming his manner, and in particular that he had marked and studied with care the tones and modulations of voice for which the younger Pitt was so famous. Father Kenney, like O'Connell, used hardly any gesture. His voice was powerful, and at the same time pleasing; but I do not remember to have ever heard from him any of those soft, pathetic tones sometimes used by O'Connell, which winged his words to the heart, and the sound of which even at this distant period seems still to vibrate in my ears.

Father Kenney was eminently a theological preacher, and this too without the slightest tinge of that pedantry and affectation always so offensive to good taste, but peculiarly so in the pulpit. Indeed he was the only preacher I ever heard who possessed the marvellous power of fusing the hardest and most abstruse scholasticisms into forms that at once imparted to them clearness and simplicity, without in the least degree lessening their weight and dignity.

I give this characteristic of him partly from what I witnessed myself, and partly from what I heard from others. Many years ago I was told so by a very competent judge of a sermon of this kind, on the mystery of the Trinity, preached by him, I think, in Gardiner-street. A sermon which he preached in Belfast at the consecration of the late Archbishop Crolly as bishop of Down and Connor (1825) was one of his most successful efforts. It was on "*The Triumphs of the Church*;" and so powerful was the impression made by it that for many years afterwards the substance of it used to be recounted by some who had not heard it themselves, but received the report from those who

had. I myself once heard one of these outlines from the lips of a friend, who was too young to be present on the occasion, or to comprehend the subject fully if he had been present.

I have never had any direct testimony given to me of Father Kenney's theological acquirements. But that he was a profound theologian I concluded, not so much from the theological character just mentioned of many of his sermons, as from other circumstances quite satisfactory to my mind, but too minute to be recorded here.

It was only in their declining years—within the last ten of their lives—that I heard either of these two great men, O'Connell and Father Kenney. If the Odyssey of the life of each shone with such brightness, what must have been the glowing splendour of its Iliad?

I am not aware that Father Kenney left any written memorials of his powers, except the few meditations alluded to in the beginning of this paper. I heard, I think from one of the Jesuit Fathers, about ten months before Father Kenney's death, that he rarely, if ever, wrote his sermons.

Allow me to add, as a not inappropriate pendant, the following extract from a letter of Lord Jeffrey, written in 1833; he was at the time member of Parliament for Edinburgh:—

"He (O'Connell) is a great artist. In my opinion, indisputably the greatest orator in the house: nervous, passionate, without art or ornament; concise, intrepid, terrible; far more in the style of old Demosthenic directness and vehemence than anything I have ever heard in this modern world; yet often coarse, and sometimes tiresome, as Demosthenes was too, though venturing far less, and going over far less ground."—(Cockburn's *Life of Jeffrey*, vol. i., p. 344.)

P. MURRAY.

SEN (OLD) PATRICK, WHO WAS HE?

IN some sciences it has passed into an axiom "that entities should not be multiplied without necessity," and it were well to apply the axiom to the domain of history. Nothing should be admitted for fact without fair evidence, especially if the proposed fact be far-reaching in its consequences or revolutionary of well-established views of history. Now, of such a character is the existence or identity of Sen Patrick. He is generally admitted to have been a contemporary of our national saint and his fellow-labourer on the Irish mission. But though Sen Patrick figures almost as prominently as our great St. Patrick in the opening chapters of Irish Church history, to our mind he is, as represented by most Patrician biographers, no better than a myth. The violence offered to the human system from the introduction of a foreign body is no less real than what is suffered from facts being grouped around a mythical personage: and if the identity of Sen Patrick has not been yet established, then indeed there has been an unnatural displacement of facts, and then at the very outset there has been initiated a slovenly and uncritical method of dealing with the evidences of history.

1. The Calendar of Cashel commemorates Patrick Senior under the 24th of August, and adds that while some said he was buried in Ros-dela, in the region of Magh-lacha, others, with more truth, state he was buried in Glastonbury, and that his relics are preserved in the shrine of Patrick Senior in Armagh.¹

2. The ancient Irish scholiast states that "our national apostle promised Patrick Senior that both of them would ascend together to heaven. Hence some say that the soul of St. Patrick awaited the death of Patrick Senior from the 17th of March to the end of August. Some state that Patrick Senior was buried in Ros-dela, while others, with more truth, state that he was buried in Glastonbury."²

¹ Here we see the reluctance to admit any person to be older than our national saint.

² *Tr. Thaumaturgas*, page 6.

3. The Calendar of Saints, written by Aengus the Culdee, while commemorating the saints under the 24th of August, states that "old Patrick was the champion of battle, and the lovable tutor to our sage." A glossarist of the fifteenth century adds that he was buried in Glastonbury.

4. The *Annals of the Four Masters* state, under the year 457, that old Patrick "breathed forth his soul." The *Annals of Ulster* make the same remark; but a copy of the *Annals of Connaught*, quoted by Ussher, states that he died in the year 453. The *Chronicon Scotorum* assigns his death to 454. The *Book of Lecan*, in its list of St. Patrick's household, gives old Patrick as "the head of all his wise seniors. Some ancient authorities suggest that the death of Patrick happened in the year 461 or 465,¹ from which it is inferred there was reference to old Patrick; for our Irish annalists assign generally the death of our national saint to the year 493.

5. I may remark that the sixth life of St. Patrick, written in the twelfth century, makes mention of a Patrick, nephew of our national saint, who on the death of his alleged uncle left Ireland, and was buried in Glastonbury. Later historians have called him Junior Patrick, in reference to his supposed uncle, our national apostle.²

6. While Irish annals and calendars recognise the existence of old Patrick, the primatial list of bishops ranks him amongst its metropolitans, and define the length of time during which he occupied the see. Let us glance at the first bishops of Armagh:—

<i>The Psalter of Cashel</i> gives—	<i>Yellow Book of Lecan.</i>
Patritius.	Patritius xxii.
Secundinus (sat.) vi. or xvi.	Sechnall xiii.
Patrick Senior, x. years.	Sen Patrick x.

Book of Leinster gives—

Patrick, lxiiii. years from his coming to Erin till his death.
Sechnall, xiii.
Sen Patrick, ii.

¹ *Documenta de S. Patritio*, learnedly edited by Rev. E. Hogan, S.J., page 58.

² *Trias Thaum.*, page 106.

We have now noticed the principal events on which the theories about Sen Patrick have been grounded; but before reviewing these I may at once say that Sen Patrick, to my mind, is no other than Palladius, who preceded, about a year, our national apostle on the Irish mission.

7. Dr. Lanigan maintains that Sen Patrick was no other than our national saint, and that there was only one Patrick in the early Irish Church; but the *Book of Armagh* and other documents clearly establish that Palladius also was called Patrick,¹ and it is no less certain, notwithstanding the opposite opinion of Dr. Lanigan, that the term *Old* was applied to a Patrick, not for his absolute, but relative age. The opinion then of Dr. Lanigan is groundless.

8. The Bollandists suggest (vol. ii., March; vol. iv., Sep.) that a Patrick was called Sen, that is, Patrick Sen, as being the son of Sen, brother to our great saint. Nothing could be more unnatural than this view.² Every Irish writer has associated Sen Patrick with only one person, and made Sen only a qualitative adjective. The idea of a nephew having been with our apostle in Ireland till his death, cannot be entertained. The learned Bollandists, relying on the primatial list of bishops, state that Sen Patrick was successor to his uncle. The only objection raised by Dr. Todd against this statement is, that he was only coadjutor to the great St. Patrick. The *Confession* leads to the belief that our saint after entering on the Irish mission never after saw his country or relatives.

9. Another theory, advocated by Petrie and Dr. Moran,³ states that Sen Patrick came from Wales; that he co-operated with our national apostle in the conversion of Ireland; that at the close of his life he returned to Wales; and that a portion of his relics are in Armagh and Glastonbury. Dr. Moran added that Sen Patrick's "place is well defined in Celtic records." Why, the case is quite otherwise. The venerable *Speckled Book* gives him no place at all in the

¹ *Documenta*, &c., page 89.

² On the same wild system of genealogical derivation some improbable lives of St. Senan of Scatterry made him successor to our national saint.

³ *Dublin Review*, April, 1880.

list of primates. And if we turn to the essays of Dr. Moran, we see that he there makes Sen Patrick not a Welshman, but an Irishman and a pagan, who in Glastonbury instructed our national saint, and in consequence was rewarded with the gift of faith. For these assertions there is not a tittle of evidence. Dr. Moran concludes the article in the *Dublin Review* by stating there were four Patricks in the first age of the Irish Church, each having a fixed place in history; but it is clear to my mind there was only one Patrick.

10. Nothing can be more unsettled than the position assigned to Sen Patrick by modern historians, because, as understood by them, he did not exist. They copied self-contradictory annalists. Now, the primatial succession starts either with the episcopate of our apostle or the foundation of Armagh: if with the former, the lists should include Palladius, Ireland's first bishop; if with the latter, how can Secundinus be included, as he is represented by Irish annalists to have sat during six, thirteen, or sixteen years, and to have died in the year 448, though the see was not founded till the year 455.¹ Moreover, the *Psalter of Cashel* makes Sen Patrick third in succession to the great St. Patrick, with Secundinus as intermediary (see sec. 6): the *Yellow Book of Lecan* does the same, with this difference, that it allows Secundinus to intervene between Sen Patrick and the great St. Patrick during thirteen years, rather six or sixteen, as stated by the *Psalter*; and the *Book of Leinster* allows only two years to the episcopate of Sen Patrick, while the other lists gave variously to it ten and thirteen years. The *Book of Leinster*, in grouping some remarkable events under several reigns, states that Secundinus and Sen Patrick died during the reign of King Laogaire, 428-463, but gives the death of "Patrick, bishop of the Irish" under the reign of Lugaid, 438-503; yet its list of bishops gives not a Patrick for many years after the death of Sen Patrick. In sober truth, the references to Sen Patrick in Irish annals were only an undigested reproduction of the baseless legends found in Norman chronicles.

¹ *Documenta*, &c., page 92.

The first mention of Sen Patrick in Irish annals does not appear earlier than the tenth century; but long before that time the monks of Glastonbury claimed the honour of his having been abbot of the monastery. The monastic chronicles state that St. Patrick after converting Ireland retired to Glastonbury in the year 433; or, according to others, 449; that he was sent in the year 425, in the sixty-third year of his age, to Ireland by Pope Celestine; that after spending eight years in Ireland he retired to Glastonbury, which he governed as abbot for thirty-nine years; and that he died in the year 472, in the one hundred and eleventh year of his age.¹ All these statements in reference to our national saint are discredited either by the *Book of Armagh* or the *Confession*. In point of fact, the connection of our saint after consecration with Glastonbury has no better foundation than either the vision of one monk, the dream of another, or some false document purporting to be written by St. Patrick himself. Even William of Malmesbury, who stood up for the *Antiquities of Glastonbury*, mentions with doubt the burial of St. Patrick there; but states that he was consecrated by Pope Celestine, and educated by Germanus of Auxerre.²

The consecration by Pope Celestine, mentioned by the Glastonbury writers could be attributed to Palladius, called for some time Patrick, but not to our national saint. The older Patrick is said to have been sent so early as the year 425, whereas our national saint did not come to Ireland till 432. He died in Saul, county Down, whereas Palladius died after landing in Wales and leaving Ireland, on his way to Rome. Glastonbury chronicles state that St. Patrick was a pupil of St. Germanus, and converted Ireland after labouring there several years; this was true of our national saint, but not of Palladius; for the *Book of Armagh* states that the Irish mission of Palladius was a failure; that his stay in Ireland was brief; that his death was immediately after landing in Wales, and that he patronized Germanus. The

¹ Ussher, *Primordia*, &c., pp. 125, 888, 893.

² *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, lib. 2.

legendary chronicles state that Patrick left after him in Glastonbury an autobiographical notice, and that he was a Briton. Our national saint was, indeed, a Welsh Briton, and wrote his *Confession* not in Glastonbury, but in Ireland.

The *Annals of Connaught*, under the year 453, register the death of Old Patrick, bishop of Glastonbury. Furthermore, Ralph of Chester, writing of the Patrick who was said to have been buried in Glastonbury, states that he was commemorated on the 24th August as one who, finding the Irish people rebellious, turned his back on them, and retiring to Glastonbury, died there on the 24th of August.¹ Now, we must infer that the Patrick of Glastonbury was the Sen Patrick commemorated in Irish calendars on the 24th of August (see secs. 1, 2); and that Sen Patrick, mentioned in the *Polychronicon* of Ralph as having found the Irish rebellious, having abandoned them, and as having returned to Glastonbury, is no other than Palladius, is made evident by the *Book of Armagh*. For it states, in reference to the bad reception which the Irish gave to Palladius, as follows:—“Neither did these fierce and savage men receive his doctrine readily, nor did he himself wish to spend time in a land not his own, but he returned to him who sent him.”²

Here, then, we have Irish martyrologies and the *Book of Armagh* identifying the Patrick of the Saxon chronicles with Sen Patrick, or Palladius.

12. Lives of the Irish saints, compiled in the eleventh century, contain a notice of Sen Patrick, from which we may infer that he was no other than Palladius. The lives, full of anachronisms, state that Saints Dechan, Ailbe, Ibar, and Ciaran, were contemporaneous bishops in Ireland before St. Patrick, and that Palladius preceded him by many years. Palladius is represented as having baptized St. Ailbe on the confines of Munster and Leinster;³ and turning to the life of St. Alban, nephew of Bishop Ibar, we learn that the birth of

¹ *Polychronicon*, lib. 5, cap. 4.

² *Documenta*, &c., page 25.

³ *AA. SS. Hiberniæ*, ex Manuscripto Salman., Bollandistis, page 237, an. 1888.

the saint was foretold by Patrick, "chief father of Ireland;"¹ and that while this Patrick was in the south of Leinster, St. Ibar, St. Alban, and Sen Patrick encountered a monster of the deep in Wexford bay. Now as this district is admitted to have been the scene of Palladius' labours, and as he and Sen Patrick are represented as contemporaries a long time before our national saint, we may infer that Sen Patrick was the Palladius mentioned in the life of St. Ailbe. The anachronisms that disfigure the lives have perplexed historians. Thus Declan, Ailbe, Ibar, and Ciaran, are falsely stated to have preceded our national saint; thus Palladius in the *Life of St. Ailbe*, is represented as contemporary with Conchobar M'Nessa in the first century; though, according to the *Book of Armagh*, he scarcely by a year preceded our national saint on the Irish mission, yet the Irish lives separate them by an interval of four hundred years; and though they make Sen Patrick contemporary with Palladius, and nominally distinct from him, they would have him succeed our national saint in the fifth century. Such anachronisms in uncritical biographies that were not collated with each other or the *Book of Armagh* are matter for regret; but it is matter for wonder that these anachronisms escaped the notice of the learned Bollandists. For Papebroke and Stilling (AA. SS. for March and September) suggest that what was said of St. Patrick in the life of St. Ailbe, *may* not refer to the great St. Patrick, but to Sen Patrick, his successor. But how *could* the great St. Patrick be referred to, as he lived four hundred years after the events commemorated in the life? The oversight of the Bollandists arose probably from not knowing that Palladius was called Patrick, and from not adverting that M'Nessa, the represented contemporary of Palladius, lived in the first century.

13. The inconsistent notices of Sen Patrick in the lives may be traced principally to the Glastonbury legends; and as the monks claimed St. Patrick as inmate and abbot after his supposed departure from the Irish mission, so Scottish writers claimed him as an apostolic missionary in Scotland.

¹ *Ibid.*, page 405.

The Glastonbury claims were advanced in the eight century. Irish chronicles of the tenth and eleventh centuries adopted the notices of Sen Patrick's death in the obits of Glastonbury, while the annals of Connaught and Ulster in the fifteenth century, and those of the Four Masters in the seventeenth were coloured by the Scottish theories. There was neither truth nor consistency in either Scottish or English legends. Some English legends stated that Old Patrick lived in Glastonbury for thirty-nine years, having come there in the year 433 ; while others made him come there in the year 449. The Scottish theories were no less inconsistent. Some maintained with Spotiswoode, that Palladius evangelized Scotland during twenty-three years, while others extended his labours there to thirty years. Hence we find, on the supposition that Palladius came to Ireland in the year 431, that the Irish chronicles variously date the death of Sen Patrick to the years 454, 459, and 461. The Scottish theories, stimulated probably by the earlier claims of Glastonbury, were mainly built on the statement of the very unreliable scholiast—that Palladius, having left Ireland, founded a church in Fordum.

The confusion in the Glastonbury legends differs from the Irish chronicles in this, that the former attribute the acts of the two Patricks to one person, while the latter preposterously make the first, or old Patrick, succeed the second Patrick. But even amid this obscurity gleams of truth flash out in the succession of bishops given in the *Book of Leinster* ; only two years are given to Sen Patrick or Palladius. He came to Ireland in 431, and died in 432. In course of time he was so much forgotten that the later notices of him in the *Book of Armagh* state that the place and nature of his death were unknown. Towards the close of the twelfth century it appears to have been nearly forgotten that Palladius was called Patrick for some centuries ; and in course of time our national saint so filled the public mind in connection with the conversion of Ireland, as to shut out the idea of any missionary previous to him.

But it may be objected that there is mention in the lives of several Patricks, a " source of much embarrassment " to our modern historians ; these are—(a) Sen Patrick, (b) Patrick

of Nola, (c) Patrick of Auvergne, (d) the three Patricks mentioned in the Tripartite, and (e) Patrick Junior. Patrick Senior (a), mentioned in the hymn of Fiacc, was Palladius; Patrick of Nola (b), commemorated by Farracius¹ on the Eve or first vespers of the 17th March, is no other than our national saint, who was ordained in Nola.² (c) The same may be said of Patrick of Auvergne, commemorated in the Roman martyrology on the 16th of March, to the great surprise of Baronius,³ as there had been no Patrick among the bishops of Clarmont : our national apostle had studied on the borders of Auvergne, and was there consecrated by the abbot-bishop Amatus. (d) The three other Patricks mentioned in the Tripartite,⁴ whom our saint met at Lerins, were probably Saints Honoratus, Maximus, and Hilary of Arles, three abbots there in succession.

(d) The three Patricks appear to be taken by the Tripartite as of consular rank ; but such a meaning is misleading.⁵ If the Patricks (*laici Patricii*) were Christian names, then the writer was in error, as our apostle was not then called Patrick, unless by the figure prolepsis he anticipated the future name of the saint. The writer was also in error if he employed the *Patricius* as a name of honour ; and it is most likely he did so employ it ; for in page 123 (*Tr. Thaum.*) he states that our national saint received at consecration from Pope Celestine a name, *Patricius*, which at that time was expressive of honour and excellence. The mention of the three Patricks, then, was expressive of their patrician rank, and not of their Christian names.

(e) It is admitted that Palladius, an arch-deacon or deacon of the Roman Church, was sent by Pope Celestine to Ireland. He was called by the Irish the first Patrick. The Irish scholiast, in giving the relatives of our national saint (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 4), states that Sannanus, the deacon, was his brother. He was his spiritual brother ; for Sen, the deacon, mentioned by the scholiast was Sen Patrick, or Palladius.

¹ *Catal. SS. Italia.*

² *Vide I. E. RECORD, May, 1887.*
Note to Roman Martyrology.

³ *Page 122.*

⁴ *Tr. Thaum.*, page 123.

In turning from the scholiast of the tenth century to the sixth life by Joceline in the twelfth (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 106), we are informed, that our national saint had a dear son Patrick (spiritually), who was son of San, and who, after the death of his uncle, returned to Britain, died there, and was buried in Glastonbury. Now, on this statement, Ussher remarks (*Primordia*, p. 823) that Sannanus, the deacon, was father to Patrick Junior; and Colgan winds up the story (*Appendix* v., p. 225) by expressing a hope that he was born before San, his father, became a deacon. Here we see the Patricks almost inextricably involved, and the spiritual inconsistently confounded with carnal relationship. For Palladius, who has been properly described by Irish annalists as a "foster father or tutor" to our national saint, is made by-and-bye to sink to the level of a carnal brother, rises again to the higher spiritual level, but as a dependent or coadjutor to our apostle; and, having become a Patrick junior, nephew to the great Patrick, finally disappears in a grave at Glastonbury. And all this has been chronicled and faithfully copied as grave matter for history!

On broad historical lines, by a rather circuitous road, we have been led to the identification of Sen Patrick; but we might, through an easy and short cut, have arrived at the conclusion by a reference to the May number of the I. E. RECORD. It has been there proved clearly that only two persons were called Patrick, down to the eleventh century in the Irish Church. One of these was our national saint, the other was Palladius. Our national saint was always contradistinguished from Sen Patrick; not so with Palladius; and therefore, Palladius, as being the elder workman in the Irish vineyard, must have been he who, not inaptly, was called Sen Patrick.

SYLVESTER MALONE,

THE IRISH ABBEY IN YPRES.—III.

THE history of the Abbey of Our Lady of Grace has now been traced¹ from its foundation, in 1665, to the death, in 1723, of the second abbess of the Irish community who, it has been shown, might very fairly be spoken of as the real foundress of the house.

Abbess Butler's successor was Dame Xaveria Arthur, one of the first who had joined her after her return from Ireland. Dame Xaveria made her novitiate at Ghent, and at the end of it returned to Ypres for profession; but, as has already been related, this was delayed for a considerable period. She was, however, in time professed, in consequence of the interest shown in her by Mary of Modena. This was in 1700. Three years later she was named prioress, and remained so till her election to the abbacy, in 1723. She ruled the house for twenty years, and died in 1743, on the Feast of the Five Wounds—a feast which had been inserted by the Holy See in the conventual calendar at her own request.

Her successor was Dame Mary Magdalen Mandeville, who was blessed in the private chapel of the bishop's palace. When a novice Dame Mary Magdalen had occasion to visit Ireland, to resist the efforts made by her brother to deprive her of her property; and this was thought a good opportunity for recovering possession of the church plate which Abbess Butler had left in Ireland. Sister Mary Magdalen accordingly took charge of it, but the ship in which she embarked foundered off the Isle of Wight, and the plate was lost, she herself being only saved with difficulty. On her arrival at Ypres she recommenced her novitiate, and was professed in 1726. She died in 1760, seventeen years after her election as abbess.

The fifth Irish abbess was Dame Mary Bernard Dalton, who was chiefly remarkable for her devotion to the Sacred

¹ I. E. RECORD, February and May, 1891. The present, and concluding, article has been unavoidably delayed.

Heart, in honour of which, by permission of Pope Pius VI., she erected in the abbey church a confraternity which still flourishes. Abbess Dalton died in 1783.

Dame Clementine Mary Scholastica Lynch was chosen as her successor, though she was not yet thirty years old. After the proper dispensation had been granted she was blessed, went to the helm, and entered upon the duties of her office, which was to be the fruitful source of anxiety and care. In 1793 Belgium was overrun by one of the armies of revolutionary France. Ypres did not escape, and so early in the year as January 13th it was in the hands of the French. They demanded admittance into the Irish abbey, and were very naturally refused it by the abbess. They then broke into the house, and might have been very troublesome had they not drunk copiously. As it was they allowed themselves to be prevailed upon to pass the night in the out-parlours, and to permit the nuns to go to choir. The religious passed the night in fear and dread, but they were unmolested, and the morning brought help. One of the better disposed of the non-commissioned officers suggested that the abbess should apply to the general commanding at Tournay, as he, being an Irishman, would certainly come to her assistance. She was not slow to act upon this friendly advice, and her appeal for help was attended with complete success. The governor of Ypres called, apologized for what had been done, removed the seals which had been placed on various doors, paid for all damage, and withdrew the soldiers, though he took the opportunity of advising the nuns to avail themselves of the liberty to break their vows offered them by the republic.

The French were compelled to withdraw from Belgium in 1793; but in the following year they returned, and finally expelled the Austrians.¹ During this second struggle the abbey had a further experience of revolutionary courtesies; for when Ypres was taken a decree was published ordering the expulsion of the religious orders, and, though the Irish

¹ In the October of that year, 1794, Belgium was formally annexed to the French Republic, and the annexation was recognised by Austria in 1797 by the treaty of Campo Formio.

abbey received a respite on the ground of its members being foreigners, the nuns were incessantly worried by domiciliary visits. Matters drifted on for years, and before they were settled Abbess Lynch died. Her death took place on June 22nd, 1799; and shortly after the community elected as abbess her sister, Dame Bridget Mary Bernard Lynch.

Directly after her election the new abbess received notice of the final sentence of suppression. The revolutionary government sold the house, and ordered the nuns to leave it, taking nothing with them beyond what each one had in her cell. The allotted time expired on November 13th, the feast of All Benedictine Saints; but when this day arrived a violent storm prevented the nuns from leaving the abbey. Next day—All Monks Day—news came of a change of government. The new rulers permitted the nuns to remain in the abbey, and to buy back their own property from the men who had purchased it from the revolutionary robbers. After this they were no more disturbed; but owing to their inability to get money from England on account of the war, they were reduced to dire straits of poverty; one result of which was that for a whole year, not having a bedstead in the house, they were obliged to sleep on the floor. But regular discipline was not relaxed, nor had it been during the whole period of revolutionary troubles; and it is one of the proudest boasts of this community that, during the whole reign of terror they performed the divine office with an exactitude worthy of their order.

There is not much to add. The Irish abbey, which for long was the only convent in the Low Countries, went on quietly, though in extreme poverty. In 1830, Abbess Bridget Lynch, who had piloted her community through so many storms, died, and was succeeded by Dame Mary Benedict Byrne; and she was, in 1840, succeeded by Dame Elizabeth Jarrett.

In the early years of her rule Abbess Jarrett had the happiness to entertain as a guest the present Holy Father, then Monsignor Joachim Pecci, Archbishop of Damietta, and Nuncio Apostolic to the Court of Brussels, who blessed

a little chapel which stands in the corner of the garden. About the same time she experienced something of a less pleasant character, for by the failure of Wright's Bank the conventual resources were yet further crippled. But, in spite of this, by the generous assistance of Bishop Malou, of Bruges, and of Bishop Morris, O.S.B., the latter of whom had three sisters in the community, she was enabled to rebuild the house, replacing the old building by a fine specimen of Flemish Gothic, built of red brick with limestone dressings, and having the square cloisters, which are so essential a feature of real monastic architecture. The new building, however, contains more than one reminder of what has gone before, and not the least interesting of these mementoes are the refectory tables of Irish oak which were brought from her native land by Abbess Butler.¹ Having built her house, Abbess Jarrett made an endeavour to increase its revenues by applying to the English Treasury for the payment of the annuity which was granted to the Dublin house by James II. But the distinguished statesman who was then responsible for the finance of England replied that he could not recognise the claim, as James had already abdicated when he made the grant.

After nearly half a century of office, Abbess Jarrett died, and the community elected in her place their prioress, Dame Scholastica Bergé. The tenth abbess² of the Irish convent was blessed last year, on July 11th, the Solemn Commemoration of Saint Benedict, by the diocesan, Monsignor Faict,

¹ These tables are far from being the only objects of antiquarian interest belonging to the abbey. The lace worked by Mary Queen of Scots, and the colours taken at Ramillies, have already been mentioned; and, in addition to these things, some curtains and vestments made from some sixteenth-century brocade, given by one of the archduchesses, who is said to have worn it at a court ball, are worthy of notice.

² It will, perhaps, be convenient to collect here the names of the abesses. They run as follows:—[Dame Mary Beaumont of the English community, and then of the Irish]. 1. Dame Flavia Cary, 1682; 2. Dame Mary Joseph Butler, 1686; 3. Dame Margaret Xaveria Arthur, 1723; 4. Dame Mary Magdalen Mandeville, 1740; 5. Dame Mary Bernard Dalton, 1760; 6. Dame Mary Scholastica Lynch, 1783; 7. Dame Mary Bernard Lynch, 1799; 8. Dame Mary Benedict Byrne, 1830; 9. Dame Elizabeth Jarrett, 1840; 10. Dame Scholastica Bergé, 1890; *ad multos annos!*

bishop of Bruges,¹ who made use of the mitre and vestments which had been worked for him by the nuns of the Irish abbey, and also wore the pallium which had been sent him a year before as a special and remarkable proof of the Holy Father's affection and esteem. The venerable bishop was attended by a large number of the clergy, secular and regular, and by many friends of the house; and the Holy Father himself, remembering the visit he had paid the abbey at the time of his nunciature, took part in the proceedings by sending a telegram conveying his apostolic blessing.

The abbey is flourishing under the rule of its present abbess, and there has been quite a run of postulants. It is impossible to doubt that, if its existence and history were more widely known in the Island of Saints, Irish subjects would not be wanting for the only Irish Benedictine convent; a convent in which the memories of not a few Irish saints are venerated year by year.²

E. W. BECK, F.S.A. Scot.

¹ The Sec of Ypres was not restored after the Revolution.

² The feast of St. Patrick is kept as a double of the first class with an octave; that of St. Bridget, as a double of the second class; those of SS. Fursey, Frigidian, Columban, Kilian, Fiacre, and Colman, as greater doubles; and those of SS. Congall, Malachy, Winoc, and Dympna, as doubles. The last named, St. Dympna, is much honoured in Belgium, especially at Gheel, the head-quarters of the great lunatic colony, the church of which is not only dedicated in her honour, but contains her relics in a shrine, painted possibly by a contemporary of Memling. In connection with these Irish feasts two others may be mentioned—those of St. Milburga and St. Joseph of Arithmathæa, which were apparently taken from the old English Benedictine calendar.

THOUGHTS ON THE WISDOM OF GOD.

"God is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart, neither is there any creature invisible in His sight; but all things are naked and open to His eyes." (Hebrews iv. 12, 13.)

IF the immensity of the sidereal universe and the prodigious scale of the visible creation reveals to us something of the infinite power of God, so, in like manner the perfect order observable throughout space and the beautiful harmony everywhere prevailing, and everywhere even conspicuous, speaks to us no less eloquently of His inscrutable wisdom. Every creature, from the greatest down to the least, bears testimony to the presence of an all-wise as well as of an all-powerful ruler. Whether, with the astronomer, we contemplate the intricate motions of the heavenly bodies, through the limitless realms of space, or whether, with the physician, we consider the motions of the tiny corpuscles in the blood, as they are carried along through every part of our wonderful body, to build up muscle, and bone, and tissue, we shall be equally struck by the most marked signs of a divine intelligence.

Consider for a moment the heavens above. Through its ample expanse unnumbered worlds are perpetually revolving. Herschel himself counted over twenty millions in the Milky Way alone. These worlds are not only innumerable, but they are thousands of times, and in the case of many, hundreds of thousand, and even millions of times, vaster than our entire earth. Yet they are perpetually rushing through space at a terrific rapidity. Each has its appointed path through the heavens; each dashes by at a lightning-like speed along the orbit marked out for it. While generations of men come and go, while nations rise and fall, these colossal worlds are ever hastening on their way, some at the rate of one thousand miles a minute, some at the rate of ten thousand miles, and even much more. Yet, observe, they never collide, never break away from their prescribed limits, never swerve to right or left, but follow their proper orbit.

with such regularity and such precision and accuracy, that astronomers are able to predict to a nicety, to within a line, or even a fraction of a line, the spot in the heavens where they will be found fifty or a hundred years to come.

What an exhibition of divine wisdom is here! Truly does the Psalmist remind us that "The heavens show forth the glory of God, and the firmament declareth the works of His hands." (Ps. xviii.) But if we descend to earth, and contemplate the smallest object reposing upon its surface, the same truth is equally evident. The smallest wild-flower that grows in the hedgerows is equally loud and clear in its testimony to ears that are open to hear. Even the wild rose or the timorous violet comes before us as a perfect work of art, the produce of wisdom as well as of power. Nothing but infinite wisdom could impress upon a dull particle of unconscious matter—such as is the seed of a flower—those marvellous principles of force and hidden virtue, which enable it to build up and construct such beauteous forms from the elements of earth, air, and water; and to paint them with such fairy hues, to guild their petals with the gleam of burnished gold, and to fill their chalice cups with a sweetness and a fragrance that scents every passing breeze. Indeed, there is nothing throughout nature that does not whisper to us of God's intelligence and wisdom. As every shell murmurs of the great sea from which it came, so every creature murmurs of the Creator who fashioned and formed it.

In our own soul, however, we possess a more irresistible proof of God's wisdom. Our soul is intelligent, and possesses reason and the gift of judgment. Now, as no one can give what he does not possess, God could not create intelligence unless He first possessed it in an infinite degree. The royal prophet, arguing against those who would deny the personality of God, asks very pertinently:—"He that planted the ear, shall He not hear? And He that formed the eye, shall He not consider?" (Ps. xciii. 9.) So, in a similar temper, may we inquire:—He that has bestowed intelligence, shall He not understand? and He that has created reason, shall He not comprehend? Evidently, if reason and intelligence

exist anywhere in creation that very fact proves incontestably that it exists in the mind of the infinite Creator.

The Holy Scriptures again and again proclaim the omniscience of God. In Ecclus. (xxiii. 28) we read : " The eyes of the Lord are far brighter than the sun ; beholding round about all the ways of men, and the bottom of the deep, and looking into the hearts of men, into the most hidden parts." So again, similar passages are to be met with in the Psalms ; *e.g.*, cxxxviii : " Thou hast known my sitting down, and my rising up ; Thou hast understood my thoughts afar off : my path and my line Thou hast searched out, and Thou hast foreseen all my ways." So in Ecclus. (xxxix. 24) : " The works of all flesh are before Him, and there is nothing hidden from His eyes. He seeth from eternity to eternity, and there is nothing wonderful before Him." Such quotations might be multiplied almost without limit.

Let us now enter a little more into particulars. Reason and faith teach us that the wisdom of God is infinite. If infinite it must have an infinite object. Such an object cannot, of course, be found among creatures which are essentially and necessarily limited. The only adequate object of God's knowledge and contemplation is God Himself. He knows Himself fully and exhaustively, and in a manner in which no creature knows or can know Him. Now observe : as every other being has sprung from Him, and is the fruit and result of His industry, it follows that in knowing Himself He knows all else besides. Let me attempt an illustration. Thus, if I could know an acorn perfectly : if I could measure all its vital forces, and gauge all its hidden sources of energy and growth, I should then be able to understand an oak-tree without ever having seen one. So, only in a transcendental manner, God by understanding Himself understands and knows all things else, all being but the effect of His power : for " all things," as St. John says, " were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that was made."

Perhaps we may realize this better by aid of a comparison. Take the example of a renowned painter. We steal softly into the studio of some famous artist : it is a

Raphael or a Rubens, or a Dominichino. We find him seated there, lost in reverie, his head leaning meditatively on his hand. He is awaiting the inspiration before he can commence his work. Around him lie his pigments, his brushes, his pallet and oils, and washes, and the untouched canvas. What is his purpose? He is about to paint an ideal figure or scene. That is to say, he is going to take the image existing in his own mind; and to transfer it to the canvas. The scene or figure must, therefore, be in his own mind, and lie clearly before him before he can give it an external and independent existence. It must exist in his own mind, before it is possible for it to exist in real colour and form. He must, in a word, grasp the image with his imagination ere he can give it any outward expression or external reality; *i.e.*, it must be known to the artist before the artist can, by aid of colour and form, make it known to others.

So is it, only in an infinitely higher degree, of the divine Artist, the Artist who has painted the heavens and beautified the earth. He must have known all things, even before He made them; for He could not create till He knew, and had already determined what it was He was about to create. It is absolutely necessary that the idea, the pattern, or prototype should exist within the mind of God before He could decree that it should have a real objective existence.

And here we may point out the fundamental distinction between the wisdom of man, such as it is, and the wisdom of God. With us, a thing must exist in order that we may know it; with God it is precisely the opposite. The thing must be known in order that it may exist. If it did not first exist, we could never know it; but if God did not first know it, it would never exist. In other words, our knowledge supposes the object already existing; on the other hand, the existence of any object supposes a preceding knowledge of it already in the mind of God. If any creature exists, then God must have known it before it existed, since otherwise it never could exist at all.

From this it follows that God's knowledge must be co-extensive with creation, *i.e.*, it must extend to every

existing creature, the greatest and the smallest alike; and even to every merely possible creature likewise; for unless known, they could not be properly described as even "possible."

Although *we* are unable to occupy our minds with many things at the same time, though a vast multitude of distinct objects breeds confusion with us, yet we must bear in mind, that this fact is owing simply to our finite nature. This confusion is not a necessary condition of the created mind inasmuch as it is *mind*: but it is a necessary condition of the created mind *inasmuch as it is finite and circumscribed*. It is a mere imperfection and limitation which in no way holds in respect to an infinite being.

God knows all truths without obscurity or confusion, and each individually as though no others existed—each as all, and all as each. What an overwhelming thought is this! Call to mind the myriads of creatures that swarm in the forests and fields, the seas and rivers, the earth and the air. Yet not a motion, not a sensation, not a breath or a throb, not the beat of a heart, not the glance of an eye, nor the tremor of a wing escapes Him. From the highest seraph in heaven down to the invisible amoeba, whose world is a water drop, everything is "naked and open to His eyes." I stoop and dip my finger in a stagnant pool, and withdraw it with one small drop adhering to the tip. It is but a tiny drop. I place it beneath a powerful microscope. And behold! the drop is, as it were, transformed. It has grown into a veritable ocean—a world!—a universe! What seemed so clear, and still and void, is found to be teeming with life. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of strange and uncanny forms are plunging and swimming, and hurrying to and fro, and backwards and forwards, and up and down, in this little water world. There are pursuers and pursued, devourers and devoured; there are great and small, the strong and the weak; there are births and deaths, and thrills of joy, and throbs of pain, in that strange water world. Yet there is no birth and no death, no thrill of joy nor throb of pain even there—in that little universe glistening like a diamond at the end of my finger—but God knows it, and

permits it, and ordains it. For His providence watches over all, and without His foreknowledge nothing either stirs, breathes, or even exists, or can exist.

“Oh! the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God. How incomprehensible are His judgments, and how unsearchable His ways!” (Rom. xi. 33.) Yes! unfathomable, indeed, and unsearchable to the minds of men. That all, down to the invisible infusoria, should be clearly known to Him, and known individually, may seem strange. Yet it is an incontestable truth. We may easily convince ourselves of it by pointing out the absurdity of the opposite hypothesis.

Let us, then, suppose, for the sake of argument, that among the countless myriads of creatures one single individual exists of which God knows nothing. Observe the absurd consequences that would follow:—

1st. It would follow that God is not everywhere. For if He was everywhere He would be where that creature is, and would, of course, know it. To say, therefore, that there is any creature unknown to God, would be to deny His immensity and ubiquity.

2nd. It would follow that the dominion of God is not infinite. For if the creature we are referring to were dependent upon God, and supported each succeeding moment by the power of God, it must be known to Him. If it be not known, then it must be independent of God, self-existing, and its own master, which is absurd.

3rd. Indeed, to say that any being, however contemptible, is unknown to God, is the same thing as to deny His omniscience. His knowledge would not be infinite, because it might be added to: we could add the fact of this creature's existence.

What we have laid down in regard to every creature holds equally good of every portion and element of which even the least creature is made up.

But the thought of the wisdom of God, though well calculated to fill our minds with reverence and awe, becomes especially pertinent and practical when referred to ourselves in person. Indeed it is a great aid to sanctity and perfection

to try and realize God's intimate consciousness of all that goes on, even in our most secret heart of hearts. To feel God knows me intimately, clearly, fully, exhaustively. Heart and mind are naked and open before Him. I may forget Him; He cannot forget me. I may lose consciousness of Him in sleep; He cannot lose consciousness of me. My thoughts fly by so rapidly that they almost escape me; they cannot escape Him. God's all-penetrating eye follows me wheresoever I may be. Nothing could give God a clearer or a more thorough knowledge of me than He has already. Let me make an impossible supposition. Suppose God were to withdraw His attention from every other being so as to focus and concentrate it all on me alone. What, then? Well, He would even then know me no better than He does at present.

He knows me at this moment with absolute perfection and accuracy—my thoughts, my desires, my secret aspirations. Indeed, as compared with God, I am grossly ignorant of myself. I see, but cannot explain sight. I am ignorant of how I see. I feel, but sensation remains an insoluble mystery to me; and so of the other senses. Yet He knows who has designed and constructed all. But more: he knows me so intimately, that even my future is before Him as distinctly as my present. As He told St. Peter of his threefold sin of denial before he committed it—nay, when he declared and swore that he would rather suffer death than commit it—so could He tell every act and event of my future life—what I shall be thinking of, and doing, and desiring to do, each succeeding moment of my life; not in this world alone, but in the next world also, a thousand, a million, a billion centuries hence; yea, for all eternity. Not only will He know them as they occur, but He knows them now. He knew them an eternity before I was created!

This is not all. He is fully informed not only of what I shall do and think during the endless future that awaits me beyond the grave, but He is equally fully informed as to what I would do under every imaginable circumstance and under every possible hypothesis.

There are, of course, an infinite number of circumstances

in which I shall never really be placed, and millions upon millions of trials and temptations to which I shall never be subject; yet God knows exactly and accurately what I would do, and how I would conduct myself, were I so circumstanced, and were I so tried and tempted. And what, by way of example, I have said of myself, is true of each of the unnumbered host of angels and the countless generations of men, whether already created or yet to be created.

Nor does His knowledge end here. With equal perspicacity and exactness God knows not only every creature that now exists, or that one day will exist, but likewise the vastly larger number of merely possible creatures; *i.e.*, creatures which He might, but never will, create.

But we might go on for ever developing and extending the range of the infinite wisdom of God, in its incomprehensible grandeur and perfection. Let us rather employ the little space that remains in striving to draw some practical lessons.

The first effect of the consideration of God's wisdom is to enhance our reverence and esteem of Him, and to fill our minds with a deeper sense of His immensity, His majesty, and unapproachable excellence, and His infinite supremacy over all the works of His hands.

The second effect should be to produce in us a sense of the most profound humility, and perfect unquestioning submission to His authority, and a ready vivid faith in whatsoever He reveals: for what is the wisdom and knowledge of all men and angels combined compared to the wisdom and knowledge of God? As a grain of sand to a mountain; as a drop to the ocean; as the glow-worm's feeble spark to the mid-day splendour of the tropical sun.

A third effect is to fill the soul with a certain interior joy and gladness, peace, and tranquillity. These effects will arise from the thought of God's nearness. In the hour of trial, in the day of gloom and mourning, I will remember (and be comforted by the remembrance) that God knows my trials, my sorrows, and has weighed all my temptations and difficulties; that he is a witness both of my trials and sufferings, and of my patience and resignation under them.

I shall take comfort from the thought that I may address myself to Him at any time, and He will hear me ; that I may speak with Him familiarly and frankly by day or night " as a friend speaketh to a friend," without fear of being repulsed or misunderstood or chided.

The great misfortune, nowadays, is, that for so many men God has ceased to be a reality. Even those who believe in God's existence, do so only in an abstract and unreal manner. God does not enter into their very life ; the thought of Him is very seldom before them : they wholly fail to realize the awful presence of Omnipotence and Omniscience. Oh ! what a terrible awakening there will be some day.

Many marvellous surprises, no doubt, await us at the hour of our death ; but when we open our eyes for the first time in another world, will there be any surprise equal to that which we shall experience when we first learn how close and intimate God has been to us all our lives long ? Let us resolve to think more frequently of the all-seeing and all-penetrating eye of God, and the absolute perfection with which He reads our most secret thoughts, and we shall soon grow in holiness and sanctity. It is the method prescribed by God Himself : " Walk before Me, and be perfect."

J. S. VAUGHAN.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE PATRONESS OF ART.

IT is an oft-repeated boast of Protestant writers that the so-called Reformers of the sixteenth century were the champions of individual liberty not alone in religious belief, but even in the investigations of science and the development of art. They designate by the opprobrious name of the " dark ages" the centuries that elapsed between Charlemagne and Louis XII., because, say they, during that gloomy period the Catholic Church held the sciences in bondage, and kept men's minds in a state of ignorance for

her own sordid and selfish ends. But no sooner, they tell us, did men regain their birthright of individual liberty in thought and action than a remarkable change became at once perceptible in every department of knowledge. While the revolt of Luther against the authority of Rome restored freedom in the domain of religious speculation, the inductive philosophy of Bacon supplied a means of investigation hitherto unknown in the realms of science and art; and they point out the fruits of the new evangel, among other things, in the steamship and the telegraph, and the wonderful scientific discoveries which enable us to calculate the weight and distances of the planets, and to tell the constituent elements of the most remote of the fixed stars.

It would be interesting to investigate the grounds of such lofty pretensions in reference to the arts and sciences in detail; but as such an undertaking would be altogether out of proportion with the limits of a popular essay, we shall confine ourselves in the present paper to showing that as regards the Fine Arts, at least, Protestantism can make no such boast, but that they are mainly indebted for their advancement, if not for their origin, to the patronage bestowed on them by the Catholic Church. We purpose to show that it was within the Catholic Church that these Arts in their highest forms arose; that it was in the service of the Church they continued for many centuries to be employed; and that without the guiding, and, it may be, the restraining influence of the Church, the Fine Arts, as at present known, could not exist among men. Incidentally, as being intimately connected with the main subject, some of the principles of art criticism will be referred to, and the leading differences between the more prominent schools of art pointed out, as circumstances may seem to require.

Art, in its widest sense, means the power of doing something not taught by nature. But as this something may be very varied in its character and purpose, so must we distinguish several kinds of Art. The ancients divided the Arts into *liberal* and *servile*; the former embracing the seven branches of knowledge taught in their schools, and the latter imply-

ing the labours practised by their slaves. This division does not quite correspond with ours. We regard all Arts as classified under two great heads—the *industrial* and the *fine*; the object of the former being to minister to the common necessities of life; while that of the latter is, primarily at least, to give pleasure. It is in this sense, as having pleasure for their primary object, that we shall speak of the “Arts” throughout the remainder of our paper.

It is not all pleasure, however, that is the legitimate end of Art. There are certain pleasures provided at the dinner-table, for example, that no one would call artistic; nor do we regard the pleasurable satisfaction arising from the possession of wealth, or dignity, or power, as coming within the domain of æsthetics. The two great avenues of artistic pleasure are the eye and the ear, its sources being the sublime and beautiful in the external world. By means of the imagination, impressions made on the retina or tympanum are idealized, and thus it is that pleasure, originating in form, or colour, or sweet sounds, or plot-interest, may become artistic in the highest degree. The difference between æsthetic and non-æsthetic pleasure may be best illustrated by an example, which, though somewhat hackneyed from the variety of uses it is made to serve both in sacred and profane literature, yet admirably suits our purpose. We refer to the temptation of Eve. When our first mother, whose mind, then fair and innocent, was susceptible beyond expression of all the forms of beauty, looked upon the tree of knowledge, with its varied luxuriance of fruit and foliage, its harmonious blending of colours, its graceful symmetry of form, her eye drank in the surpassing beauty of the scene, which being distilled through the alembic of the imagination became transformed into an ocean of æsthetic pleasure in which her soul bathed with delight. It was only when—

“ Her rash hand in evil hour
“ Forth reaching to the fruit, she plucked and ate,”

that the sensual or non-æsthetic appetite was appeased, and

nature groaned to see her own beauty becoming the occasion of man's spiritual ruin :

“ Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
That all was lost.”

But if æsthetic pleasure has thus become the occasion of our fall, it may also be employed as an instrument of our resurrection. The winds of heaven that bear death upon their autumnal wings, and strip the giants of the forest of all their golden leafage, come to us in the early spring laden with freshness and beauty, to clothe the vegetable world with the robes of a new life. The sun, that from the height of its solstitial throne scorches earth's fair covering even to its roots, smiles upon it at other times and vivifies it into verdant luxuriance with the temperate warmth of his beams. And so it is with Art. The æsthetic pleasure that, under unfavourable circumstances, becomes the harbinger of spiritual death, may, in different contingencies, be made a potent factor in elevating the soul to the highest realms of a supernatural existence. This the Church has recognised ; and hence she avails herself of the Fine Arts, which have this pleasure for their object, as important auxiliaries in working out the salvation of men's souls. Her divine commission is to *teach* as well as to *preach*. The same voice that said : “ *Preach* the gospel to every creature,” also gave the command : “ Going, therefore, *teach* ye all nations.” Hence every means should be employed—appeals to the feelings no less than to the understanding ; addresses to our more tender and delicate susceptibilities no less than to our stronger and nobler instincts—in order to impart a knowledge of the truth, and to elevate human character to a higher spiritual level.

Now, refinement of feeling, a love of the beautiful, a hatred of all that is mean and gross and unlovely, are generally found allied with virtue. Moreover, to souls endowed with a tender susceptibility of the beautiful, appeals may be made through the feelings as well as, and not less effectively than, through the medium of the

understanding ; whereas persons not so favoured, present, as a rule, but one channel of communication, and that, perhaps, rarely open for the reception of spiritual truth. Hence it is that the Church, from the earliest ages, has made use of the Fine Arts, not only as a means of appealing to the understanding, but also, and principally, as aids in rendering the feelings available as avenues to the soul. The eye and ear she has made captive in a holy service; and the arts that minister pleasure to these organs she has cultivated and encouraged for the greater glory of God and the edification of souls entrusted to her charge.

Setting aside, as not claiming attention in an essay such as this, the division of the Fine Arts known as the *fugitive*—under which are comprehended pantomime and elocution, dancing, and executive music—we pass on to investigate those of a permanent character; namely, poetry, music, sculpture, painting, and architecture. We shall briefly examine how they influence the soul through the intellect and the feelings, and the extent to which they have been patronized by the Church at the successive stages of their development.

And first as to the sister arts, poetry and music. Both poetry and music have æsthetic pleasure for their primary end; but while music addresses itself almost solely to the feelings, poetry appeals to the feelings and understanding alike. In both the imagination and fancy play a highly important part. The poet does not give us mere words, nor the musician merely black marks upon paper; but behind the language in the one case and the notes in the other there dwells a spirit that conjures up images of beauty and sublimity to the mental vision; and it is in the enjoyment of these images, of their individual symmetry and beauty, of their mutual interdependence, of the concatenation of ideas which they so involve as to communicate to the whole the character known as plot-interest, that the pleasures of imagination consist. And so intense may the enjoyment of these pleasures become to cultured minds that it often effectively restrains them from seeking after the gross and

debasing pleasures of sense. Of such minds Mark Akenside writes as follows :—

“ O blest of heaven ! whom not the languid joys
Of luxury the syren, nor the bribes
Of sordid wealth, nor all the gaudy spoils
Of pageant honour, can seduce to leave
Those ever-blooming sweets, which from ‘ nature
And from art’ fair Imagination culls
To charm the enlivened soul.”

The elements of music that contribute to produce these effects are mainly four : timbre, rhythm, melody, and harmony. Discrete sounds of themselves possess elements of beauty that are calculated to produce an exquisite sense of pleasure. Neither the sweetest carol of the thrush, nor the murmuring ripple of the streamlet, nor the melancholy sigh that breathes through the willow or the vine, contains a single element of rhythm or melody or harmony ; and yet we feel that they are all musical. Music, however, in its most artistic form, embraces, though not always to the same extent, the three other elements just mentioned : rhythm, which marks the time by regular beats or pulsations ; melody, by which is understood an agreeable succession of sounds ; and harmony, or the simultaneous blending of notes that possess a certain mathematical relation to one another. When these elements are combined in artistic proportions the influence of music on the soul can hardly be exaggerated. “ Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast.” It is a divine enchantress capable of compelling the malignant Caliban into submission, or of commanding the tricksty Ariel to execute its high behests :—

“ It comes o’er the ear like the sweet south
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odour ”—

penetrating at one time the deepest recesses of despair, and rescuing the timid soul from gloomy melancholy, soaring at another to the loftiest heights of ecstatic joy, bearing us heavenward on its wings, and suggesting thoughts of bliss beyond the reaches of our souls. It comes to us, too,

“ Burdened with a grand majestic secret
That keeps sweeping from us evermore.”

as if telling us of something above us and beyond us only to be fully revealed in the life beyond the stars.

The peculiarly indefinite character of music, with its infinite possibility of suggesting noble thoughts and lofty aspirations, has led many to believe that it loses much of its powers when allied to poetry. But it has not been found so in fact. They have been sister arts from the beginning, and they shall be so to the end. Possibly it may be true that music—if we may borrow philosophical terms—loses much of its extension when tied down to set forms of speech; but, if so, it acquires a larger comprehension, a greater intensity and force. And few will be prepared to deny that it may be often well to sacrifice an uncertain good existing only potentially for the sake of gaining a certain and definite advantage. That a decided advantage may be gained is clear, because music and poetry combined appeal to the soul directly through the understanding as well as through the feelings; whereas music, as we have seen, addresses itself for the most part to the feelings alone. No, music by itself, or poetry by itself, can rarely lift the soul to the empyrean heights of celestial contemplation, and keep it there; but when both arts are united in loving embrace, and commune on some sacred subject, they suggest thoughts and feelings that create a distaste for the gross pleasures of earth, and lead the soul to fix its affections upon God alone.

Such being the capabilities of poetry and music, we are prepared to find that the Church encouraged their cultivation at every stage of her existence. Nor shall we be disappointed. There are few more interesting studies than the progress made by these arts under the patronage of the Church from the dawn of Christianity even until now.

And first, as regards poetry: it is no wonder that it should be so. If the incidents of the Trojan war supplied materials for the noblest epic that ever has been written; if sentiments of earthly love or ephemeral patriotism have inspired the most passionate lyrics that ever have found expression through the lips of man; if the fierce courage of Spartan heroes, or the treacherous cruelty of Athenian tyrants have been enshrined in immortal verse by the

dramatists of Greece; is it not natural to expect that poets should not be wanting to commemorate events of such mysterious and ineffable sublimity as the Incarnation, the Redemption, and the sanctification of the world? Hence poets were to be found in the apostolate of Christ. In the Apocalypse of St. John we find all the elements of sublime poetry: intensity of passion, beauty of description, brilliancy of imagination, play of fancy, and eloquence unsurpassed in its directness and force—all find expression in that wonderful book. Coming down a little further, and opening the Church's liturgy, we find the *Gloria*, and the *Preface*, and the *Te Deum*, and the beautiful *Exultet* of Holy Saturday—some of which are attributed to St. Augustine and others to St. Ambrose—all displaying an elevation of thought, a grace and dignity of expression, scarcely surpassed by the classic poets of ancient Greece or Rome. That St. Ambrose was endowed with a brilliant poetic genius, is manifest not only from the works just mentioned, but also from others. The hymns sung at Laudes in the office of a confessor pontiff, and the two hymns sung in the office of an apostle in paschal time—one beginning *Tristes erant Apostoli*, and the other *Paschale mundo gaudium*, are from his pen. Nor was our own country behindhand in contributing her quota to the poetry of the Church. Early in the fifth century a poet arose in Ireland named Coelius Sedulius; and so widespread became his fame both in the east and in the west, that he is known throughout the Church as the "Christian Virgil." Besides the well-known hymns *A Solis ortu cardine* and *Crudelis Herodes Deum*, he also wrote the celebrated epic known as the *Carmen Paschale*, to which Dr. Healy refers as follows in his *Ancient Schools and Scholars*:—

"The *Carmen Paschale* is divided into five books. The first treats of the creation and fall of man, as well as of the principal miracles recorded in the Old Testament; the second gives a beautiful account of the incarnation and birth of our Lord, and the wonders of the holy childhood; the third and fourth deal with the miracles and noteworthy events of our Saviour's public mission; while the fifth details the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ. Each of the books contains from three to four

hundred lines of heroic metre, in which the style and language of Virgil are as closely imitated as the nature of the subject will permit. The language is chaste, elegant, and harmonious, imparting dignity even to commonplace topics, as Virgil does in his *Georgics*. We would take the liberty of strongly recommending the careful perusal of this beautiful poem to priests who are anxious to read the great events of sacred history clothed in elegant language and adorned with becoming imagery."

And the epic of Sedulius was but the prelude of even loftier efforts by subsequent, though perhaps less famous, poets. With the rise of mysticism and scholasticism a new poetic spirit took possession of the cloister, firing the minds of its occupants with enthusiastic love, which enabled them to contemplate Christian mysteries in a light hitherto unknown. The result was such noble lyrics as the *Pange Lingua* and *Lauda Sion* of Aquinas, the *Dies Irae* of St. Thomas of Celano, and the *Stabat Mater* of the Franciscan Brother Jacobinus—all evincing a sublimity of thought and a tenderness of pathos unsurpassed in the whole range of literature. It was under the influence of the same spirit, which after a brief interval found its way into the world, that Dante wrote his *Divine Comedy*, which is universally admitted to be one of the noblest productions of human genius that have ever appeared. Centuries elapsed, but the spirit of poetry lived on, fostered by the Church; and so when the demon of revolt arose in the sixteenth century she found her Tasso, and her Lope de Vega, and her Calderon, to sing the mysteries of faith with an eloquence and sweetness all their own. Thus it was then, and thus it is to-day. If we open the Church's missal, we shall find poetry in its sequences; if we open the Church's breviary, we shall find poetry in its offices; if we open the writings of the Popes, from St. Peter the first, to the august pontiff who rules to-day with such austere dignity and brilliant intellectual power, we shall find poetry making up a considerable portion of the works they have produced. With this record before our minds, surely we may conclude with safety that, as regards poetry, at least, the Catholic Church deserves the title of Patroness of Art.

If poetry has thus been cultivated by the Church, it is unlikely that she could have allowed its sister Art, Music to lie

fallow and neglected. Indeed, so far was this from being the case, that music, as a Fine Art, remained for many centuries the exclusive property of the Church; and whatever beauty or sublimity breathes through the musical compositions that charm the intellectual world of to-day may be traced either directly or indirectly to the influence of the Church.

That music has existed from the very infancy of the world as an accompaniment of religious worship, is clear from the history of the Jewish nation. Indeed, so important an element did it form in the religion of the people, that writers undertake to tell us the precise nature of the instruments used, of the modes employed, of the stops and cadences and intonations observed, in "the music of the Temple." That the Greeks had attained even a higher proficiency in the art, appears certain from many allusions to the fundamental principles of musical science in the works of Aristotle and Plato. They speak of purity of tone, rapidity of vibrations, and the mathematical relations of one sound to another. So much importance did they attach to relative distance as an essential element in the production of musical sound, that because the heavenly bodies are separated by certain distances from one another, they believed in the exploded doctrine of "the music of the spheres." We are prepared therefore to expect that at the dawn of Christianity some knowledge of music existed among both the Hebrews and the Greeks. Of its precise nature it is no longer possible to obtain definite information; but that it existed in some form there appears to be no room for doubt. The evangelist hints that there was music at the Last Supper. St. Paul alludes more than once to the music of the Corinthians; and the Fathers make frequent mention of the music that accompanied the *agapae*, or love-feasts of the primitive Church. It was not, however, until the time of St. Ambrose that ecclesiastical music began to make progress. He had travelled much in the East, and had become acquainted with the several systems existing there, and hence he was in a position, on being appointed to the important See of Milan, to provide for the Church a complete ritual both in words and music. He seems to have adopted the system prevailing among the Greeks as the

basis of his own, and to have distinguished the three elements—metre, rhythm, and melody. But whether this was so or not, so successful was the style of singing he introduced, so sublime its majesty, so tender its pathos, so sweet and affecting the beauty of its melody, that, as St. Augustine informs us, it often forced tears into the eyes of the audience.

Yet "his system," as an ancient critic remarks, "bore within itself the seeds of its own death." Pitched only in four modes, its total inadequacy for the expression of the varied thought and feeling embodied in the Christian liturgy soon became apparent, and suggested to many the necessity of further change. The remedy was not long delayed. Towards the close of the sixth century the great St. Gregory arose, and, in addition to other salutary reforms, he so improved the imperfect musical system of St. Ambrose as to accommodate it to all the needs of the Church. The change consisted in the substitution of eight different modes for the four hitherto existing, and in the combination under them of elements drawn partly from the Hebrew, partly from the Greek, and partly from other sources in the Church. Nor was this illustrious pontiff satisfied with merely giving to the Christian world a new musical system; he also took measures to secure its permanence and universality. He established at Rome a celebrated musical college, whither flocked ecclesiastics from every part of Christendom to learn the art of music from the great pontiff himself. And of the many bands of missionaries that he sent forth to preach the gospel to the nations, there was not one that had not its chanters and its choir master to surround the preaching of Christian truth with the embellishment of Christian music. Witness, among a host of similar examples, the arrival in Kent, in the year 596, of St. Augustine and his companions, bearing "the glad tidings of the gospel" to the people of Great Britain.

When St. Gregory had passed away his successors in the pontificate were scarcely less zealous in promoting the interests of the good cause. And they were ably seconded in their efforts by the secular authority throughout the

world. Never has there existed, for instance, a more enthusiastic patron of Gregorian music than the illustrious Charlemagne himself. Not only did he insist on his own children learning Gregorian chant, but he maintained a special Gregorian choir at court, and had schools of Gregorian music, presided over by Roman masters, established in several parts of his dominions. His first act on entering any important city was to march in military pomp to the cathedral, and there to insist on the local clergy singing some choice selections of Gregorian music for his special delectation. "And," say the old chroniclers, "little chance had the ecclesiastic of promotion to Church dignities who failed to sing his part to the satisfaction of the emperor."

But evil days were at hand. The Carlovingian dynasty passed away, and many of the successors of Hugh Capet, far from emulating the noble virtues of the illustrious Charlemagne, preferred rather to distinguish themselves by opposition to the Church and disregard for its ceremonial. Then the great Western schism began, and around the papal court at Avignon arose a band of singers whose compositions breathed rather the spirit of romantic love, celebrated by the Troubadours, than the grave solemnity that is becoming to the music of the Church. If Baini, the celebrated historian of the papal choir, is to be believed, ecclesiastical music, at this period, reached such a low ebb, that many councils—especially those of Treves and Vienna—were obliged to make solemn protest against several mischievous innovations then appearing in the Church. It was not, however, until the Council of Trent that the evil we have referred to was effectually checked. The question of ecclesiastical music was brought before the assembled prelates in the twenty-second and twenty-fourth sessions of that august body; and as a result it was decided that St. Charles Borromeo and Cardinal Vitellozzi should be appointed to devise a means for the reformation of ecclesiastical music. There was then in Rome, attached to the papal choir, a distinguished musician, Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina, several of whose compositions—especially his *Improperia*—had

attracted considerable attention for their truly ecclesiastical spirit; and to him the two delegates of the Tridintine Council entrusted the task of writing suitable compositions for the offices of the Church. The result was the *Musica Pelestrinensis*, which, for solemn grandeur and sacred sublimity becoming to the word of God, had never been equalled before, and has never been equalled since.

But while Palestrina was yet living, the great religious upheaval of the sixteenth century was accomplished throughout Europe; and a secularizing spirit arose not only in religion, but in every other department of science and art; and after a time ecclesiastical music also, yielding to the influence of superior force, seemed to be sweeping towards the vortex where so much that had once been sacred and venerable was now swallowed up for ever. But the Catholic Church has proved no laggard. For the last three centuries more than ever has she set her face against degrading the sacred and solemn music of her ritual to the sensual level of the opera; and though she still finds much to admire in compositions that are not Gregorian—in the oratorios of Handel, and the fugues of Bach, and the sonatas of Beethoven—yet she ever keeps before us, as the loftiest ideal for ecclesiastical purposes, the sublime compositions that Palestrina has bequeathed to posterity. If we examine her policy, therefore, from the first ages of Christianity, we cannot fail to be convinced that in music as in poetry she is justified in claiming the title of “Patroness of Art.”

As the Church claims to be the patroness of poetry and music—arts which appeal to the ear—she is no less so of sculpture and painting, which address themselves to the eye. If the two former deserve cultivation, because of the manner in which they enhance the beauty and eloquence of her ceremonial, the two latter demand attention as auxiliaries in the ornamentation of the material edifice in which she worships. Nay, the latter would seem to merit even more attention than the former; for while the aim of music is often indefinite, and the language of poetry obscure,

sculpture and painting are always forcible and direct, speaking with unmistakable eloquence to the intellect and the heart. There are special reasons, therefore, why their study and cultivation should be patronized by the Church.

Painting is the poetry of light, and shape, and colour; sculpture is the poetry of vital form. To be classed among the Fine Arts they must both appeal to the imagination. A mere photographer is not a painter, even though he uses colours; a simple stone-cutter is not a sculptor, even though he succeeds in carving the rough outlines of a human figure. Painter and sculptor alike must be able not only to show us external features, but, moreover, to suggest a world of thought which the dry lineaments cannot reveal. Lord Macaulay tells us that the most striking characteristic of Milton's poetry is its suggestiveness. "Its effects are produced not so much by what it expresses as by what it suggests; not so much by the ideas which it directly conveys, as by other ideas that are connected with them. He electrifies the mind through conductors." Thus, also, must it be with the sculptor and the painter. As the tiniest flower of the field became for St. Theresa a subject for meditation, so the simplest production of the artist must furnish abundant materials for a lengthened train of thought. This may be accomplished partly by the form, partly by the colouring, but principally by the expression of the figures introduced. We shall exemplify what we mean. It is an undoubted fact, that the Madonnas of Fra Angelico or of Fra Bartholomeo, have inspired a greater love of the angelic virtue than the most eloquent discourses that have ever been delivered on the immaculate purity of the Mother of God; it is a truth which cannot be gainsaid, that the Bacchanalian pictures of Teniers have created more sots than the largest brewery in the Low Countries has ever succeeded in producing; and all this because of the different trains of thought suggested by the paintings exposed to public view. Here we have examples of true Art, though, of course, with tendencies diametrically opposed. The picture may be in oil, in fresco, or in glass; the statue may be in marble, in bronze, or in terra-cotta:

but if it fail to produce effects analogous to those referred to, it deserves not to be classed under the category of Art.

But if sculpture and painting possess this property in common, they have also some points of difference. They differ in their materials; they differ in their mode of working; they differ especially in their ideals. The materials of sculpture being hard, and the execution slow and difficult, the art, to be at all profitable, must aim at high ideals; otherwise the labourer would not be worthy of his hire. Hence its objects of imitation are the human figure, the nobler animals, or the more beautiful and symbolic specimens of the vegetable world. Painting, on the other hand, being comparatively easy when the art has been once acquired, may embrace an unlimited range of subjects. From an icicle to an iceberg, from a streamlet ripple to a sea storm, from a daisy in the field to a broad-armed sycamore in the forest, from a beggar boy in the street to the bright-winged cherubim upon their thrones—all may become legitimate subjects for the painter's brush. But there never yet has been an artist of the highest order who has not, under the influence of faith and noble sentiments, devoted the supreme efforts of his genius to the representation of supernatural subjects and the elucidation of divine truth; for these alone can furnish inspiration for the highest forms of Art. And it is well that it has been so; for the painter's brush and the sculptor's chisel can do almost as much for the advancement of truth and virtue as the sword of the Christian warrior, or the tongue of the Christian priest. Such being the case, it is no marvel that the Church has been an enthusiastic patroness of these arts from her first institution even until now.

It would be superfluous, in an essay on the Church's patronage of Art to attempt a disquisition on the relative merits of pagan and Christian sculpture at the time that each attained its highest excellence. Let it be sufficient to remark that nothing has been produced in Christian art—not even the "Baptism of Christ" by Leonardo da Vinci, nor the "Moses," of Michael Angelo—which can surpass, in grace of

form and expression of manly dignity, the statue of Apollo Belvidere in the Vatican Library:—

“ The lord of the unerring bow,
The god of life and poesy and light—
The sun in human limbs arrayed,
All radiant from his triumph in the fight ;
The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright
With an immortal’s vengeance ; in his eye
And nostril beautiful disdain and might
And majesty flash their full lightnings by,
Developing in that one glance the Deity.”

Nor has Christian sculpture anything to show superior, as a study of human anatomy to that famous group in the Vatican, representing

“ Laocoön’s torture dignifying pain—
A father’s love and mortal’s agony
With an immortal’s patience blending.”

In truth it must be admitted that of all the permanent Arts, sculpture has received least of the Church’s patronage and attention. The danger of idolatry in the early ages of Christianity, and the preference for nude figures at all subsequent periods, rendered the Church more chary than otherwise she might have been about extending an unlimited license to the exercise of sculpture. Yet we are by no means to infer that, when she found it suitable for religious purposes, she did not encourage it to its full. In the Catacombs are found numerous sculptured figures, for the most part symbolical representations of the chief mysteries of religion. They are generally carved on sarcophagi, and consist of the cross, the monogram of Christ, the lamb, the fish symbolizing the Saviour—the Greek $\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ being formed of the initial letters of the Redeemer’s name and title—and a number of others. They are not characterized by any superior artistic elegance, but, from the standpoint of the theologian, they are of the highest importance. They prove that the early Christians were firm believers in the doctrine of the real presence, of the sacrifice of the mass, of the cult of sacred images, and of many other dogmas of Catholic faith which Protestants would have us believe were innovations of a later date.

But artistic genius is naturally progressive. When Constantine embraced the Christian religion, and the Church came forth in triumph from the Catacombs, where she had been imprisoned for three centuries, as her Divine Master had arisen from the sepulchre where he had lain buried for three days, a greater freedom and power became at once perceptible in the productions of Christian Art. We begin to meet with sculptured representations of Christ and the Apostles, sometimes in marble, but generally in bronze or ivory, and displaying a higher artistic finish as years advance. Not until the Romanesque period, however, which embraces the tenth and eleventh centuries, did sculpture begin to be applied to altars, diptichs, and reliquaries. It was at this period that our own country excelled most others in Europe by its admirable designs in bronze and metal, many specimens of which are still preserved in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. But something further was still necessary before sculpture could attain perfection. With the thirteenth century ended the Crusades, and the heroic warriors who had borne the cross in the East returned with their new ideas, infusing a spirit of enthusiastic faith and romantic bravery into the mind of Christendom. A change in the forms of Art was the natural consequence, and then we behold rising into mid-air magnificent Gothic structures, ornamented with numerous statues, in which power and dignity are blended in a manner hitherto unknown to Christian Art. Examine the western front of the cathedral at Rheims or at Cologne, and there you will behold the beauty of arrangement, the majesty of pose, the natural simplicity of drapery, and the individual characterization that bespeak the essential features of this interesting period.

But the Augustine age of Christian sculpture had not yet arrived. It remained for two distinguished pontiffs of the sixteenth century—Julius II. and Leo X.—to bring this art to its perfection. Convinced that the study of correct models is the surest road to success, in this, as in every other department of knowledge, these illustrious men spared neither trouble nor expense in their efforts to recover the classic statues that for centuries had lain buried beneath the

Tiber and Arno and in many other parts of Italy; and in a brief period the halls of the Vatican and the palace of the Medici became centres of artistic energy, whither students of Art repaired in crowds from every country in Europe. The result was that a galaxy of artistic genius appeared in Italy, with Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo as its most brilliant lights; and immediately there began to come forth, from the lifeless marble of the quarry, majestic figures, bold in every feature, true to nature in every outline, apparently informed with a human soul that made them live and breathe. The tourist to Italy will pass from the "Medici Venus" in the Uffizi to examine the "David" in the National Gallery at Florence, will turn from "Apollo Belvidere" in the Vatican to study the statue of "Moses" in the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula, and will come away uncertain whether to award the palm of victory to Cleomenes of Athens or the unknown sculptor of the Apollo or the illustrious Michael Angelo, the king of Christian Art. But whatever be his decision, one thought, at least, must force itself upon his mind—that mankind owes a debt of infinite gratitude to the Catholic Church, whose patronage has either preserved or created these masterpieces, which shall serve as sources of inspiration until the end of time.

Christian painting arose simultaneously with Christian sculpture, and, because of its easier adaptability to religious uses, received a much more enthusiastic encouragement from the Church. The walls of the Catacombs still retain designs similar in character to those already referred to. There is a peculiar feature of these paintings that Protestant writers have misunderstood, and have, in consequence, charged the early Christians with ignorance of the Scriptures. I refer to what has been designated by some *compenetration*, or the co-existence in one picture of two or more scenes that either are incompatible, or else have no apparent connection with one another. For instance, Adam and Eve are represented in the act of yielding to the temptation, yet wearing the garments assumed subsequently to their fall; the Redeemer is sometimes depicted in the act of striking the rock, whence at the command of Moses flowed the

stream of water that followed the Israelites in the desert; the Blessed Virgin is shown as standing upon a mountain in an attitude of prayer, her uplifted arms sustained by St. Peter and St. Paul, while a battle rages in the distance; and other designs of a similar character. Now, it is manifest that these paintings, so far from substantiating the charge of ignorance against the early Christians, argue, on the contrary, rare powers of invention which discovered in the incidents of the Old Testament a hidden significance that was calculated to shed considerable light on the mysteries of Christianity.

The first remarkable change in the style of painting synchronizes with the transfer of the seat of empire to the East in the year 328; and for many centuries the peculiar features of the Byzantine school—a certain dryness and uniformity of execution, together with an unnatural leanness and elongation of the human figure—continued to prevail. The most interesting remains of this period are designs of manuscript illumination, which are preserved in the Vatican Library and in the public museums in the East. At the beginning of the eighth century there appeared many indications of the advent of broader views and of a higher artistic spirit; but just then arose the Iconoclasts, who, impelled by blind bigotry and unholy zeal, demolished every object of Christian Art that came within their reach. Stunned by this deadly blow the artistic spirit of the Church seemed to slumber for many centuries. In the meantime, no doubt, splendid work was being done, especially in our Irish monastic houses, in the department of manuscript illumination; but the muse of painting, in its highest sense, remained inactive, nor did she awaken from her slumber until roused into life and energy by the artists of Italy, at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The pioneers of the revival were Guido of Sienna, Giunto of Pisa, and Cimabuè of Florence. Their paintings exhibit a pious and majestic expression, and are invariably executed on a gold ground; but their figures still retain the defect of immoderate elongation, characteristic, as has been seen, of the old Byzantine school. Gradually, however, even these

shortcomings disappeared. Spurred on by a laudable spirit of emulation, the two rival schools of Florence and Sienna attempted the boldest flights into the highest regions of Art. Both drew their subjects from sacred history or ecclesiastical tradition; but while the Florentine school breathed a dramatic spirit, which found expression in a preponderance of action and energy and external nature, the school of Umbria was lyrical in its tone, and was marked by a sweetness and tenderness of expression and calm repose that bespeak the quietude and happiness of the soul within. The school of Florence soon outstripped its less aspiring rival, and the masterpieces of Giotto, Fra Angelico, Masaccio, Fra Bartolomeo, and Leonardo da Vinci, bear ample testimony to the success that crowned the efforts of its muse. Painting, however, like its sister art, did not reach its loftiest ideal in Italy until Michael Angelo and Raffael, warmly encouraged and generously subsidized by the two illustrious pontiffs already referred to, undertook the decoration of the Sistine chapel and of the halls of the Vatican.

In the year 1511, Michael Angelo commenced his work, and at the end of twenty months had completed those immortal frescoes which have become the envy and admiration of all subsequent artists. The different compartments in the ceiling of the chapel are occupied with subjects of ancient history; and from the walls appear to walk forth those seemingly solid figures which unfold graces of form and character beyond the limits of nature, and commensurate with the exalted functions in which they seem to be engaged. The "Last Judgment" above the altar is the masterpiece of this gifted genius; and, though obscured by age, and dimmed by carbonic deposits from the candles beneath, it remains to-day the most admired feature of the Sistine chapel, which is the artistic glory of the Church.

While Angelo was thus engaged, "the divine Raffael," as the Italians love to call him, was occupied in decorating the halls of the Vatican with those celebrated paintings, in which, as an able critic observes, "body and soul, sentiment and passion, the sensuous and the spiritual, receive each its

just degree of prominence." Among this celebrated group, "The Dispute on the Sacrament," "The Meeting of Leo and Atilla," and "The Mass of Bolsena," hold prominent positions. A peculiar feature of most of Raffael's pictures is that they contain portraits of some of his contemporaries, especially of his patrons and friends. Thus, in "Leo and Atilla," Leo X. is made to represent his illustrious namesake, and Atilla disappears to make room for Louis XII. of France. So, too, in the "Disputa," Bramante, the architect of St. Peter's, and an intimate friend of the artist, finds a place; while in the "Mass of Bolsena," Julius II. is represented kneeling before the altar, and gazing with an expression of wonderment upon the Bleeding Host. Thus has this illustrious artist transmitted to us not alone masterpieces of genius, but also faithful portraits of the most distinguished personages of his time.

Any notice of Raffael that should omit all reference to his *cartoons* would necessarily be imperfect; a few remarks must, therefore, be added on these celebrated pictures. Leo X., having decided to ornament some of the halls of the Vatican with Flanders tapestry, then the finest in Europe, desired Raffael to supply the designs from subjects of a Scriptural character suited to the purpose. The artist selected scenes from the Acts of the Apostles, and had the *cartoons* finished in a few weeks. The tapestry having been woven to the satisfaction of the pontiff, the *cartoons*, cut into strips by the weavers, who deemed them no longer valuable, were cast aside, and remained completely forgotten for upwards of a hundred years. Charles I. of England, who, though unfortunate as a ruler, yet had a cultured taste in Art, heard of them by accident, and secured them at a small sum for his Court in London. Owing to the political disturbances of the period, however, they were again suffered to remain neglected for more than half a century. It was only in the reign of William III. that their high artistic merit was recognised, and that they were fitted up to furnish one of the apartments in Hampton Court. At present, after being the wonder and admiration of more than two centuries of artists, they are the greatest object of attraction in the

art galleries at South Kensington. Thus has Protestant England been compelled to acknowledge the superior merit of this illustrious man, and to confess, if not expressly, at least by implication, that the Catholic Church, whose child he was, and to whose generous encouragement he owed his chief success, has been in painting, as we have seen she has been in other departments, a true Patroness of Art.

We have dealt at such great length with the first four branches of our subject that we should extend this paper to an unwarrantable length were we to enter on a detailed account of the various transitions of architecture. Indeed there is the less need for doing so as this is a department of Art with which most of our readers must be already more or less intimately acquainted. We shall, therefore, devote to its treatment a much briefer space than its relative importance would seem to demand.

During the first four centuries after the dawn of Christianity the Church was unable, because of her persecuted condition, to give architectural expression to the divine message entrusted to her. She found ample employment in defending her doctrines against the false principles of paganism, and preserving her children free from the defilements of a corrupt world. But no sooner had she escaped from bondage, and washed from her limbs the blood and dust that persecution had left upon them, than she determined to provide herself with temples worthy of her divine mission; and for this purpose she appropriated the basilicas, which had been hitherto employed in the service of paganism, and converted them to her own use. These were long, quadrangular buildings, divided into three or five aisles by means of pillars, and provided with a semicircular apse at one end. They were, therefore, admirably adapted to the service of the faithful; for, while immense congregations could be accommodated in the nave and aisles, the apse, which was visible from every portion of the vast structure, became a fitting place for the altar. Transepts were subsequently introduced, for the twofold purpose of admitting a greater number of worshippers and of reducing the whole

building to the form of a cross. Simultaneously with this development of the old Roman basilicas there arose in Constantinople, now the seat of imperial dominion, a style known as the Byzantine, and characterized by the cupola as its peculiar feature. But the artistic genius of the Church is ever prolific ; and so, through embellishing the basilicas by the introduction of the rounded arch, and the addition of some unimportant features of the Byzantine style, she produced the Romanesque, which under various forms continued in common use down to the twelfth century. The renaissance of a later date was a revival of many of its principles ; and that under this, its most developed form, it is capable of almost infinite embellishment, will be manifest at once by a glance at St. Peter's in Rome. Gibbon speaks of this superb structure as " the most glorious edifice that has ever been applied to the purposes of religion." And Byron, in his *Childe Harold*, apostrophizes it as follows :—

" But lo ! the dome—the vast and wondrous dome !
To which Diana's marvel was a cell !
Christ's mighty shrine above His martyr's tomb !
I have beheld the Ephesian's miracle—
Its columns strew the wilderness, and dwell
The hyena and the jackal in their shade.
I have beheld Sophia's bright roofs swell
Their glittering mass in the sun ; and have surveyed
Its sanctuary, the while the usurping Moslem prayed.

But thou, of temples old or altars new,
Standest alone—with nothing like to thee—
Worthiest of God the holy and the true !
Since Zion's desolation, when that He
Forsook his former city, what could be,
Of earthy structures, in His honour piled
Of a sublimer aspect ? Majesty,
Power, Glory, Strength, and Beauty—all are aisled
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled."

But though this style has decided advantages, because of its strength and solidity, and the facilities it affords for mural decoration, yet to most minds it seems less suitable for purposes of religious worship than the pointed or Gothic style which arose in the twelfth century. The chief points

of difference between Grecian and Gothic architecture are indicated by Cardinal Wiseman as follows:—

“The architectures of Greece and Rome, like their religion, kept their main lines horizontal or parallel to the earth, and carefully avoided breaking this direction, seeking rather its prolongation than any striking elevation. The Christian architecture threw up its lines so as to bear the eye towards heaven; its tall, tapering, and clustering pillars, while they even added apparent to real height, served as guides and conductors, of the sense, to the fretted roof, and prevented the recurrence of lines which would keep its direction along the surface of the earth. Nothing could more strikingly mark the contrast between the two religious systems. The minute details of its workmanship, the fretting and carving of its many ornaments, the subdivision of masses into smaller portions, are all in admirable accord with the mental discipline of the time which subtilized and divided every matter of its inquiry, and reduced the greatest questions into a cluster of ever ramifying distinctions. The ‘dim religious light that passed through the storied window, and gave a mysterious awe to the cavern-like recesses of the building, excellently became an age passionately fond of mystic lore and the dimmest twilights of theological learning. Nothing could be more characteristic, nothing more expressive, of the religious spirit which ruled those ages than the architecture which in them arose.”

Few, therefore, can look upon a Gothic Church without being sensibly struck by its suitability for religious worship. It has been well styled by a modern writer, *la pensée celtienne*, the architectural expression of religious thought; and, if we contemplate the spiritual meaning of its various parts, we shall find the mysteries of time and eternity, of nature and grace, of the mutual relations of God and man, receiving eloquent expression in this grand epic of stone.

The building itself,¹ constructed artistically of innumerable stones drawn from the bowels of the earth—some sustaining and others sustained, some fundamental and others towering aloft in tapering spire and transparent

¹ To render more intelligible many allusions in this essay, it may be necessary to mention that it was originally written for the purpose of being delivered as a lecture before the students of Maynooth, and that the writer had before his mind in this paragraph the beautiful new Church attached to the College.

lantern—are they not symbolical of the mystic body of Christ, constituted of men, who by nature are of the earth, earthly, but by the mysterious operations of grace are raised to occupy various positions of dignity and responsibility in the moral edifice of the Church? The great western window with its fantastic tracery—which Sir Walter Scott in one of his lighter moods would describe as if

“ Some fairy’s hand
Twixt poplars light the ozier wand
In many a freakish knot had twined,
Then framed a spell, when the work was done,
And changed the willow wreaths to stone,”

will suggest to the mind of the contemplative a widely different thought. The circle with its variously-coloured lights, filled with angels and prophets and apostles, all converging towards the centre, where the Redeemer sits enthroned—what is it but a symbol of eternity, in which the hierarchy of the intellectual creation surround as with a garland the Divine Person of the Son of God, deriving strength and stability from their close relations with Him. The storied windows reveal as in a vision the most instructive incidents in the Saviour’s life, and ever preach in silent eloquence to the thoughtful worshipper beneath. The richly decorated roof unrolls itself above, like the azure vault of heaven, and from it look down the prophets of the Old and the saints of the New Testament, to inspire a stronger faith, to excite a livelier hope, to inflame a more ardent charity, in all who come beneath their influence. From the string-courses on the walls and the corbels that support the pillars, symbolic figures, suggestive of religious thought, come forth, as if in obedience to the voice of the Church, who, speaking through those present, calls upon all creation to bless the name of the Lord. On the walls around are represented the chief scenes in the sacred passion of the Redeemer, bringing forcibly before the mind the most useful lessons, the most edifying examples, the most appealing manifestations of love, in the whole life of Christ. When in unison with these combining influences of sculpture,

painting, and architecture, the grand organ peals forth its music, and the choir gives sympathetic expression to the sublime poetry of the Church—when the whole edifice from floor to ceiling pulsates with a wave of harmony that wafts the soul upon its bosom to the limits of the eternal shore—few can fail to be convinced that the Catholic Church has made Art the handmaid of religion, and one of her most powerful auxiliaries in the great work of saving souls.

No wonder, therefore, that the Church has ever been an enthusiastic Patroness of Art! No wonder she repels with indignation the malignant calumny of her enemies that she has always been opposed to the progress of civilization. In every country in the world she has been the pioneer of progress and the teacher of civilization. Her divine mission is to civilize and convert the world, and for the purpose of achieving this object she disdains not to make use of every legitimate means within her reach—the productions of created genius as well as the inspired teaching of the word of God; and therefore she promotes the study of both. Such is the manifest record of her history in the past, and shall also be the guiding principle of her policy in the future. Her enemies may revile and calumniate her; but while they shall ever remain as they have been, unstable as water, she will continue the line of policy she has hitherto pursued, approving herself the jealous guardian of truth and rectitude in the study of science, human and divine, as well as in the cultivation of the various departments of Art.

J. J. CLANCY.

Liturgical Questions.¹

DE CONSECRATIONE ECCLESIAE CUM ALTARI.

In quadam dioecesi Episcopus nova cum Ecclesia altare maius fixum, ut par est, consecravat. Huius vero lapidis pars media, ubi sepulcrum extabat pro recondendis Reliquiis, per totum erat excavata, seu perforata: ita ut non super mensa, sed super eius structura fuerit locata Reliquiarum capsula. Pars vero excavata pro operculo inservit sepulcri, quod coementi ope optime clausum fuit. Aliquo post tempore Episcopalis Caeremoniarum magister, qui consecrationem altaris moderatus erat, gravibus angi coepit scrupulis circa validitatem consecrationis, non solum altaris, sed et ipsius Ecclesiae. Animadverterat enim, Ecclesiam propter altare consecrari, ut si invalida sit huius, illius etiam sit invalida consecratio, cum Ecclesia sine uno saltem altari consecrari non possit. Quaeritur:

1. *Quid sit altare fixum, et quanam conditiones sint necessariae, ex parte lapidis, ut valide consecratur?*

2. *Quid de effato, Ecclesia propter altare, et quomodo intelligendum?*

3. *Quid iudicandum de validitate seu altaris seu Ecclesiae consecrationis, sicut de facto, et argumentandi ratione Caeremoniarum magistri, ut in casu?*

SOLUTIO.²

1. Quaeritur primo quid pro altari fixo sit intelligendum, et quanam necessario conditiones requirantur, ut valide consecrari possit.

Altaria, uti exploratum est, in fixa et mobilia seu portatilia, generatim distinguuntur. Nihilominus tam fixum

¹ We are indebted to the *Ephemerides Liturgicae* for the following interesting dissertation on a case of doubt in regard to the consecration of a new church.—ED. I. E. R.

² Ex dissertatione Rev. Dom. Eduardi Brettoni, ex alumnis Almi Collegii Capranicensis, habita in Ecclesia Presbyterorum Missionis prope Curiam Innoceptianam, die 22 Maii, 1889: acta Epitoma per R. mum Dom. Dom. Philippum M. Canon. Difava.

quam portatile altare duplici sensu potest sumi. Etenim lato quodam sensu, recto tamen, fixum dici potest altare simpliciter ob suam constructionem, quae stabilis est et immobilis, super cuius nihilominus mensa sacer collocatur lapis, qui et inde possit amoveri. Eiusmodi altaris fixi significationem accepimus ex uno ex Decretis S. C. Indulgentiarum d. d. 26 Mart. 1867, quod declarat, altare praefata ratione *fixum* ita esse posse privilegiatum, ut Indulgentia pro altari, alio sensu describendo fixo concessas, lucrari valeat. En verba decreti: "Sanctitas sua edixit et declaravit, sufficere ad constituendam qualitatem altaris *fixi*, ut in medio altaris stabilis et inamovibilis, licet non consecrati lapis consecratus etiam amovibilis ponatur (*V. et Decr., S. R. Congr. d. d. 31 Aug. 1867, n. 5386.*") Item, sensu minus proprio, portatile seu mobile dici potest altare, quod ligneam habeat mensam, in cuius medio sit sacer lapis, uti quandoque erigitur in Ecclesiis, ratione alicuius solemnitatis, puta Patroni, qua expleta, destruitur (*V. De Herdt Prax. Sacr. Liturg., pars. i., n. 176*). Animadvertas tamen velim, altare, nuper descripto modo fixum, ex parte lapidis eas tantum exigere condiciones, quae pro altari portatili requiruntur.

Proprio verum liturgicoque sensu altare seu fixum seu portatile satis est diversum. Itaque hoc altero sensu altare fixum dicitur illud, cuius mensa ex uno constans lapide, integramque immobiliter tegens superficiem, adeo undequaque adhaeret basi, eique coniungitur, ut quid unum cum ipsa efformet. Ita Liturgici auctores communiter. Scriptores nihilominus antiquiores, fixa describentes altaria, de integritate lapidis haud explicite verba faciunt, necessariam tamen aperte retinent mensae cum basi coniunctionem, quam essentielle dicunt discrimen constituere, per quod fixum altare a portatili differt. Consuli ad rem poterunt Giraldius (*Iur. Pontif., tom. ii., pag. 419*), Gatticus (*De usu altar. portat., cap. i., n. 10, xiii.*), Ferraris (*ad. voc. Altare*) aliique plures.

Altare autem portatile simplex est parvusque generatim lapis consecratus, haud immobiliter basi adhaerens, qui huc illuc transferri potest, et super quamcumque locatur mensam, ut ibi Sacrificium fiat.

Notionibus generalibus expositis circa altare fixum, licet connexionis causa quid dicere et de portatili coacti fuerimus, gradum facimus, prouti petitio inquit, ad eas assignandas condiciones, quae necessario requiruntur ex parte lapidis, ut altare fixum possit valide consecrari.

Prima conditio, quam cetera ipsa petitio supponere videtur, est ut materia altaris fixi sit omnino ex lapide. Quidquid de antiquitate fuerit, iuxta praesentem Ecclesiae disciplinam, quae a tempore circiter Silvestri Papae I inceptit, huiusmodi materia ad validitatem pertinet, ut si ex alia altare consecratur, nihil fiat. Ita aperte Rubrica Missalis: "Altare lapideum esse debet (tit. xx.)" Ita canon *Altaria Agathensis Concilii*, quem Gratianus refert (*De Consecr. Dist. i., can. 31*): "Altaria si non fuerint lapidea, christi unctio non consecrentur." Ita omnes Liturgici, ita universalis consuetudo. Adeo ut proinde, quaecumque alia materies sive naturaliter sive arte confecta, licet lapidis similitudinem praeseferat, quae verus non sit lapis, inepta sit pro altari, atque invalide consecratur. Altera conditio formam respicit ipsius lapidis, ut nempe rectangula sit. Sane seu Missale seu Pontificale, atque reliqui codices liturgici, de lateribus verba faciunt cornibusque altarium. Praeterea altare rotundae vel alterius formae confectum, adeo a constanti universalique consuetudine discreparet, ut potius religioso sensui iniuriam irrogaret, et tamquam aliquid profani iudicaretur ab omnibus. Denique impar omnino eiusmodi altare esset, ut rite fieri in eo possent sacrae unctiones, quae a Pontificali Romano praescribuntur.

Tertia conditio est, ut ita mensa immobiliter adhaereat undequaque inferiori structurae: ut, sicuti superius diximus, rem unam cum ea constituat. Hinc est, quod mensae a structura inferiori separatio, altaris execrationem inducit. Quod certo constat ex iure, ubi legitur, altare execratum evadere si tabula remota fuerit (*Cap. Quod., De Consecr. Eccl.*). Item patet ex decreto, praeter alia, in *Senogallien.* d. d. 15 Maii, 1819, n. 4562. Super qua conditione animadvertendum est, structuram qua mensa fulcitur, seu stipitem, ex lapide esse debere; aut saltem necessum est, ut latera seu columellae, quibus mensa sustentatur, sint ex lapide,

licet ex lateribus esse possit interior pars structuræ. Haec omnia constant ex decretis S. R. Congregationis 20 Dec., 1864, n. 5338, et 7 Aug., 1875, n. 5621, quibus inhaerens cl. Martinucci eadem expresse docet (lib. vii., cap. xvii., n. 1). Et ratio patet, quia cum de fixis agatur altaribus, stipes, ut dictum est, quid unum cum mensa efformat: altare autem debet esse lapideum.

Quarta conditio est, ut nisi sepulcrulum reliquiarum habeatur vel in centro, vel in anteriori, aut posteriori, vel etiam in summitate stipitis, prout docet Pontificale Romanum (*De consecr. altaris*), idem Reliquiarum sepulcrulum esse debet effossum in ipso lapide, in quo recondendae sunt, et operculo pariter lapideo claudendae reliquiae.

Alio conditio manet, de qua disserendum est in praesenti, utrum ad validitatem vel ad solam liceitatem pertineat, estque integritas lapidis. Equidem in antiquis canonibus explicita omnino lex de lapide integro in fixis altaribus non reperitur, ita ut mensa pluribus constans partibus, arte tamen inter se bene coniunctis, incapax sit iudicanda consecrationis. Imo cl. Gatticus diligentior ea super re scriptor eximius, ingenue fatetur, neque hanc legem se reperisse pro altaribus mobilibus, pro quibus fortior profecto ratio militat, neque ullum decretum explicitum se legisse. Nihilominus pro his integritatem sustinet, asserens inutilem fuisse hoc de negotio legem, cum faveat integritati universalis consuetudo. Quidquid sit ceterum de mobilibus, ad fixa quod spectat altaria constat ne, debere, ea esse ex uno integroque lapide confecta? Negative respondemus, quin imo certum est oppositum, si de validitate quaestio sit. Revera, si de antiquitate loquamur indubium est altaria ex uno generatim fuisse lapide facta, quod una vel plures columnae sustentabant, ut cl. Martene refert. Sed et ipse de altari loquitur, quod erat in maiori Turonensi Monasterio exstructum, et a S. Martino consecratum dicitur, cuius mensa ex quatuor constabat lapidibus inter se coniunctis. Auctores autem ita de fixis loquuntur altaribus, ut ostendant, ea ex pluribus quoque lapidibus esse posse. Ita Giraldus (*Iur. Pontif.*, tom. ii., pag. 417) ait: *Eadem tabula, vel saltem mox dicta ara, RECTIUS consistit in unico lapide, quam divisa in plures*. Ex quo patet,

lapidem esse posse non integrum, quamvis integer sit praeferendus. Item Gatticus dicit, caeremoniarum magistros exigere communiter in altaribus fixis lapidem unum integrum, sed statim addit: "quantum locorum opportunitas patitur (cap. ii., n. 13)." Pontificale Romanum loquitur quidem de *lapide, tabula, ara*, etc., quae verba singulariter posita unum integrumque lapidem significare videntur. Nihilominus nemo nescit, plures lapides simul coemento, vel mastice, coniunctos pro uno atque integro lapide merito haberi. Neque aliquid in oppositum e symbolica altaris significatione eruitur, quae Christum respicit. Simon Thesalonicensis scribit: "E lapide est altare, quia Christum refert, qui etiam petra nominatur . . . caput anguli, et lapis angularis (lib. 3, *De templo*)." Idque divus Thomas explicat (p. 3, q. 83), estque conforme verbis Apostoli: "petra autem erat Christus (*Ad Corinth. i.*, cap. x., v. 4.))" Verum, licet huiusmodi symbolismi ratio magni sit facienda, ut lapis integer adhibeatur, iuxta universalem consuetudinem, non est nihilominus, cur dicendum sit hanc deficere rationem si lapis ex pluribus constet partibus, cum sint apte solideque inter se coniunctae.

Si denique positivam legem inspiciamus, quaedam profecto decreta se nobis exhibent, quae integritatem exigunt. Ita S. R. C. d. 17 Iun., 1843 (*Decr. 4966*) decernit, *mensam ex sex parvis lapidibus ad formam unius unitis, quam lignea corona per gyrum devincit et cum stipite coniungit, et super qua sacri olei unctiones fuere peractae*, non esse consecratam nec consecrandam; praescribitque simul, ut eadem *mensa ex integro lapide constituatur*. Sed animadvertendum, agi in casu de mensa, quae non solum integritate caret, sed lignea circumdata fuit corona, per quam mensa stipiti coniungebatur, et super qua unctiones fuere peractae: quae omnia profecto invalidam consecrationem reddunt. Alterum quoque recentius legimus decretum d. d. 29 Aug., 1885, quod respicit pariter mensam, *cui tamquam corona, zona marmorea obducitur per ferri laminas coniuncta ipsi lapidi, ita ut mensa non constet unico lapide*. Et S. R. C. respondet, altare huiusmodi, tamquam fixum non esse rite constructum, *cum tota mensa ex uno et integro lapide constare debeat*.

Ex quo utroque decreto nil eruitur contra validitatem consecrationis mensae, quae ex pluribus constat lapidibus; iure tamen merito instruimur, id esse contra legis praescriptum. Cl. De Herdt docet, *tabulam superiorem altaris fixi debere constare ex uno et integro lapide, et non pluribus lapidibus ad formam unius unitis, et quidem, UT VIDETUR DICENDUM, de validitate consecrationis (Prax. S. Liturg., pars. i., n. 176)*. Sed eius incertitudo nulla est, quia decreto innititur 17 Iun., 1843, quod superius retulimus et explicavimus. Ceterum et ipse admittit, lapidem etiam enormiter fractum iam consecratum posse firmiter coementari iterumque ut execratum consecrari. Si ergo valida est haec consecratio post execrationem, valida etiam erit, si prima vice, postquam mastice solide coniuncti lapides fuerint ad formam unius, rite consecrentur.

Denique impraesenti omnis adimitur dubitandi ratio, cum explicitum habeamus decretum d. d. 20 Martii, 1869, n. 5437, quo docemur, altare enormiter fractum si firmiter coementatum, valide consecrari posse, et dubium de validitate esse nullum. Concludimus ergo, praeter quatuor praefatas condiciones, quae requiruntur, hanc ultimam, integritatem scilicet lapidis unius, ad validitatem non requiri, sed licitum solummodo respicere.

2. Altera petitio quaerit quid dicendum de effato: *Ecclesia propter altare*, et quo sensu intelligendum sit.

Respondemus, nil eo sapientius, quod tradidit antiquitas, retinemus impraesentia, et cui praxis universalis mire respondet. Hinc potuit quidem extare, immo et certe extitit in primis Ecclesiae saeculis, si materialiter loquamur, altare sine Ecclesia; sed nusquam legimus Ecclesiam sine altari extitisse. Institui quaestio potest, utrum revera in prima antiquitate unum tantum erigendi mos fuerit in Ecclesiis altare, vel plura; sed sine ullo altari nulla unquam extitit, neque extare potest Ecclesia, quippe quae neque mereretur Ecclesiae nomen.

Ecclesia enim graeca quidem vox est, quae *adunatio* latine significat; sed usus postea obtinuit, ut pro ea locus ille intelligeretur, in quem peculiariter conveniunt fideles, ut cultum publicum Deo exhibeant. Maximus autem cultus

actus, atque essentialis, et ad quem ceteri ordinantur, Sacrificium est, quod Deo unice offertur, ut supremam eius dominationem agnoscamus, nostramque ab eo omnimodam dependentiam. Merito itaque Sacrificium in Ecclesia offertur, quae ad cultum exclusive destinatur. Iam vero ubi Sacrificium, nisi super altare? Christiana enim lege nonnisi super eo illud fieri permittimur. Idque eo magis, quod novi foederis Sacrificium antiquis excellit, quorum complementum est atque perfectio; in illis enim nonnisi umbra, in nostro, autem absoluta veritas. Hinc Sacrificium nostrum iure meritoque appellatur Sacrificium altaris.

Est itaque altare, quod perfectius haberi in Ecclesia potest, ad quod Ecclesia eadem ordinatur, et propter quod construitur, atque existit, ut si ab altare abstrahas nil sit Ecclesia. Hinc sapientissima ordinatio, ut nulla unquam dedicetur seu consecretur Ecclesia, quin cum ea aliquod consecretur altare. Hinc altare istud esse fixum debet, sicque stabilitatis Ecclesiae fiat particeps, et nunquam ista sine altare, neque ad tempus, maneat. Hinc ipsum altare, maius, quod cum Ecclesia consecrandum decernitur, tamquam reliquis, quae esse in illa possunt, excellentius. Haec autem ex pluribus S. R. Congregationis decretis explicite patescunt. Nil ergo magis aequum ac sapiens iudicandum quam praedictum effatum: *Ecclesia propter altare.*

At quonam effatum istud sensu intelligendum est? Nil hac responsione facilius post ea quae nuper exposuimus: sensus nempe est, ut, quamvis Ecclesia ab altari, uti patet, nimis differat, nihilominus idea illius vix istius ideam valeat excludere, quia sine altari non datur Ecclesia. Ecclesia enim fit ad Sacrificium; cumque hoc nonnisi super altari offerri possit, ideo Ecclesia propter altare dicitur. Est ergo altare, finis Ecclesiae, ad quod talem intimam simulque necessariam dicit relationem, ut sine hoc eam consistere prorsus inutile sit.

Nihilominus animadvertendum, sicuti altare ab Ecclesia differt, ita altaris consecrationem essentialiter ab Ecclesiae consecratione differre. Idque perspicuum est ex ritibus, quos Pontificale Romanum praescribit. Separatim namque parietes Ecclesiae forinsecus benedicuntur, sicuti iuxta

fundamentum ipsorum et in media parte, intrinsecus. Item alii ritus perficiuntur super pavementum atque in aliis Ecclesiae partibus. Omnes autem hos ritus comitantur peculiare orationes; quae cuncta distincta omnino sunt, ac diversa ab iis, quae pro altaris consecratione fiunt, uti in ipso Pontificali videre est. Licet ergo indubitanter tenendum sit, Ecclesiam esse propter altare, nihilominus, alterum ab altero essentialiter distingui, pariter exploratum est. Proinde, uti iam diximus, consecratione altaris vix habet aliquid communis cum consecratione Ecclesiae, quamvis utriusque consecrationis ritus, distincte tamen, quandoque alternentur. Hinc altaris consecratio ab Ecclesiae consecratione non dependet.

3. Demum inquit casus, quid sit iudicandum de validitate altaris Ecclesiaeque consecrationis, de facti serie, et de argumentandi ratione Caeremoniarum magistri.

Inficiandum non est, ad Ecclesiae quod attinet consecrationem, rite hanc fuisse peractam, ut supponit casus: ergo merito iudicandum, manere omnino consecratam Ecclesiam. Neque obstat, si altare invalide consecratum fuisse censetur. Nam, uti ex principiis in secunda responsione positus liquido profluit, invalida consecratio altaris nil influit in consecrationem Ecclesiae, cum duo sint actus inter se distincti, licet alter ad alterum ordinatus. Neque obstare possunt aliqui ritus, qui in commune fiunt super altare et Ecclesiam, quia, iis haud obstantibus, consecratio unius non est consecratio alterius. S. R. Congregatio in una *Fanensi* expetita fuit, quid de Ecclesiae consecratione sentiendum, quando execratum est altare, cum Ecclesia sine altari nequeat consecrari. Porro Sacrum Tribunal respondit simpliciter: *Ecclesiam fuisse rite consecratam* (17 Iun., 1843, ad 2). Ergo, inferimus, Ecclesia etiam sine altari consecrato, valide manere consecrata potest. Addas velim, omnes in casu praescriptos adhibitos fuisse ritus pro consecratione altaris, ut per accidens censendum sit, si in hypothese consecratum valide non fuit. Stat ergo valida consecratio Ecclesiae, licet cum invalida consecratione altaris.

At dicendum ne, huiusmodi consecrationem altaris fuisse certo invalidam? Ita quidem iudicandum esse videtur, quia lapis mensam constituens revera abruptus est. Neque dicas

coementatum illum esse, atque unum totum efformare operculum cum alia principaliori altaris parte. Quia coniunctio eiusmodi haud talis est, ut quid unum integrumque constituat lapidem; cum fieri tantum soleat in superiori parte et ad instar operculi, non vero ut ex duabus partibus unus fiat lapis, quemadmodum evenit, quando duae vel plures lapidis partes solido stabilique coemento, vel potius mastice, simul coniunguntur, ut unus fiat. Cum itaque lapis iste integer non sit neque ita coniunctae partes, ut unus evaserit, ineptus ille videtur pro consecratione. Esse autem eiusmodi consecrationem prorsus illicitam, nec innuere necessum est, cum ex superius expositis satis lex pateat, quae unum integrumque lapidem exigit. Ceterum, dubia ad minus illa altaris consecratio est, proindeque super eum Sacrificium non potest fieri; sed prius competens consulenda est auctoritas, ut iudicio suo quid agendum sit notum faciat.

Denique vituperanda nimis agendi ratio magistri Caeremoniarum, cui ante functionem studio incumbendum erat, ut omnia rite postea peragerentur, quae Pontificale Romanum in casu praescribit. Ex studio enim rationabili, profecto, subortum fuisset illi dubium, utrum lapidis in media parte perforati valida esset consecratio. Ceterum de tali non licita consecratione, quam Episcopus operatus est, Caeremoniarum magister qua ratione possit excusari vix capimus.

Correspondence.

HISTORY OF THE CEREMONIAL OF HOLY MASS.

“Since the appearance of the above article in the July number of the I. E. RECORD, two priests have kindly sent me the following corrections:—

“Father Dallow, of Upton, near Birkenhead, England, writes:—

“I read your article in current I. E. RECORD with deepest

interest; but may I point out what seems to be two slight errors?

“1. You say that (in canon of mass) Thaddeus is the same as Timothy. Now I find in every book I've consulted that Thaddeus is the same as St. Jude. In Roman martyrology it puts—“Thadeus qui vocatur Judas.” In St. Matt. x. 3, Thaddeus is placed among the twelve Apostles.

“2. By decree of Sac. Rit. Congregatio., 4452, it is fixed that the John spoken of first in second list, after elevation, is *John the Baptist*, and that the head is to be therefore bowed at that name at every mass, in commemoration of the Baptist.

“On the famous *Ardagh chalice* in Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, comes the name TATHÆUS among names of Apostles.’

“Father FitzPatrick, writing from St. Thomas's Seminary, Merrion Park, Ramsay Co., Minnesota, says:—

“Many thanks for your article “History of the Ceremonial of Holy Mass,” begun in the July number of the I. E. RECORD. Such papers, and the articles that appeared about two years ago, on the Ceremonies of Mass¹ in the same admirable periodical, must ever prove of fascinating interest—because so living, so spiritual, to *all*, but especially to those of the faith.

“To record an instance of the good effects of such writings. Some years ago a non-Catholic lady of St. Louis, Mo., happened to pick up the *Ceremonies of Low Mass*, by Father Hughes. She read, and read, and read, always with growing curiosity, always with more intensely devout interest; and when, after rightly discerning that there must be something there—something beneath and behind those many minute rubrical directions—a truth, a dogma, a reality—she received and corresponded with the grace of faith—faith in the Real Presence, *mysterium Fidei*. She at once sought ample religious instruction, and became a Catholic.

“And now be pleased to suffer a few animadversions on parts of your article.

“Page 604. “Simon, and Thaddeus or *Timothy*,” should read “Simon, and Thaddeus or *Jude*.”

“Page 605. The St. John in the second list is the Holy Baptist and Precursor. (*Vide* Decr. S.R.C., 27 Mar., 1824,, apud *Decreta Authentica*, page 145. See also O'Brien's *Hist. of the Mass*.)

“There need be no surprise that the proto-martyr of the New Law should *immediately* follow St. John, the *last* martyr of the Old Law, and that the two post-ascension Apostles, Mathias and Barnabas, should continue the enumeration.

¹ By Rev. Daniel O'Loan.

“ ‘Mark well, also, that *Anastasia* was a *widow-martyr*, her name following the names of the four *virgin-martyrs*. (See Dom Queranger's *Liturgical Year*, second mass on Christmas Day, and O'Brien's *Hist. of the Mass*.) The *Anastasia* closing the second list could not have been the earlier or elder saint *Anastasia* who suffered under Valerian, or, it may be, under Nero. Many writers, however, rank all these five martyrs as virgins ; but erroneously, in my judgment.

“ ‘The error of Berengarius was practically *impanation* or *companation* ; hence no *transubstantiation*. He held that Christ was in no manner present upon the words of consecration being pronounced, “*vi verborum* ;” but sometime after, and then by annexing Himself to the oblatæ. With the condemnation of his errors on the Holy Eucharist, came the *enjoined*, solemn, and demonstrative liturgical act, which now may be termed the *major elevation*, in contradistinction to the simultaneous raising of host and chalice, which now may be called the *minor elevation*. This latter still continues in the Latin Church (though your words seem to imply the contrary), and in some countries is announced by the sanctuary bell or gong. It was once the only elevation at mass—the *elevation* without any additional ceremony. The Good Friday liturgy, so ancient, points to this. The prescribing of the elevation (and intermediate genuflection) right upon the consecration, strikingly represents or exemplifies the maxim, *Lex credendi, Lex orandi*, and in worship as well as in teaching stamped out the error condemned. The primitive elevation expresses the *Latreutical end* of the Holy Sacrifice, *omnis honor et gloria*, very appropriately. Our *major elevation* needed no introduction into the Oriental liturgies, as the error it condemns was a *Western* one, and was not even partially broached or bruited in the Orient. Oriental liturgies, however, have also a very solemn and highly demonstrative elevation just before the Communion. (See O'Brien's *History of the Mass*.)’

“ Many readers of the I. E. RECORD will be glad, as I am, to have these things brought to their knowledge or their recollection, and will feel grateful, as I most humbly do, to these two good priests for having done so.

“ R. O'KENNEDY.”

Document.

DECISIONS OF THE S. PENITENTIARY ON THE ABSOLUTION
OF CASES AND CENSURES RESERVED TO THE HOLY SEE.

EMINENTISSIME DOMINE,

Post decretum S. Cong. R. et U. Inquisitionis absolutionem a casibus Rom. Pontifici spectans, datum sub die 23 Junii 1886, sequentia dubia occurrunt mihi missionario, quorum nequidem in recentioribus auctoribus solutionem reperire mihi possibile est; quapropter hanc ab Eminentia Vestra sollicite imploro.

I. Decreti responsio ad I^m quae sic se habet: “Attenta praxi S. Poenitentiariae, praesertim ab edita Constitutione Apostolica s. m. Pii IX quae incipit *Apostolicae Sedis*, negative,” non videtur respicere casus specialiter reservatos Sum. Pontifici sine censura; siquidem de his non agitur in Constitutione *Apostolicae Sedis*. Numquid ergo integra manet vetus doctrina Theologorum dicentium de his absolvere posse episcopos vel eorum delegatos, vel, ut vult Castropalao, simplicem sacerdotem, quando poenitens Romam nequit petere, quin scribere necesse sit?

II. Quando indultum quinquennale Episcopi habent a S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide, complectens 14 numeros et n° 10° concedens facultatem absolvendi ab omnibus casibus etiam specialiter reservatis R. P., excepto casu absolventis complicem, numquid illam possunt delegare in Gallia et in Europa pro casu saltem particulari? ita ut non necessarium sit ut poenitens adeat episcopum ipsum, quamvis in n° 12° indulti sic haec clausula: “Communicandi has facultates in totum vel in partem prout opus esse secundum ejus conscientiam judicaverit, sacerdotibus idoneis in conversione animarum laborantibus in locis tantum ubi prohibetur exercitium catholicae religionis?”

III. Posito quod negative respondeatur, quid si poenitenti impossibile sit adire Episcopum tale indultum habentem?

IV. Quando sedes episcopalis vacat, numquid Vicarius capitularis potest communicare facultates quinquennales Episcopo amoto vel defuncto concessas per indultum S. Poenitentiariae vel Congregationis de Propaganda Fide?

V. Certe hodie integra viget facultas a Tridentino concessa Episcopis absolvendi a simpliciter reservatis occultis, sed quaeritur utrum tale decretum attingat casus simpliciter reservatos eodem modo ac specialiter reservatos Sum. Pontifici?

VI. Quando missionario occurrit poenitens censuris innodatus et transiens obiter, ita ut missionarius non possit iterum poenitentem videre, numquid sufficit, posito casu urgentiori absolutionis, exigere a poenitente promissionem scribendi, tacito si vult nomine, ad S. Poenitentiarium intra mensem, et standi illius mandatis, quin confessarius ipse scribat?

VII. Utrum, tuta conscientia, docetur et in praxim deducitur, ut quidam volunt, propter hodiernum periculum ne aperiantur epistolae a potestate civili, non requiri ut epistola ad Summum Pontificem dirigatur in casibus urgentioribus, vel quando adiri nequit Papa?

VIII. Posito quod non requiratur epistola ad Summum Pontificem, numquid requiratur epistola directa ad Episcopum, stante hoc generali periculo, praesertim quando agitur de absolutione complicitis, quae etiam perfidiose detecta et revelata scandalum generare potest?

Horum dubiorum solutionem ab Eminentia Vestra fiducialiter expectans et Ejus sacram purpuram exosculans,

Illius, humillimum et addictissimum servum me fateor.

A.

Sacra Poenitentiarium, mature consideratis expositis, ad proposita dubia respondet:

Ad I^m. *Negative.*

Ad II^m, III^m, et IV^m. *Orator consulat Episcopum, et, quatenus opus sit, idem Episcopus recurrat ad Sacram Supremam Congregationem universalis Inquisitionis.*

Ad V^m. *Affirmative, nisi casus sint occulti.*

Ad VI^m. *Affirmative.*

Ad VII^m. *Negative, cum in precibus nomina et cognomina sint supprimenda.*

Ad VIII^m. *Provisum in VII^o.*

Datum Romae, in Sacra Poenitentiarium, die 7 Novembris, 1888.

Notices of Books.

PONTIFICALE ROMANUM SUMMORUM PONTIFICUM JUSSU
EDITUM A BENEDICTO XIV. ET LEONE XIII. PONT.
MAX. RECOGNITUM ET CASTIGATUM. Editio prima post
Typicam. (Sine Cantu): Pustet, Ratisbonæ. 1891.

THE eminent printing firm of Pustet deserves well of the clergy everywhere for the zeal they have shown in supplying beautiful reprints of the Church manuals in so many departments of ecclesiastical study. Amongst the latest publications of the Pustet press is a Roman Pontifical, without musical notation, complete in one large octavo volume.

It is needless to say that the paper and type are good; and it must be for the reader—more particularly for the bishop when using the pontifical at a ceremony—a great convenience to have the plain text before him, and thus be relieved from the embarrassment of trying to connect the syllables of each word when disjointed and spread out to suit the musical notes.

The Substitute of the Sacred Congregation testifies that this issue has been compared with the typical edition, and exactly corresponds with it. This addition is also enriched with an appendix containing *in extenso* the dedication of a church in which are many altars for consecration, also the form of consecrating several altars at the same time, but as a distinct ceremony from the consecration of the church. The price of the book is 4 marks 80 c.

PRECES ANTE ET POST MISSAM. ACCEDUNT HYMNI,
LITANIAE ALIAEQUE PRECES IN FREQUENTIORIBUS
PUBLICIS SUPPLICATIONIBUS USITATAE: Pustet, Ratis-
bonæ. 1891.

THIS will be found to be a useful book in every sacristy. In addition to the *Preces ante et post Missam*, as found in the Missal, it contains the hymns, litanies, and prayers which are in use at the ordinary public devotions in church. For instance, it has the litanies and prayers for the Quarant' Ore, the prayers appropriate to different confraternity meetings, and, of course, the Benediction service. The rubrics for each function are given in

full. I notice that in the rubric for Benediction it is laid down that the deacon is to place the Monstrance in the hands of the celebrant, who receives it kneeling. If this is correct, our common practice is at fault. But the priest himself places the Monstrance on the altar. I note, moreover, that according to this rubric, the deacon does not, after Benediction, descend the steps at the same time with the celebrant and sub-deacon, but remains on the predella to replace the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle. I suppose there is no doubt that, as laid down in this rubric also, the humeral veil should not be removed from the shoulders of the celebrant when genuflecting on the predella, but only when he has come down *in planum*. Here is the rubric as given in this book:—"Cantatis orationibus, sacerdos in infimo gradu genuflectus accipit velum humerale. Interim diaconus ad altare ascendit et ostensorium e throno depromptum tradit in manus celebrantis in supremo altaris gradu cum subdiacono genuflexi: et celebrans surgens et vertens se ad populum dat benedictionem, elevantibus ministris sacris genuflexis fimbrias pluvialis. Data benedictione celebrans collocat ostensorium super altari, et facta genuflexione, descendit cum subdiacono in planum; ac amoto velo ab humeris sacerdotis, in infimo altaris gradu genuflexi manent, donec diaconus reposuerit SS. Sacramentum in tabernaculo."

EXPLANATIO CRITICA EDITIONIS BREVIARII ROMANI QUAE
A SACRA CONGREGATIONE UTI TYPICA DECLARATA
EST. Studio et opera G. Scholier, C.SS.R.: Pustet,
Ratisbonæ. 1891.

THIS is a very learned book, and one full of interest for those who have turned their attention to the history and development of the Roman Breviary.

In an introduction which extends to nearly one hundred pages, the author discourses first on the excellence of the Divine Office as a prayer, and next on the gradual development, and the history of the various editions of the Breviary.

The chief purpose of the work is, however, to point out every particular in which the *Editio Typica*, as approved by the Sacred Congregation, differs from other editions of the Breviary. In this investigation the learned author shows a thorough acquaintance with his subject, for he descends to the most minute differences, including even the punctuation.

ARCHAEOLOGIAE BIBLICAE COMPENDIUM. Studio et Opera
P. J. Antonii A. Lovera. Typis Vallardianis. Mediolani.

WE would like to see this little book in the hands of all students of the Bible who have not time or opportunity to read some of the larger treatises on Biblical archæology.

The places mentioned in the Scripture are identified and described in this little book; many questions of chronology of deepest interest to the student are briefly discussed, and the practices of the Jews touching their rites, feasts, sacrifices, system of government, and social habits, are accurately explained.

An acquaintance with this little book could not fail to secure a largely increased interest, and, in not a few, an enthusiasm in the study of the Old and New Testament.

MDLLE. LOUISE DE MARILLAC.

The heroine of charity, Mdle. Louise de Marillac, was an only daughter of a fine old French family. She had a leaning for the cloister from childhood, but her confessor, a man in high esteem for sanctity, assured her she had no vocation. On the death of her father she married, and had a child. Her great charity and love for the poor shone forth so brilliantly among her maternal duties that she attracted the attention of S. Francis de Sales, who paid her a special visit while passing through Paris. She had the good fortune of having as a confessor St. Vincent de Paul, and under his judicious directions her natural piety developed into perfect sanctity. The penitent and confessor became co-operators in a great work of charity. St. Vincent started the association called *Dames de Charite* for visiting the sick poor. It spread like an epidemic, as he said himself. There was not a town or village in a short time that had not its charity. He needed a person in authority to go round and visit the various associations, and report on the working and results. Louise Legras, who had already materially aided him in starting it, was the person he selected. The description of her work and helpmates is very interesting. At one time, when the plague had stricken France, and panic seized the population, Louise and her companions showed that Christian love is stronger than death. She came out of it unharmed, though many of her sisters received the imperishable crown. At the request of St. Vincent she drew up a rule for the new community destined to be known all the world over as the *Filles de Charite* of St. Vincent de Paul. The book is full of interest from beginning to end, and the style is simple and pleasant.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1891.

THE PRIVILEGE OF ADRIAN IV. TO HENRY II.

AUTHENTICITY OF THE DOCUMENT DEFENDED.

IN discussing the Privilege of Adrian, which involves not a question of faith or morals, but of historical interest, we should clearly realize the essential difference between the discipline of the twelfth and that of the nineteenth century. We should bear in mind the circumstances connected with the elevation of Adrian to the papal throne, and of Henry to the throne of England. We should remember that the Pope's bosom friends were the warmest advocates of his direct temporal power, and that Adrian himself is credited with sharing and acting on such views.¹

The constitutional law of the twelfth century invested the Pope with the right of guarding against and redressing national abuses. It was for him to decide who was to be admitted into or excluded from the family of European sovereigns. The jurisprudence of the age allowed his right to band together Catholic princes for the invasion of infidel lands or badly-governed Christian nations. In conformity with these principles, Henry II. applied to Pope Adrian IV. for the Privilege of invading Ireland. The design for the invasion of Ireland had been conceived by earlier English sovereigns, but no better occasion for such an enterprise had

¹ Adrian was understood to claim the empire as a fief; but the anger of Barbarossa called forth an explanation which Bossuet has characterised in strong terms.—Bossuet, *Œuvres*, vol. x., page 191.

hitherto offered. Ireland was then in a divided, weak, and disorderly condition; and the king was young, daring, and ambitious. Adrian ascended the papal throne at the close of the year 1154; and early in 1155 Henry sent an embassy to congratulate the English Pope on his accession, and to petition for the privilege of invading and reforming Ireland. The embassy, which consisted of three Continental bishops and the abbot of St. Alban's, was wholly successful.

There are some who distrust the authenticity of Adrian's Privilege, not because of the temporal, but because of the spiritual rights which it purports to confer. They admit the former to be consistent with the spirit and jurisprudence of the twelfth century, but insist that the latter are irreconcilable with the principles of spiritual jurisdiction. But the powers conferred on Henry were wholly executive in character, and beside, were not more ample than those conferred on others under like circumstances. A diploma given by Pope Urban II. to Roger of Sicily in the beginning of the twelfth century is a case in point. This prince and his heirs obtained, among other privileges, that no legate should be appointed in Sicily without their consent; that, should there be sent even a legate *a latere* into their kingdom for purposes of religious reform, such reform was to be carried out through the temporal princes; and that, whenever the presence of Sicilian bishops was required at a General Council, Roger and his son were to determine the number of bishops who should attend. A contemporary historian, Godfrey Malaterra, without being able to refer to the original document, gave a copy of the Privilege in his *Sicilian Monarchy*.¹ The powers it conferred were so ample, and by-and-by so exaggerated in the use, that the Privilege was questioned by ecclesiastical authorities. At length, after some four hundred years, the original diploma came to light. Baronius questioned the genuineness of the document because it differed in some respects from the copy given of old by Malaterra; but the *Regesta* of Jaffé have lately put the matter beyond further question.² He has discovered a diploma which

¹ B. iv., ch. ult.

Ad an. 1097, October, n. 4846.

was asked by Roger II., and given to him by Paschal II., and which was merely a renewal of the diploma given a few years previously to Roger I. by Urban II.

The Privilege of invading and reforming Ireland was granted in a letter which we subjoin, and there is no reason for doubting that without it the invasion would have been undertaken. Pope Adrian, a few years subsequently, in 1159, refused to sanction the invasion of Spain by Louis VII., for the purpose of relieving the Christians from the Mahomedan yoke, fearing that without the invitation or consent of the Spaniards defeat would be the result. We give a portion of this letter of refusal, side by side with the letter of assent in reference to Ireland, for purposes of comparison, and in fuller illustration of the spirit of the age:—

LETTER TO HENRY, ANNO 1155.

“Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, health and benediction.

“The thoughts of your magnificence are very laudably and profitably employed about acquiring for yourself renown on earth and an increase of the reward of eternal happiness in heaven, whilst as a Catholic prince you purpose to extend the boundaries of the Church, announce the truths of Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to root out the weeds of wickedness from the Lord’s field: and the more effectually to accomplish this, you implore the counsel and favour of the Apostolic See, in which matter we are certain that the higher are your aims and the more discreet your proceedings, the happier, with God’s aid, will be the result; for those undertakings which proceed from the ardour of faith and

LETTER TO LOUIS, ANNO 1159.

“Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of the French, greeting and apostolic benediction.

“The thoughts of your magnificence are laudably and profitably employed about propagating the Christian name on earth and increasing your reward of eternal happiness in heaven, whilst you are arranging, in conjunction with our most dear son Henry, the illustrious King of the English, to hasten into Spain for the purpose of extending the boundaries of the Christian people, of crushing the barbarity of pagans, of subduing to the yoke of Christians apostate nations and such as renounce and reject the Christian faith, and whilst you carefully muster an army, and make all preparations necessary for the expedition that it may have a happy issue.

“With a view to such a result, you request the advice

love of religion are surely to have a happy end and issue.

"It is beyond any doubt, as your nobility acknowledges, that Ireland and all the islands on which Christ the sun of justice has shone, and which have received the teachings of the Catholic faith, are subject to the authority of St. Peter and of the most holy Roman Church.¹

"Wherefore we are the more anxious to sow in them a seed and plantation acceptable to God, as we know our conscience will demand a most rigorous account of us. Now, most dear son in Christ, you have signified to us that you propose entering the island of Ireland in order to subject the people to laws, and to root out the weeds of vice; that you are willing to pay out of every house a penny as an annual tribute to St. Peter, and to preserve the rights of the churches of that land whole and inviolate: we, therefore, receiving with favour your pious and laudable desire, and graciously assenting to your petition, declare that it is pleasing to us that for the sake of enlarging the limits of the Church, setting bounds to the course of vice, reforming manners, planting the seeds of virtue, and of increasing the Christian religion, you should enter that island and carry into effect these things which belong to the service of God, the salvation of the people, and that the people of

and favour of your mother, the most holy Roman Church; now we deem your proposal the more acceptable, and approve your very commendable undertakings the more that we believe they proceed from the very sincere root of charity, and your desire and purpose have had their motive in the very great ardour of faith and love of religion . . . considering that what is deferred for a time is not altogether abandoned, and carefully pondering on the difficulties that are to be encountered, we have not deemed it fit to address an admonitory and apostolic exhortation to the people of your kingdom as our venerable brother Rotrodus,² Bishop of Evreux, proposed on your part.³

¹ This claim was grounded on the following extract from the supposed Donation of Constantine to Pope Sylvester:—"Quibus ecclesiis (in Roma) pro concinnatione luminariorum possessionum prædi contulimus et rebus diversis eas ditavimus et per nostram imperialem jussionem sacram tam in oriente quam occidente . . . vel diversis *insulis* nostra largitate eis libertatem concessimus . . . patris nostri Sylvestri Pontificis successorum que ejus etc." *Corpus juris canonici*, Decreti I pars, distinct. xvi.

² Rotrodus was one of the three bishops sent by Henry II. in 1155 to ask the privilege touching Ireland.

³ Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, page 1174. Du Chesne, *Rerum franciscarum scriptores*, tom. iv., page 557; Migne *Patrologie*, tom. clxxviii., col. 1615.

that land should receive you honourably and reverence you as lord: the rights of the churches being preserved entire and inviolate, and reserving the annual tribute of a penny from each house to St. Peter and the most holy Roman Church.¹ If, therefore, you resolve to execute these designs, study to form the people to good morals, and take such steps by yourself and those you shall find fit in faith, words, and conduct that the Church there may be adorned, that the practices of Christian faith may be introduced and increased, and that everything tending to the glory of God and the salvation of souls be so arranged by you as to deserve from God an increase of everlasting reward, and secure on earth a glorious name for ages."²

Pope Adrian had not the same reasons for refusing Henry as for refusing Louis. The French king was told that, going to Spain as the son-in-law of King Alphonsus and as a friend to the Spanish people, he should, nevertheless, have an invitation from them, lest going uninvited, he should be abandoned by them, and be crushed by the overwhelming forces of the Mahommedans. But there was no danger that Henry would suffer a defeat from the Irish people, nor any likelihood that he would receive an invitation from them to subdue and reform them. The disorderly state of Ireland and the jurisprudence of the age explain the conduct of the Pope towards Henry. The Pope, without exactly giving Ireland away, or ordering Henry to go there, praised the motives by which the king professed to be actuated, and judged, no doubt, that the change in the political condition of the country would be richly compensated for by moral and religious advantages. By the supposed Donation of Constantine the Roman Church received from the Emperor a present of all Christian islands for defraying the expenses and maintaining the splendour of religion. A belief in the Donation was embodied in ecclesiastical treatises, and in the Canonical Decree of Gratian in the year 1151. Henry, who asked for the Privilege, and the Pope, who granted it,

¹ The Peter pence which Henry promised to the Pope would be equivalent to a moderate rent, the value of the *denarius* being considered. Henry had already offered to make the payment of Peter pence general in England, if the Pope would decide in his favour against St. Thomas of Canterbury: "*Etiam adjecto, denarium beati Petri qui nunc a solis adscriptis glebæ solvitur.*" Gulielmus Fitzstep., c. i., 241.

² Giraldus Cambrensis, *Hibernia Expug.*

believed in Constantine's Donation; and a belief in it continued for six hundred years, till its spuriousness was exposed by Catholic writers in the fifteenth century.¹

But for this grant of Adrian, thus antecedently probable, is there any contemporaneous evidence? Yes, Robert du Mont states that King Henry, after receiving the Privilege, consulted with the Queen mother and his Barons, who represented to him the difficulties that confronted him at home and on the Continent, and thus dissuaded him from invading Ireland.²

John of Salisbury states that he was instrumental in obtaining the Privilege from Adrian. A word on the character and the occasion of his testimony. On the elevation of Adrian to the papacy, John visited him, and remained with him three months in Beneventum.³ They were on such friendly terms that the Pope would have him eat off the same plate, and drink from the same cup with himself, and declared that he regarded John with as much love as he loved his own uterine brother.⁴ John, because of his moral and intellectual gifts, was worthy of the Pope's friendship. Feller, expressing the feeling of the Catholic world, says that he "acquired a high reputation for virtue and learning." In *Cambrensis Eversus*, whose author denied the Privilege of Adrian, it is admitted that John possessed "consummate prudence and uprightness." Cave, in his *Literary History*, calls John a man "of knowledge and integrity." The Sacred Congregation⁵ and Pope Alexander III.,⁶ in canonizing St. Thomas of Canterbury, attached the greatest importance to his testimony. John of Salisbury, morally

¹ It is not true, as stated by a writer in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, an. 1882, fascic. 185, that before Adrian IV. no use was made of the supposed Donation. Use was made of by St. Peter Damian, in arguing against the anti-Pope Cadolaus; by Pope Leo IX., in his correspondence with Michael Cerularius; by Eneas of Paris, Ado of Vienne, and by Hincmar of Rheims. *Patrologie*, tom. cxliii., page 752. Pertz, *Scriptores*, ii. 315, Sirmond, tom. ii., page 206.

² *Patrologie*, tom. clx., page 420.

³ *Polycraticus*, lib. vi., ch. xxiv.

⁴ *Metalogicus*, ch. xlii.

⁵ Baronius, *Annal.* ad an. 1171.

⁶ Benedict XIV. *de canoniz et beatif.* SS., lib. iv., ch. v., n. 3.

and intellectually one of the most imposing figures of the thirteenth century, and subsequently bishop of Chartres, was the warmest supporter of the Pope's temporal power over States, and was probably the very writer of the petition to Adrian for the Privilege regarding Ireland.

The embassy sent by the King to congratulate the Pope and seek the Privilege consisted of three Continental prelates—the Bishops of Lisieux, of Mans, and of Evreux, together with the Abbot of St. Alban's.¹ The presence of the abbot was not without its influence; Adrian's father had been a monk in St. Alban's for fifty years.² It is not certain whether John of Salisbury accompanied or preceded the embassy; but it appears that he took part in the mission. In the year 1159, on hearing of Adrian's death, after praising the deceased Pope, and deploring his loss, he wrote :—

“At my request he granted to the illustrious King of the English, Henry II., Ireland, to be held by hereditary right,³ as his letter testifies to this day.⁴ For all the islands by an ancient right are said to belong to the Roman Church in virtue of the Donation of Constantine, who founded and endowed it. He also sent by me a gold ring adorned with an emerald,⁵ whereby there would be an investiture of the right of governing Ireland, and the ring was ordered to be kept henceforth in the public archives.”⁶

¹ “Nuncios solemnnes Roman mittens rogavit Papam Adrianum ut liceret,” &c. Hoveden, *Historia Major*, vol. ii., page 300.

² Abbot Robert was detained by the Pope after the bishops left. The Pope playfully remarked that he was repelled as a postulant at St. Alban's, and the Abbot wittily replied that the will of God could not be opposed. Stephen's *Monasticum Anglicanum*, vol. i., page 248. Newcombe's *History*, page 65.

³ The Irish princes swore fealty to Henry and his successors (*Chron. Hiberniae*). Even among the Irish the law of Tanistry only modified the law of hereditary succession. Hence Donald O'Neill, in addressing Pope John XXII., styled himself heir to the sovereignty of Ireland. *Scoto-Chron.*, vol. ii., page 281.

⁴ That the phrase to the present day was applied to an interval of a few years, appears from the Gospel of St. Matthew, xxviii. 8-15, and the Acts of the Apostles, xxii. 21-31.

⁵ The use of a ring as a symbol of right did not imply a fief. Innocent III. sent a ring to Richard I., who, however, paid no vassalage. So, too, Zani received the dominion of the Adriatic for Venice from Alexander III. without its being feudatory. The ceremony of annually espousing the Adriatic continued as long as the Republic lasted; and to its discontinuance Byron alludes :—

“The spouseless Adriatic mourns her lord
And annual marriage now no more renewed.”

⁶ *Metologicus*, ch. xlii.

This statement was made at the end of a treatise which was in the hands of the learned in England and on the Continent; it is not absent from a single copy of the *Metalogicus*, and is, therefore, no interpolation. John's statement, made towards the end of 1159, referred to the Privilege which, though not yet made use of, had been obtained in the year 1155. We may remark that John's allusion to the king's hereditary right is justified by the petition for the Privilege, and by the king's pretensions rather than by Adrian's guarded letter of Privilege.

Early reference appears to have been made to Henry's claim to Ireland by the Bishop of Lisieux. On the death of Pope Adrian, several anti-Popes appeared, and Europe was divided by rival parties. Louis of France and Henry of England seemed to lean to the cause of the anti-Pope Victor. Louis, who was son-in-law to the King of Spain, consented to be guided by Henry in bestowing his allegiance. In order to secure their votes, the supporters of Pope Alexander III. granted a dispensation for a marriage between Louis's daughter, aged three years, and Henry's son. This took place at a council held in France in the year 1161. The Italian cardinals blamed the French bishops for granting this dispensation; but, in their justification, the French prelates urged that they thereby secured the votes, not only of Spain and France, but of England and Ireland, not of Scotland. This plea was set forth by Arnulph of Lisieux, a member of the embassy to Pope Adrian.¹

So, too, Peter of Blois, writing to the Bishop of Palermo, on his elevation to the episcopate, stated that Henry had added Ireland to his hereditary dominions.² This letter was written to Walter on his elevation to the archbishopric of Palermo in the year 1170,³ and before Henry went to Ireland.

¹ "De arbitrio regis Anglorum, in momento, Francorum, Anglorum . . . Hiberniæ . . . regna cepistis." Watterich, vol. ii., page 511. *Gallia Christiana*, tom. ii., page 357.

² Migne, *Patrologie*, tom. ccvii., page 200-1. Cardinal Moran and other writers seem not to have adverted to this letter, otherwise they would hardly have appealed to the silence of Peter of Blois.

³ Gam, *Series Episcoporum*.

The authenticity of the Privilege of Adrian is more clearly established by the confirmatory Brief of Alexander III. King Henry, by being accessory to the martyrdom of St. Thomas, incurred the displeasure of Pope Alexander, who sent legates to France with a view of placing his dominions under interdict. Henry fled from them, and, accompanied by a formidable army, crossed to Ireland. This act in the circumstances, and the attitude of the Irish in the face of it, furnish arguments in favour of the Privilege of Adrian. On the one hand, this was not a time for Henry to undertake anything that could displease the Pope, and thus aggravate the prejudice against himself; and, on the other hand, vain though any resistance on the part of a weak and divided Irish nation might be, the unresisting attitude of the entire people can hardly be explained apart from any allegation or pretence of right on the part of Henry. An explanation of this general inaction—not a single blow was struck in anger or despair—is found in the Privilege of Adrian, which was made known by John of Salisbury, the Bishop of Lisieux, and Peter of Blois. The Irish princes in person, and the Chief-king by proxy, swore fealty to Henry. He received the submission of the Irish Church by its having, at his bidding, convened a National Council at Cashel for the reformation of morals and discipline. The king, on learning that the Pope's legates were willing to listen to a defence of his conduct in reference to the martyrdom of St. Thomas, after a stay of six months, left Ireland in April, 1172. As a help to his defence, the king sent an account of his proceedings in Ireland to the Pope. His acquittal by the legates at Avranches, in August, and his submission, reinstated him in the favour of Alexander, who, in September following, sent him this confirmatory Brief¹:—

“Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of the English, greeting and Apostolic benediction.

“Seeing that grants made by our predecessors for valid reasons ought always to be confirmed, and considering the Privilege

¹ One is here reminded of the renewal by Paschal II. to Roger II. of Sicily of the Privilege granted by Urban II. to Roger I.

concerning the Donation of Ireland, which belongs to us, lately given by Adrian, our predecessor, we, following the example of the venerable Pope Adrian, and looking forward to the realization of our own wishes, do hereby confirm the grant of the dominion of Ireland given by him to you, reserving to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church the annual payment of a penny from each house as well in Ireland as in England; in order that by removing the filthiness of the land, a barbarous nation, which is Christian only in name, may, by your indulgent care, put on grace of manners, and that the disorderly Church of these lands being put in order, the people henceforth may become through you Christian in reality as in name."¹

This confirmatory Brief clearly establishes the Privilege of Adrian. Of the same date as the Brief, 20th September, 1172, we have three letters addressed respectively to the English king, the Irish princes, and the Irish bishops. Some writers who admit "as certainly authentic" the genuineness of these letters, deny the authenticity of Alexander's Brief, but this on no valid grounds.² We may remark that the Privilege of Adrian and Alexander's Brief insist mainly on three points—the right of the Pope to Ireland as an island; the good that would accrue to the Roman Church by Peter pence; and the good that would result to Ireland itself. Those are the prominent points in both documents: what motive can there be for denying, in the face of overwhelming evidence, that one Pope wrote what, admittedly, another substantially adopted? Is not "all the islands on which Christ shone belong to St. Peter and the Roman Church, as your Highness doth acknowledge," in Adrian's letter, identical with that in the admitted letter of Alexander—"your highness is aware that the Roman Church has by right an authority in islands different from that which she possesses over the mainland and continent"?³ Adrian wished that the king should "preserve the rights of the

¹ Giraldus, *Hib. Expugnata*. Chevalier Artaud in his *Lives of the Popes* is mistaken in stating that Alexander repented of having given Ireland to Henry, because of this king's participation in the murder of St. Thomas. Prejudice rather than authority led him, as others, to think that Alexander's grant of Ireland was previous to the martyrdom.

² Cardinal Moran, in *I. E. RECORD*, Nov., 1872.

³ *Liber niger Scaccarii*, fol. 9., ed. by Hearne, vol. i. Rymer's *Fœdera*.

Church in Ireland, and extend its borders by paying out of every house a penny to St. Peter;" and has not this its counterpart in Alexander's letter in "the desire not only to preserve but even to extend the privileges of the Church and St. Peter, as you are bound to do, where she has none"? Pope Adrian expressed a wish that the Irish "should receive and honour King Henry as lord;" so, too, Pope Alexander, in his letter to the Irish princes, was happy to learn "that you received Henry as lord." Does not the mention of "checking the course of crime and eradicating filthiness from the country," found in Adrian's letter, find an echo in the "licentiousness in every course of crime and in the eradication of abominable filthiness," found in the unquestioned letter of Pope Alexander?¹ If Alexander, in his letter, hoped that the "barbarous people without order or law would be brought to order and respect for the divine law," why doubt that he hoped in his Brief "that the barbarous nation would assume gracefulness of morals, and that the disordered Church would be brought into order"? The result proposed in Alexander's letter to the king was "the discipline of the Christian religion and the gain of an everlasting crown of glory." Does not this correspond to Adrian's wish and promise of an "increase of the Christian religion and the reward of everlasting life"? These coincidences, and the allusion to the King's acknowledgment of Alexander's special right over islands in his letter to Henry, clearly prove either that Pope Alexander had before him the Privilege of Adrian, or that the king in applying for a renewal of it, as the original may have lapsed by the death of Adrian, used the very arguments employed for or by him when he asked for the original Privilege.

We would further claim special attention for the following Consistorial decree, made in June, 1558, at the time when Ireland was raised to the dignity of a kingdom. It

¹ "Plerumque pervenit ad notitiam apostolicam quod novercae a privigno et duae sorores ab eodem carnaliter cognitae sunt. . . . Novercas suas publice introducunt et ex iis non erubescunt filios procreare: frater uxore fratris eo vivente abutitur, unus duabus sororibus conso-
brinis."—*Liber Scaccarii*.

was subsequently embodied in a Bull, published by Pope Paul IV. :—"Whereas ever since the *dominion of Ireland was obtained from the Apostolic See* by the kings of England, they always had styled themselves only lords of Ireland, till Henry VIII., breaking away from the unity of the Catholic Church and obedience to the Roman Pontiff, usurped the kingly title," &c.¹ This document alone is sufficient to prove the Privilege of Adrian. What reply is made to it by the learned impugnors of the Privilege? Why, this, that Pope Paul IV. wrote only what was suggested to him by Philip and Mary.² Comment is unnecessary.

Adrian's letter of Privilege and Alexander's Brief were read at a Synod at Waterford in the year 1175. On this occasion Henry's authority in ecclesiastical matters was exercised by the appointment of Augustine to the See of Waterford,³ whom he would have consecrated, not by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as had been usual in the case of Waterford bishops, but by the Metropolitan of Cashel. A few years subsequently, in 1188, Gerald Barry published for the world in his *Conquest of Ireland* Adrian's Privilege and Alexander's Brief.⁴ Even had the Privilege not come down to us in its genuine shape, or been established by papal documents, its existence would still be put beyond question by the writers of succeeding generations. From the days of Adrian down to the present time historians have vouched for a Grant from Adrian. We have for this the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, in the twelfth century; of Brompton, Gervase, Diceto, the Saxon Chronicle, Hoveden, Matthew Paris,⁵ Trivetius, and Wendover in the thirteenth century; of *Leabhar Breac*,⁶ and the testimony of the entire Irish nation, as embodied in the Remonstrance of Donald O'Neill in the fourteenth century; in succeeding ages the authority

¹ *Bullarium Romanum*. Ed. novissima.

² "Tout ce qu' on peut dire, c'est que Paul IV. ou plutôt le compilateur de la bulle transcrivit la requête de Philippe et Marie. Voilà tout." *Analecta*, &c., page 339.

³ Giraldus, *Hib Expugn.*, lib. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ He was monk of St. Alban's.

⁶ Page 90.

of a "cloud" of witnesses, including Cardinal Pole, who stated that Adrian was influenced by an English bias; and in the seventeenth century the testimony of M'Gheogan, Archbishop Lombard, and of the historian Keating.¹ The testimony of some of these witnesses is the more valuable as it was their interest to deny, if possible, the existence of the Privilege. Thus, the O'Neill of Ulster, in the name of the Irish princes and people, addressing a statement of grievances to Pope John XXII., stated that their grievances were in violation of the terms on which Adrian gave Ireland to Henry. It would have been easier and better to deny the Privilege, had there been none, than complain of the violation of a mythical compact. Pope John did not question the Privilege.¹

On another occasion the Irish nation took a different view of the Privilege, supplying, however, an additional proof of its existence. Instead of demanding a fulfilment of the conditions of the Privilege, the Irish pleaded *Obreption* (false representation) and insisted on the nullity of the Grant. This was made a matter of accusation by the Lord Justiciary, who forwarded the charge to Pope John. The Lord Justiciary, among other charges, accused the Irish of stating that the dominion of Ireland was obtained by false representations and Bulls.³ The accusation was brought by the inhabitants of the Pale against the native Irish: if there had been a shadow of doubt as to the Privilege, would a charge have been founded on it on the one hand, or met by the plea of *Obreption* on the other hand? By and by, when, in the seventeenth century, it was important to find grounds for questioning the Privilege,⁴ the plea of *Obreption* was boldly stated.

¹ "Amore que patriae ductus imperium Hiberniae quae Pontificis ditionis fuerat Henrico II. regi concessit." *In Oratione in Comitibus*, Ussher.

² "In apostolicis litteris inde factis clarae memoriae Henrico regi progenitori tuo dominium Yberniae concessit." Theiner, *Vet. Monumenta* ad an. 1318.

³ "Asserentes etiam dominum regem Angliae ex falsa suggestione et ex falsis Bullis terram Hiberniae in dominium impetrasse ac communiter haec tenentes." *Barberini MSS.*

⁴ "Impetratum narrans falsa." O'Sullivan's *Cathol. Hist.*

In a dispute between the Archbishop of Cashel and the English monarch, which was carried before Urban III., the king pleaded precedent in his favour, "ever since the English had come to Ireland by direction of the Apostolic See." The statement, which is only parenthetical, was made in the year 1221, and was addressed to the Pope, who was supposed to have the original Privilege.¹

Allusion to the Privilege mingles with the story of Irish hate and Irish love. At the close of the thirteenth century a dispensation in consanguinity was applied for by two powerful families in Meath. The grounds for application were the furtherance of those ends "for which King Henry, with an army, came to Ireland according to the good-will of the Apostolic See."² The Pope, in granting the dispensation, endorses, by quoting without question, the grounds of the required dispensation.

Let us for a moment revert to Gerald Barry—no man was more competent to speak of the Privilege. He was born about 1150; was tutor to Prince John; accompanied him to Ireland, and was subsequently bishop of St. David's. He published his *Conquest of Ireland*, containing the Privilege, about the year 1188, and dedicated the latest edition of his work, in the year 1202, to his former pupil, King John. Gerald here tells the king that the Conquest was a failure, because the Peter pence, promised in the application for the Privilege, were not paid. He urges on the king that, agreeably to the terms of the Privilege, which is kept in the castle at Winchester, he should pay the Peter pence in order to bring the blessing of God on the Conquest. Is it possible that this appeal could be made to the pocket of grasping King John, if there had been the least doubt of the existence of the Privilege? The Privilege was referred to, not merely as a matter of historical interest, but as bearing on important concerns of daily life.

When kings and pontiffs and an entire nation thus

¹" Ab eo tempore quo Anglici de mandato Apostolicæ Sedis." *Uet. Monum.*

²" De voluntate sedis Apostolicæ armata manu." Theiner, *ad an.* 1290.

testify to the Grant of Adrian, it is quite unintelligible how able historical critics can state that the "Irish nation at all times unhesitatingly pronounced it an Anglo-Norman forgery." Such, however, is the statement of Cardinal Moran¹ and Dr. Yungmann.² But this groundless statement is fully met by evidence to the contrary supplied by the cardinal himself. His *Spicilegium Ossoriense* informs us³ that in the year 1605 a petition was presented by the Irish nation for a relaxation of the penal laws, on the ground that the grant of Ireland by Adrian conditioned the preservation of its rights whole and inviolate to the Irish Church, and that a *firm belief* in this compact was shared by every Irish Catholic. The cardinal answers his own objections to the Privilege. Now, furthermore, we make bold to assert that a single pre-Reformation writer cannot be quoted in denial of the Privilege. Subsequently, religious bias, aided by national vanity, suggested doubts. A few writers were found concerned to maintain that the Irish nation was at all times pure and Catholic in practice, and that a Grant founded on an opposite supposition must be a forgery. This conclusion was gratifying to national vanity, and at the same time exonerated the Pope from all responsibility for the Conquest and its ultimate consequences in Church and State.

So overwhelming, however, are the internal evidence and the testimony of witnesses in support of the Privilege, that its few opponents have to fall back on negative proofs of a fanciful character. Thus a Continental writer imagines there was a coolness between the Pope and Henry, because he married Eleanora, the divorced wife of King Louis, and that a Privilege would not on that account be given to Henry.⁴ Why, Eleanora's first marriage was null. and she became conse-

¹ I. E. RECORD, November, 1872, page 62.

² *Dissertationes Selectae*, tom. v., page 228.

³ "Cum omnes fere sint Catholicae religionis et professionis etiam persuasum habent titulum quo reges Angliae dominium in eos acceperunt esse ut ejusdem religionis jura inter ipsos illibata et integra conservent juxta litteras hac de re ab Adriano quarto Pontifici Maximo," &c. Vol. i., page 113.

⁴ *Der Katholik*, 1884, xi., Seite 178-191.

quently free. And if Henry married Eleanora, so did Louis marry a Spanish wife, and yet he obtained the conditional privilege of invading Spain. Again, the alleged silence of the *Regesta* of Jaffé on the Privilege in the nineteenth century has been relied on as a negative proof by Cardinal Moran and others; but the latest editors of the *Regesta* have pronounced as genuine both Adrian's letter¹ and Alexander's confirmatory Brief.

Let us, in conclusion, notice that against the overwhelming mass of evidence in proof of our contention, is advanced only the unsupported assertion that the Privilege was forged for the purpose of keeping the rebellious Irish quiet at some unspecified time after the year 1188.² Of what use could such a document be when there existed in 1172 the real letters of Alexander commissioning the Irish bishops to help Henry in keeping Ireland subject to him? Whence the necessity of a forged document after 1188, as the original was read in 1175, on occasion of the consecrating of the Bishop of Waterford? Was not the papal mind clearly expressed when, in 1177, Cardinal Vivian would have those excommunicated who opposed the authority of Henry, and when, in 1185, Urban III. sent a legate to crown John King of Ireland?

If it is admitted that Pope Alexander's letter enjoined on the Irish bishops the duty of helping Henry "in keeping possession of Ireland, acquired under the inspiration of God," why not more readily admit, on overwhelming evidence, his Brief of the same date, which merely "confirms to him the dominion of Ireland"? And if we admit the Brief, the genuineness of Adrian's Privilege necessarily follows. The evidence in its support consists of the historical testimony of the most approved kind. The very last of these, furnished in the sixteenth century, would of itself be sufficient for our purpose. The statement in the Bull of Pope Paul IV.—"the kings of England obtained the dominion of Ireland

¹ Jaffé, Lipsiæ, 1886, fasc. nonus, n. 10056, et Fasc. Undecimus, page 268, no. 12174.

² *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, l. cit., page 310.

from the Apostolic See"¹—is of itself an unanswerable argument. For this and the further reasons we have set forth there does not appear to us in the domain of history a better authenticated fact than the Privilege of Adrian IV. to Henry II.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

FROM FOREST TO FIELD.

I.

TIS a mellow afternoon in June. The western sun is gilding the green ivy leaves that shyly peep around the corner of the squared-stone window-sill above my desk. An Australian magpie is warbling its sweet flute-like *scherzetto* on the decayed branch of a gum-tree overhead, and among the shrubs and hedges underneath the sparrows nag and quarrel, scattering their sharp, fretful notes on the calm air. Below and round about lies our town, a rising inland centre of Western Victoria. It is a typical Australian provincial town, planned and built to suit the needs of a new land where forests abound and man has "room and verge enough" for all his enterprise. Timber is the prime favourite as a building material; brick comes in a bad second; squared stone treads hard on the heels of brick; and the homely corrugated iron roof shelters the great bulk of its population from the glow of the summer sun and the pelting of the winter rain. The houses are for the most part of the severely modern and utilitarian form known as "square boxes with windows in them." They are ranged in blocks almost as regular as the squares on your chess-board, along streets running in two sets of parallel lines, that cross each other at right angles, like the stripes of colour in a Scotch tartan. To European eyes our town wears a stiff, brand new look, as though it had grown up in the silent

¹ *Bullarium Romanum.*

watches of yesternight under the deft hand of some southern Goban Seor. There is no "rime of age" upon it; none of the subtle halo that history, legend, and fable have thrown round many a quiet hamlet in far-off Wexford. No haunted gray ruin of keep or abbey stands guard above it; no belt of mouldering wall tightlaces its growing population within the limits of a village green. Young Australia will have elbow-room or death. The very sheep and cattle roam through paddocks of hundreds or thousands of acres in extent; the main country roads measure sixty-six yards from fence to fence; and the streets of her cities and towns are broad and sunny and airy. The pulsing heart of this inland centre lies on the flat below me, among the shops and offices and banks and all the other tools and tricks of Mammon. Three low, round-backed hills look down on the busy flat. They are rivals for the pride of place and fashion and general respectability. Up their sunny slopes lie the neat gardens and the pretty verandaed houses of brick and stone, where live our local wealth and rank, and, generally, "everybody that is anybody" in this proud and flourishing little town. On the crown of the slopes stand the "show" buildings of the place: the three principal churches, the colleges, and the big district hospital, on whose long high-pitched roofs spire-lets and pinnacles and finials bristle like quills upon the fretful porcupine.

Beyond the last straggling houses and narrowing gardens of the town a fair soft landscape lies mellow in the sun. Far away the even level of the circling horizon is broken on the east and south by the blue cones of two extinct volcanoes. Northwards rise the tall peaks of the Serra and Victoria Ranges, jaggling the sky-line like the teeth of a dissipated saw. Just beyond the horizon-line—some sixteen to twenty-two miles away—four townships "set" around us—as the moons around Jupiter. Between us and our satellites 'tis all a plain: not the dead level of Kildare and Meath, but a surface of wavy lines rising and dipping as softly as the long foamless swell that pulses in the fair summer time beyond the rock-bound shores of Kilkee.

This rolling plain is far gone in the toilsome process of

evolution from forest to field. Some of the old wild look hangs round it even now; some of the old wild nature still lingers in its bosom. Take away the restraint of man's presence—of axe, and fire, and plough, and flock—and in two short decades yon rich pastoral plains would be a green-tangled wilderness, as they were in 1836, when Mitchell first explored these fertile western wilds. Over the billowy miles still grows the eucalyptus, Australia's principal tree. "Gum-tree" is the inapt generic title given to it a century ago by the first Australian colonists, who had a curious, though pardonable propensity for bestowing inappropriate names on the strange flora and fauna of this new southern land. In vain did botanists and zoologists introduce in later days a nomenclature of resounding Greek and Latin, and suggest suitable designations in the vulgar tongue. The old names were already household words. The hilarious Great Kingfisher (*Dacelo gigas*) still remains a "laughing-jackass;" the flute-voiced piping crow shrike (*Gmnorhina tibicen*), a "magpie;" the peaceful leaf-eating koala (*phascolarctus*), a "native bear;" the vulpine phalangist an "opossum;"¹ and to colonists, learned and unlearned alike, the eucalyptus is colloquially now and for evermore a "gum-tree." Here and there on the plains before me the eucalyptus still grow in thick belts and patches of many hundreds of acres. Over many a stretching mile to the south giant stragglers stand defiantly above their fallen mates of the forest, or support their wounded comrades, as the brave Dalgais did long ago on the plains of Ossory. But for the most part the plains have lost their tree-growth in great bald patches, that keep ever-spreading, spreading, where forty years ago nature's warm forest-tresses were thick as the locks of Absalom. 'Tis June, the mild southern winter has set in,² and the eucalyptus meet

¹ One of the most common of the Australian mammals measuring about two feet six inches from snout to tip of tail. It lives principally on the leaves and fruit of the gum-tree, and is nocturnal in its habits. Its fur, which is very much prized, is exported in large quantities to Europe. Not to be confounded with the American opossum, which belongs to the *Eutomophaga*.

² In this part of Victoria the winter is very mild. Frosts are light, and snow is very rarely seen except on the mountain ranges. The ordinary noon-day summer heat in Victoria ranges from 85° to 104° F. in the shade. During the prevalence of heat-waves and hot winds, the

the growing cold by wrapping their bony forms in a thickening frieze-like coat of bark. When October brings the breath of summer back again they will peel off their rough overcoat in long strips, and cast it to the winds; but through all the cycle of the seasons they retain the scant head-dress of horny falcate leaves, which (being set on with vertical plane) give but a thin, speckled shade to the stock through the long hot days from December to March. Some dyspeptic European has nicknamed the gum-trees the "scarecrows of Australia." It is true that many species of them lack the sweeping lines and the masses of light and shade that Constable and Turner loved; yet, patriotic young Australia finds them fairer than the imported oak and lime and elm, that litter the streets and garden paths with fallen autumn leaves, and stand naked and shelterless when the keen wind from the northern deserts moans and whimpers across the plains. Scarecrows! 'Tis too sweeping an epithet to fling at more than a hundred and fifty different species of *myrtaceae*, that present such endless varieties of form and height and density. There are gum-trees as rugged and spreading as your tree-king, the oak; slim and graceful as the ash, the "lady" of your northern forests; drooping as the willow; densely clad as the elm, and raw-boned as a windmill. You will find them soft and fissile as a Scotch fir, and so hard as to turn the edge of an axe, and withstand a triple alliance of white ant, teredo, and chelura. They range in height from the dwarf mallee-scrub (*Eucalyptus dumosa*) to the mast-like *Euc. amygdalina* (var. *Regnans*) of Gippsland in Eastern Victoria, the Saul of forest trees, the tallest vegetable-growth on the surface of the earth. Some of these noble trees are said to be over five hundred feet in height. One colossal specimen still standing measures four hundred and seventy-one feet; another, felled on the

extremes of heat in the shade for various years and various parts of the colony have been 103°, 104°, 107°, 110°, 111°, 114°, 116°, 117°.4, 120° (Stawell). In the heat-wave of the summer 1889-90 (described in I. E. RECORD, vol. xi, No. 8), the maximum heat in the sun reached 176½ degrees F. (176°.5). The summer heat in Victoria is dry, and though uncomfortable and enervating when it reaches extremes, is perfectly bearable. The above figures have been supplied by the Government Observatory, Melbourne.

Black Spur, measured four hundred and eighty feet,¹ being thirty-two feet higher than the top of the cross on the dome of St. Peter's in Rome, and out-topping by thirty feet the loftiest of the famed mammoth trees of Calaveros Grove in California.

Many other interesting specimens of Australian trees dot the plains among the prevailing growth of eucalyptus. In the poorer soil are patches of the dark-green, showy-flowered native honeysuckle (*Banksia integrifolia*); clumpy, graceful blackwoods (*Acacia melanoxylon*); and here and there plantations of dark-trunked, phyllode-leaved wattles (*Acacia*, various), which supply the best tan-bark that has ever turned rawhide to leather.² There are also plentiful clusters of the dark, leafless sheoak (which is not an oak, but a *casuarina*), a weird, sad-looking tree, covered with long, hair-like filaments, which, at the softest touch of the zephyr, set up a low crooning, dismal as the night-wail of the banshee.

II.

This mingled scene of forest and field is a pleasant change for eyes that long have looked on the face of the goldfields, with their cradles and windlasses, their tall chimneys and poppet heads, the ceaseless rumble of their quartz-crushing batteries, and their great eruptive patches of gray and yellow mullock thrown out of the bowels of the earth by the burrowing gold-bug man. Here in the West the gold fields have never "broken out." There are no "indications," no "washdirt," no payable gold-bearing quartz. But the wealth lies on the surface, after all. It lies in the fat soil, in the deep grass, in the countless "mobs"³ of sheep, whose silky fleeces find their way to the world's great marts when shearing time is over—each October and November. For Western Victoria is a rich, fair land. Its

¹ Baron von Mueller, *Select Extra-tropical Plants*, page 145; Wall, *Physical Geography of Australia*, page 127.

² One and a-half pounds of wattle bark do the work of about five pounds of English oak. (Bonwick, *Australia*, page 61.)

³ "Mob" is almost the only noun of multitude used by the average colonial in speaking of the brute creation.

first explorer (Mitchell) styled it "Australia Felix" long before a divided hoof ever trod its forest glades.¹ The sweet-sounding name is now forgotten or disused, but it still stood on certain yellow maps some twenty years ago, when "a man severe and stern to view" led my classmates by purgatorial paths through the calculations of Gough and the rules of Lindley Murray.

"Way back in the forties" began the real work of settling this portion of the West Victorian bush. The first squatter and his "hands" moved slowly and cautiously hitherward in 1838, past hostile tribes of blacks, depasturing his stock through the trackless forest. His tools and stores were in a dray, drawn by a long team—or rather a chain gang—of bullocks. For the patient steer is a forest pioneer. You meet him where the woods are pathless, and the tracks are deep in mud, and a long, strong pull is needed. Time has not dealt kindly by the placid steer. Ages ago he fed in toilless peace by Scamander's yellow tide, and Homer sang his great soft eyes into the halls of high Olympus. His eyes are soft and dreamy still, I ween; but fashion has changed. Steer eyes have "gone out:" the fickle Western has long ago flung them into the lumber room of discarded poetic fancies, while the more conservative celestial clings for ever to almond eyes; the faithful Persian still sings the eyes of Ali; and down a long perspective of centuries the constant Kalmuk has seen all the beauties of nature in the brown orbits of his fat-tailed sheep. There is neither poetry nor romance in the life of the working steer in this new land. His neck still bears a barbarous, ill-constructed yoke, that has known no change since the days of Sethi and Rameses. His back and ribs are scored and cross-hatched by the long rawhide lash of the "bullochy," whose roulades of deep profanity were among the first "civilised" sounds that woke the forest echoes of Western Victoria.

The early squatter "trekked" these trackless wilds in

¹ There are no hoofed animals indigenous to Australia. The only indigenous mammals (besides the dingo or wild dog) are the marsupials, a few bats, rats, and mice. (Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, page 378.)

search of a good run for his stock: to wit, plenty of grass, and, if possible, a constant natural supply of water. When he struck "good country" he took out a grazing license for perhaps some fifty thousand acres, from which no white man could dispossess him, divided his stock over the run in charge of shepherds or stockmen,¹ and fenced off a stockyard and a horse paddock. He slept under such cover as the body of his dray afforded, or in a sod hut, or bark *gunyah*, till his run began to prosper. Then he built a "regular" hut. It had a formidable chimney of rough stone; tall tussock grass covered the roof; the walls were upright slabs split from the gum-tree, and plentifully loopholed for the benefit of the unfriendly cannibals that flitted about upon the run.

Usually there was a lack of water in the long hot summer days: for Australia is a thirsty land compared with "green Eire of the streams;" the rivers in this great island-continent are few and far apart, and for the most part owe their flow to the rain clouds. The smaller rivers and creeks (watercourses) trip merrily down their beds when mountain and plain are sodden with the winter rains; but November, with its rising mercury and lengthening day, puts a brake on their rapid run. They creep, crawl, stop. The remnant of their waters shrink into hidden bends and quiet nooks, where they sleep under the lichened rocks and the drooping redgums till the cool breath of winter wakes them once more.

Away underground, beneath the rocks and the roots of the gum-trees, lies the great riverland of Australia. There the brooks go on for ever, and the rivers flow, dark as the tide of Lethe, down rocky narrow beds, and through caverns such as we read of in the scientific dreams of Verne. Not more precious to Australia are its gold-bearing reefs of quartz than are these sunless streams. Of late years diamond drills are ever tapping them, artesian wells are drawing them up, and their liberated tide is creating many a Tadmor in many a waterless Australian waste. But in the distant "forties"

¹ One shepherd could manage 1,000 to 1,500 sheep; a stockman, with the aid of a boy, could manage up to 4,000 head of cattle. (Boldrewood, *Old Melbourne Memories*.)

the underground rivers were unknown or undisturbed. The squatter in these Western plains had to stand or fall by the winter flow of creek or river, artificial dams, or the supply in the stagnant, reed-grown swamp. In summer the pools in the creek or river bed were frequently brackish. The water in the swamp fell as the thermometer rose, and often became a *soupe maigre*—a thick decoction of decayed reeds and algae. To the parched throats of sheep and cattle the saline pools were a good “stand by;” the muddy lees of the swamp sweet as the sparkling wave of Arethusa. From the same dark source their owner and his “hands” drew deep draughts of the bushman’s indispensable drink—milkless “billycan” tea (for the days had not yet come when corrugated iron tanks caught the sweet rain water from the roof of his verandahed cottage). Boiling killed the bacteria and partly precipitated the sediment; brown sugar disguised the potent flavour of decayed marshweed; toil and hunger and thirst gave a Spartan relish to the squeamish “black broth,” and made it sweet as Souchong brewed in distilled water and served up in old Nankin. The Australian bushman was no more a Baron Brisse than his cousin the backwoodsman of America. His bill of fare was:—Tea, mutton, and damper; damper, mutton, and tea (with rare variations) every meal of the day, every day of the week, every week of the year.¹ Once or twice a year there came a change in his *menu*—when the want of stores or the sale of a “draft” of sheep or cattle or of his year’s “clip” sent him to Portland, or Geelong, or far-off Melbourne; then he tasted “dishes.” Perhaps he was what the old toast refrain calls a “right good fellow,” whose convivial spirit was kept under hatches during weary years of exile in the bush. In that case he probably “sampled” divers “noblers” of “tanglefoot” (ominous name!) or “longsleevers” of colonial beer, or invited all and sundry to “name their pizen” at the bar of the “Magpie and the Kangaroo.” These were the worst escapades of our Western pioneers. They were not given to

¹ On cattle stations beef took the place of mutton in the above bill of fare. “Damper” is flour worked into dough with water and baked with embers,

promiscuous revolver practice or bowie knife drill, or to any of those gay and festive pranks which (if we can rely on certain humorous writers) constitute what is termed out west in America "raising Cain." They were, as a rule, peaceful, thrifty citizens, many of them gentlemen by birth and education. Their long years of trial and privation and exposure in the bush were a stern self-discipline that taught them, as a body, to bear themselves with the dignity of nation makers.

III.

"Clearing" was not undertaken on a large scale by the early settlers till later years, when the runs, which they had previously rented from the Government, became their own by purchase. The thick bush and scrub encumbered the ground, and kept the full sunlight from the herbage that the sheep and cattle needed; and so the squatter and his men girded their loins to the slow but winning toil of forest taming. They set the firebrand to the dead and dry and hollow timber. The mounting flames routed the marsupial bear and the opossum from their lairs, and turned the great trunks to ashes. Felling was resorted to where the timber was thick and green. 'Twas "sweaty work," as Hamlet saith—grim, long-drawn toil, that turned a few thousand acres of forest into field only when the toiler's hand had grown less cunning and his hair and beard were tinged with gray. For many a year the axe strokes rang through the forest like the blows of fate or the pulse of time, felling the thick growths, clearing the scrub where the dingo howled and the marsupial cat watched for its prey. Miles of forest became miles of stumps, to be destroyed by fire or decay, or dragged from the earth's embrace by bullock teams, or forced out, like curious molars, by the strong levers of the stump extractor. On the opener forest ground "ringbarking" gave the earth all the air and light it needed. A band or ring of bark is cut away round the trunk of the tree some two feet above the ground; the tree dies, the bark peels off in strips, the leaves fall, and over thousands of acres to-day the trunks stand naked and ghastly—a spectre forest—

waving their white arms in the breeze, like the ghosts of murdered Banquos, shaking curses on the air.

In the early forties very little clearing was done here, and the flocks and herds were watched by shepherds and stockmen in the glades of the virgin forest. Flock-tending in the West in those times was not the idyllic pursuit it was in the days when Ramsay's gentle shepherd carried his crook and played rippling little pastorals upon a pipe. The bush-shepherd's only pipe was a plain but precious "clay," black and odorous; his crook, a rifle or shot-gun; for the squatter and his men had "sat down" in the heart of a hostile country, on the hunting-grounds of the Australian black.¹ They were face to face with a mysterious race, full of the strange contrasts and surprises which are so frequent in the fauna and flora and climate of this southern land. Many ethnologists give the Australian aborigines the lowest place in the mental plane of all the children of Adam. Possibly they are not far wrong. The "black fellows" have no history, no legends, no social or political organisation, no knowledge of agriculture. In their "native" condition they are divided up into countless small tribes, numbering from a hundred to a few hundred souls, each tribe roaming within its ancestral hunting-grounds, now at peace, now at war, always living, like the hunted stag, in hourly dread of ambush and attack. They have, as a rule, no hereditary chieftaincy. The leadership of a tribe is decided, as among the wild prairie herd, by hardness of head and sheer brute force. They are polygamous and cannibals, and will feast not only on the flesh of their fallen foe, but without the stress of hunger frequently devour the bodies of their own murdered children. Before the coming of the white man they knew no metal. A homeless race: they camp where game is most abundant, and pass the summer and the winter nights in wretched little open *mia-mias*, or shelters of boughs, twigs, bark, grass, &c. They have no yesterday and no to-morrow, living for the

¹ Full and very interesting information about the Australian blacks may be had from Dawson's *Australian Aborigines*, Carr's *Australian Race*, Beveridge's *Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, and Lumholtz's recent work, *Among Cannibals*.

passing hour. To-day their chase has been a "a run of luck," and they gorge themselves with wild honey from the hollow trees, broiled snake, wild ducks or geese, killed with the boomerang as they rose from the swamp, roast opossum, haunch of wallaby, and tail of kangaroo. All is religiously devoured at one sitting. To-morrow and the next day they will subsist on short commons, or bear the pangs of hunger with the fortitude of Stoics. None of their many languages contain words to express abstract ideas or numerals beyond five. Some few tribes are said to have no notion of a Deity or of any spiritual being. The religion of others is summed up in a wild, vague fear of Bunyip, their "devil-devil"—a hideous monster that haunts the reedy depths of some dismal swamp. On the other hand, tribes have been found in New South Wales with fairly well-defined religious notions. It is even said that some of them held a doctrine of the Trinity bearing a striking resemblance to that of the Christian religion.¹ In various colonies they have been found amenable, especially if taken young, to the instructions of Catholic missionaries—the only white men who have ever taken a successful practical interest in the eternal lot of those dark-skinned forest children.

Mentally the "black fellow" is supposed to be at the foot of the human ladder. Yet at school his children are said to absorb learning more quickly than the offspring of the white man. In knowledge of woodcraft he far surpasses the noble red man. His senses of sight, hearing, and smell, are developed to an extent that to us seems almost preternatural. This strange faculty of the native tribes is turned to good account by the governments of all the Australian colonies, who employ numbers of black trackers that follow up the trail of criminals, stolen cattle, &c., where the keen eyes of a javert could detect no clue, nor the best trained bloodhound find a scent. This extraordinary development of the hunting sense is, perhaps, not to be wondered at in a savage race that for centuries found itself compelled to provide its daily food

¹ Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, pages 129, 183; *Transactions of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1882.

with defective weapons. Never was Sioux or Iroquois so consummate a stalker as the Australian black. His trail is faultless as a sleuthhound's, his footfall velvety as that of your fireside tabby, and for some fifty yards his spear goes true to its mark as Boer bullet or Littlejohn arrow. He has never come so near civilisation as to invent or possess a bow, and yet his strange, elbow-shaped weapon, the boomerang—which, like Thor's hammer, has the faculty of returning to its thrower—is a curiosity and puzzle to the scientific world.¹

The advent of the squatter generally led to strained relations with these dusky forest braves. He violated frontier and disturbed vested rights when he "sat down" on the black man's hunting-grounds. He and his few "hands" were scattered over many miles of run, circled round about by relatively numerous enemies, gifted with a strategy and cunning that made their spear, nulla-nulla (club), and war boomerang well-nigh a match for the rifle and revolver of the white man. Their stealthy attacks and clever descents on the folds compelled some of the first squatters in this district to give up run after run. In time the steady advent of other colonists to these grassy plains gave the scattered whites a feeling of power and security. Still, the "black question" long remained a difficult and delicate one. The more humane and sensible whites—and they were the immense majority—adopted a policy of conciliation, cautiously cultivated the good-will of the black man, and paid occasional tribute to their local "King Billy" and his braves in flour, sugar, tea, "backy," kitchen refuse and old hats. In return for these advantages his majesty and his majesty's men were supposed to respect the shepherds and spare the flocks. But

¹ This surprising weapon, the boomerang, can be thrown over two hundred yards, and returns, whirling on its axis, with amazing velocity to its owner. It can kill or severely injure an enemy or quarry concealed behind a tree, out of reach of spear, and commits great havoc among a flight of wild-fowl rising from the water. A vice-president of the Royal Society said that "its path through the air would puzzle a mathematician." Sir Thomas Mitchell, the explorer, adapted its principle to the propulsion of ships, and *The Times*, September 29th, 1852, tells how the "Boomerang Propeller" attained a speed of twelve knots an hour against a head wind. The war boomerang is non-returning.

the black man's friendship was slippery and uncertain ; his native character was fickle ; his childish heart "hankered arter" the squatter's sweet sugar cask ; his eye was dazzled by the sheen of the European axe and tomahawk ; his teeth watered for the "white man's meat" that grazed and chewed the cud under the tall gum-trees. All these varied treasures were guarded by only three or four scattered strangers, and one bold stroke would win them all. And again : was not his wild anger roused at times by the outrages and vices of the rougher station "hands," many of whom were old "lags" from the convict settlements of Van Diemen's Land ; so there was often "trouble" on the run. Steers were missing, sheep left without warning, open attacks were made on the white man by day, shepherds or hut-keepers were speared on distant parts of the run. One morning some fourteen hundred sheep (value then about £2 each¹) had disappeared. An armed search party came upon the blacks feasting on mutton in a grassy hollow. The missing flock lay near the camp fires, *their fore-legs broken*, so that they should not stray away before the long feast of "white man's meat," was ended. On another occasion the hind legs of the missing flock were dislocated for the same purpose and with the same result.

In circumstances of this kind even the friendly squatter was tempted to adopt for a time the tactics of the less numerous and rougher school of colonists whose motto ran : "the only way to civilize the black fellow is to civilize him off the face of the earth." And so for years the gruesome story ran. White men and black dropped into a vicious circle of outrage, cattle-spearing, black-shooting, shepherd slaying, mutual distrust and racial hate. Contact with English-speaking peoples wrought the Australian race the same ruin that it has brought, or is bringing, upon every savage people that has come under their sway : a sharp and painful contrast to the christianizing and conservative influences which Spain and other Catholic nations have

¹ At the present day the value of a sheep ranges from about eight to twelve shillings.

exercised on the aborigines of Central and South America.¹ Even in the cases where the Australian blacks received and returned the unvarying friendship of the white man, their ruin was no less certain. With a strange fatality for copying the worst features of civilized life, they delivered themselves over to a frantic love for fiery drinks and white men's vices, which in a few years wrought woeful havoc in the numbers and splendid physique of the Victorian tribesmen. To-day they are a doomed and hopeless race. A fast-decaying remnant of some five hundred now remain (many of them half-castes) living in six stations or aboriginal reserves established and managed by the Victorian Government. In a few years more some lone survivor of the Victorian blacks will follow to the grave the last of his Tasmanian brethren, who died in 1872. In all the other colonies drink, disease, and other causes are at work degrading and killing off the black man, and it is only a question of time when the only relics of this strange and interesting people will be the skeletons and arms that line the museums of Europe and Australia.

IV.

The gradual disappearance of the black man did not end the squatter's troubles. The dingo, or waragal dog, still remained: he is a true wild dog, reddish-brown in colour, almost as tall and powerful as the wolf, timid and cunning as the fox, and given to hunt his game in packs. Like the black tribes, each pack of dingos is said to have a traditional hunting-ground,² beyond which they never roam, and which they preserve from invasion by neighbouring packs as jealously as the aboriginal tribesman guards the little tract of territory which the custom of centuries has made his home. Before the coming of the white man the dingo had breakfasted, dined, and supped principally on the brownish-red,

¹ In Mexico, after centuries of Spanish occupation, 45 per cent. of the population are of purely aboriginal descent, only 19 per cent. are of purely European stock, the remaining 36 per cent. being of mixed race. (*Revista Contemporanea*, 15th March, 1891. See also, *Cinq Années de Séjour aux Iles Canaries*, par Verneau, Paris, 1891).

² Wall, *Physical Geography of Australia*, page 145.

hare-like flesh of the kangaroo. The settler's flock brought a welcome change in his traditional bill of fare: for even a dingo relishes a little variety in his board. Beside, the Lincoln and Merino were more easily captured than the fleet-bounding marsupial, and yielded a better return of juicy flesh. Sheep-hunting, so to speak, shortened the dingo's hours of labour, and at the same time gave him an increase of what economists call his real wages. So they flung themselves in packs upon the flocks, and delivered themselves up to the savage instinct which they have in common with their cousin the fox, of slaying more than their hunger needed. Armed shepherds had to watch the sheep by day; at night they were enclosed in hurdle pens and guarded, while outside the bright eyes of the dingos glittered in the dark, and their dismal yelpings filled the air. Shot and bullets somewhat thinned their ranks. In the end poisoned carcasses of sheep left their handsome bodies strewn in scores over the runs, and so reduced their numbers that at present only a timid few are to be found within many a league from where I write.

The dingo and the black man were the natural enemies of the kangaroo tribe. For centuries they had exacted a tribute of prey that kept the numbers of these marsupials within moderate bounds. Now spear and fang called for victims no more. Kangaroos and wallaby multiplied beyond measure and swarmed in thousands on these Western plains where the grass was softest and sweetest: for in the matter of herbage the kangaroo is as fine a *gourmet* as is Brillat-Savarin in wines and meats. They "ate the paddocks down," and in the summer days the sheep went lank and hungry over the closely-cropped runs, or lay down to die like the sick hart whose forage had been devoured by his sympathetic forest visitors. Squatters saw that their runs could not support two "mobs," and uttered their fierce *delenda est*—the kangaroo must go. They "laid the varmint out" with shot and ball. They ran them down with stock-dogs and greyhounds: it was sport for kings, as their quarry bounded away through the gum-tree forest and over the rough log fences; but it was decidedly too slow. Something

wholesale was needed to wipe the noxious marsupials off the face of the earth. Those were not the days of Nordenfelt and Maxim guns ; but kangaroo battues served their purpose quite as well. A large yard was made, with log walls some twelve feet high. From its entrance two tall log or brush-wood fences ran out for perhaps two miles, splaying rapidly like the arms of a mighty V, whose opening (which was one and a-half or two miles across) faced the favourite feeding-ground of the kangaroos. On a fixed day "all the neighbours" from forty miles around came, mounted on their hardy, unshod, bush horses, and a grand battue began, surpassing in excitement the historic outings of Epping and Fontainebleau. Riders, beaters, gunsmen, and dogs, went far afield (under the direction of "captains," chosen for their knowledge of the run), and gradually encircled the feeding mob with a living line, each end of which rested on or near a leg of the V-shaped fence. The line closed in and in, driving the kangaroos into the treacherous embrace of the arms of the "race" (the narrowing, fenced-in space), down which the frightened creatures hopped until they found themselves bewildered and imprisoned within the high strong walls of the yard. A wild rush of men, horses, and dogs followed the last of the trapped kangaroos. The entrance to the yard was secured ; the riders "hung up" their horses ; and all hands, armed with clubs, entered the yard and began a woeful slaughter. As many as three thousand two hundred kangaroos of various kinds have been destroyed on one day in a single "drive" on a station not many miles from where I write : wallabies from eighteen to twenty-four inches or more in height, brush kangaroos, two to four feet high, "old men" or "foresters" five and a-half to seven and a-half feet high—formidable fellows, strong enough to carry a man bodily away in their fore "arms."¹ The third toe of their hind legs is armed with a long, sharp nail, used by the male with terrific effect when brought to bay, and capable of ripping up dog or man like the point of a sabre. The carcasses of the slain were left to fester and taint the air : too full a

¹*Among Cannibals*, page 328.

feast for even the omnivorous Australian crows, that dropped like great soot-flakes from the sky when the battue had scarce begun.¹

The "drives" speedily thinned out the kangaroos from the open plains of this district. They are numerous still in the safe retreats of forest, scrub, and mountain range, and generally on all the less thickly-populated grasslands over the whole continent. They are the principal type of its fauna, as the gum-tree is of its flora, and have come to be the recognised national emblem of Australia. In these days of museums, zoological gardens, popularized science and general education, every school child is familiar with the form of the kangaroo; but in the early days of these colonies the first sight of the great uncouth "forester" in his native wilds filled the unsophisticated "newchum" with feelings of dismay. In 1771 Captain Cook's sailors came back to him in white-faced terror, declaring that they had seen the very demon himself hopping away into the forest on his two hind legs. Many years ago a newly-imported Scotch shepherd burst precipitately into the men's hut on a station in this mission, barred the door behind him, and in quavering accents told his assembled "mates" of a fearful something he had seen, which "gaed hap, hap; it was na a coo, it was na a horse, but it had a tail verra like the deevil's."

To-day the kangaroo is lord of the run no longer. The worst enemies of the squatter's flocks and herds are now disease, the bush fires that yearly burn up tens of thousands of acres of precious grass, and the rabbits, that have come to be a devouring plague, which neither trapping, shooting, poisoning, smothering, digging out, "driving," legislation, nor the most drastic resources of science and civilisation have succeeded in evicting from their home in Australian soil. In this colony droughts are rare and of short duration. Among our neighbours they are more frequent, and sometimes last through two or three years—long-drawn agonies

¹ In Queensland the kangaroo has become a noxious animal, and the Government has put a price upon its head. This premium system reduced the number of these marsupials by six millions in the years 1880-'85. (*Among Cannibals*, page 380.)

that eat up the toil and profits of years, and leave vast areas dotted over with the walking skeletons and festering carcasses of sheep and cattle. Starving lots of sheep have been sold at sixpence per head, and an instance is cited by Comettant in which a flock changed hands at the rate of a penny each.¹ Here in Western Victoria there is just enough of shadow in the squatter's life to remind him that Arcady the Blest is lost for ever. Many of our pioneers are with us still—grizzled old veterans who felled the forest and made the field, and saw the towns spring up and grow upon the plains. The first white woman that settled in this colony still lives not many blocks away, hale and happy and seventy-four. Out on the rolling plains the *gunyas* and slab huts, that sheltered the squatter in the "forties" have grown into fine "stations," with their gardens, stores, offices, and great woolsheds, in each of which ten thousand to a hundred thousand sheep lose their soft fleeces when November brings the long southern summer days. Round about the station lie its tens of thousands of grassy acres, divided into great paddocks by post and rail or wire fences, which have replaced the log and brush and "dog leg" obstacles of former days. The green plains are cut up—like towns on a big scale—into great blocks of many square miles, and allotments of a few hundred acres. These are bounded by a loose woof and warp of broad roads, crossing each other at right-angles, and looking on the map like the threads of a coarse strainer. Over this network of roads the railway lines run as they list, past the rising towns that stand on the old hunting-grounds where the blackman's footfall is heard no more. And half a generation has done it all.

This is, roughly, the story of how some four thousand square miles of Western Victoria were evolved from wood to field. It is more or less the history of forest-taming in every part of the Australian continent.

H. W. CLEARY.

¹ *Au Pays des Kangourous*, page 104.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PASSION, FROM LITERATURE AND THE DRAMA.

1. **THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD : A LIFE OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.** By the Abbé Constant Fouard. Translated by G. F. X. Griffith. In two Volumes. London : Longman, 1891.
2. **THE PASSION-PLAY, AS IT IS PLAYED TO-DAY AT OBER-AMMERGAU, IN 1890.** By William Stead. London : Mowbray House, 1890.

THE nineteenth century, amongst much for which it is responsible in causing indifference, if not positive hostility, to the facts and truths of our holy religion, deserves credit also for much which is conducive to Christian instruction, edification, and piety. In two different ways, and by two different means, the average Christian may be influenced by the effects of our composite civilization, in the latter direction, for his good. These ways and means consist—first, in the results obtained by critical science and discovery ; and secondly, in the application of such research and science, either in the printed pages of a theological treatise, or histrionically on the stage, in sacred drama. If to these two claims upon our gratitude be added the material aids, not only for securing, but also for utilizing and distributing these elements of sacred knowledge, which are open to the Church of to-day, the modern spirit of the nineteenth century will not appear so wholly anti-Catholic as it proves itself to be under other conditions.

Perhaps in no former century could a volume comparable to the Abbé Fouard's *Life of Christ* be made, within its own limits, so all-embracing and exhaustive. Certainly, never before has the *Passion-Play* at Ober-Ammergau been enacted with such elaborate modern appliances for effectiveness. The work of the Abbé is by no means the first of the lives of our Lord drawn upon similar, though not on the same, lines of construction. The drama of Joseph Mayer and his fellow actors is almost, if not quite, the last indirect descendant of

the ancient moralities and mysteries of the Middle Age. But, they both owe untold obligations to the intellectual activity and to the physical developments of the present day. The dramatic performance could not have been produced with all the perfection of modern art, taste, and skill; could not have been subjected to world-wide criticism (which presupposes an equal range of influence); could not have been presented to such cosmopolitan audiences, in a former century. The fruits of Abbé Fouard's historical and biographical labours—written in France, translated in America, published in England, and read wheresoever the two great languages are spoken—two-thirds of whose quoted works, and one-half of whose quoted authors, date from the present century—could hardly have been made so complete, and have become so easily accessible, apart from the adventitious aid of the printing-press, the steam-engine, and the post-office.

Both the drama and the volume treat of one subject—the first entirely, and the last partially—the story which has transformed the world. Each may be approached from a different side, and each may be made to minister to a different aspect of the same great historical event, or series of events. In the play of the Ammergau peasants we may see reproduced, by living actors, the fourfold Gospel story of the Passion, woven into one continuous, harmonious, and simple whole, so plainly depicted, that whosoever witnesses may realize the sacred drama. In the printed volume of the learned theologian we may see written in indelible characters of a living language, and with all the scholarly helps of which the inspired record is patient, the Passion of Christ as depicted, to use a single wide-reaching term, in the tradition of the Church.

To both these aspects of the Passion it is proposed to devote a few pages of comment. In the first place, an effort will be made to show to how large an extent, and in how many ways, the Gospel history is repeated in the latter hours of it, in antitype or reality, by comparison or contrast, as depicted at Ammergau: and how much may be learned by the ordinary spectator, critically following the lead of the

drama, who has either assisted at it directly, as a favoured witness of the enactment, or who has mastered its details through the testimony of others. Next, in a second article, the story of the Passion will be considered from another aspect, which may be best described almost in Abbé Fouard's words. The Passion, as he has treated it, as a portion of the Life of Christ, is an act of faith. Controversy and criticism are equally far banished from his pages. The authenticity, inspiration, and veracity, of the Gospels are simply accepted without proof. A history of the Passion has been written, gathered from the Evangelists, by comparing the four holy witnesses, and showing how their narratives explain and confirm each other—as any other history would be written were the author absolutely and infallibly assured of the truthfulness of his documents. But, more than this has been done in the work in question. Never, says the author, has the East been better known. The Aramaic paraphrases, the Targum, the works of Jewish writers, Talmudic and Rabbinical traditions, Hebrew antiquities, these sources of exegesis have been utilized: and who does not see the advantages offered by such stores of knowledge? But not the least valuable feature in Abbé Fouard's work is the use which he has made of the various readings and glosses of the older codices and versions of Gospels, which modify, expand, limit, change, qualify, or even occasionally alter, the meaning conveyed by the Received Text, or the Authorised Version, whether Catholic or Protestant.

I. Many persons keep the Passion of Christ as a topic for meditation in the forty days of Lent, and contemplate its scenes, sub-divided into the like number of daily portions. Some persons keep the Passion for special consideration during the last fortnight, or the last week of Lent, in Passion-tide or Holy Week. Some concentrate thought upon its awful realities within the limits of a single day in the year—the anniversary of Calvary and its events. Others formally and scientifically meditate on this subject not at all. On the other hand, the Passion of Jesus forms the

life-long contemplation of many—sinners and saints alike. It might be made the life-long meditation of everyone. Perhaps it ought to be so made. For its story, rightly told and devoutly understood, contains all, or nearly all, which men must believe; all, or nearly all, which men may hope for; all, or nearly all, that men do love. And the history of the Passion is set forth at Ammergau, before the eyes of the world—and the uninvited response of the world is a striking testimony in this age to Christianity—in a book which all who run may read. The Passion, in all its manifold details, is here made a spectacle to angels and to men, under conditions which have never been previously fulfilled, and which have hardly been previously possible, in the course of the Passion-Play's chequered career. For, the play is now made accessible to all in civilized Europe—it may be said to all in civilized America and Australasia—who care to witness the sacred drama, and can afford the time and cost of travel—with cheapness, convenience, and comfort. It is performed with outward accessories of scenery, of costume, of appliances, of competent actors, which in their combination are obtainable only in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is rendered—most ably rendered—with all the traditional knowledge, reiterated experience and persevering training, in word and deed, in delivery, posture, and gesture, of eight or ten generations. It is still rendered with the simplicity, power, and grace, to which all who have written of it in the past bear generous testimony, and on which eye-witnesses in the present day are nearly unanimous. And it is both undertaken and carried out with the piety and devotion of lives dedicated—so far as the conditions of the case admit of such dedication—to the labour and toil, with their attendant rewards, of its not unworthy reproduction.

Hence, a pilgrimage to Ammergau—to one who will undertake the pilgrimage in a temper in harmony with the spirit that inspires the sacred playwrights—is an event in a man's life, be he young or old. It is comparable in religion to two other pilgrimages only. It is comparable to a visit to the Holy Land, and to the actual and traditional sites and scenes consecrated by our Saviour's presence in the

days of His divine manhood—the effect of which, if made in youth, is never effaced. It may be compared also in its results, not in its details, to a sojourning, as an adult, and for a while, in the Eternal City. For, at Rome, the history of the ages—ancient, mediæval, and modern—stamped upon its hills and printed on its stones, only awaits the student's attention to be grasped, in order to record the life of the Church at the central point of its existence. The Passion-Play does as much for the Catholic critic and historian of the New Testament as a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or as a residence in Rome does for the Christian and secular student. It does more for the devotional and affective side of human nature in its more pious moments. A man may have studied the Passion of Jesus—historically, critically, even devotionally—for years. He may have been called in the past to write, speak, or meditate upon it, in public or on his knees. It may have been made by him more or less of a life-study, in this over-exacting and most distracting and dissipating age. Yet, he will not be ashamed to say—nay, he will feel ashamed not to own—that he has learnt much, very much, more than he can at once express, or even at first realize, at Ammergau. He will admit that he has benefitted largely, widely, deeply, both as critic and as Christian, from the simple religious peasantry of the Bavarian highlands, in their religious and almost perfect rendering, ever old but ever new, of the world's great tragedy. Or, rather, and more precisely, if he be a modest man, he will return frank and ungrudging thanks to those hardy villagers. He will thank those aristocrats of nature, those gentlemen and women—for generations refined and cultured by the practice of sacred art—whose histrionic rendering of the Passion has alone been preserved in its integrity from early times, on the principle of the survival of the fittest. He will gladly confess that, for the first time in his life, and apart from the clang of textual criticism and from the discord of biblical harmonists, he has seen with his own eyes, and heard with his own ears, a living, breathing, moving commentary; a consistent, continuous, and complete narrative—in action, in gesture, and in expression—of the Passion of Christ. And, without critically binding himself,

as a humble student of the Bible, to all the innocent, if not, under the circumstances, to all the necessary, liberties taken with the sacred text—whether of addition, omission, or change—he will gratefully admit more. He will admit that much which was formerly obscure in the Gospel narrative has now been made clear; and that much which was always plain has here been made transparent, or has been emphasized and brought into relief. He will allow, perhaps, that some of the types and some of the figures of the New Testament in the Old have had imparted to them, at Ammergau, a new, striking, and unexpected fulfilment. He will allow, certainly, that some facts and words, some events and positions, some references and hints, have appeared altogether in a new light. And he will not deny that many curious points and nice coincidences not previously observed, or only half realized, in the past, have become consciously important, or clearly essential, to the full and right understanding of the sacred text.

These are some of the results, and they are by no means the most important results, which may fairly be expected to ensue to one who, with mind open to impressions, and heart not closed against influences, have made an intelligent and religious pilgrimage to Ammergau.

But more than this may be reasonably looked for from the visit which is here contemplated. Of course, in all such cases the law applies—to him that hath shall be given. The more a visitor takes to the Passion-Play, the more he will carry away with him: the greater the preparation, the greater the gain. And there is one form of preparation that is open to every pilgrim which, perhaps more than any other, will fit him, not only to enjoy the sacred representation as a *spectacle*, but to enter into its spirit with intelligence. The intending visitor, no doubt, will have procured and read much of the ephemeral literature—one work only of which heads the present article—which suddenly sprang into existence in English on the occasion of the last performance of the play. And from some of these booklets or pamphlets he will obtain much information that will prove of value to him—from all he will gain something that will be of use.

The most serviceable handbook, however, to the play, is the New Testament itself; and the most profitable method of studying that handbook is to gain a mastery of the inspired account which it contains before a start is made for Ammergau. And by mastering the threefold or fourfold account of the Passion, is not meant, in this place, pouring over second-hand commentaries—second-rate was the term nearly used. Rather, such mastery may be had by honestly studying the text of the New Testament itself; by making a mental or physical map of its story—far better, with all its mistakes, than one made by another; by creating a rough harmony for oneself; and by noting the repetitions, omissions, and singularities which mark each of the inspired synoptical records, or of the supplementary narrative by the author of the fourth Gospel.

To effect this in an English translation, for the purpose of following with intelligence the acts of the Passion-Play, is by no means a difficult task. It is, indeed, comparatively speaking, easy: for, without altogether ignoring many wide fields of New Testament exegesis, the student may lightly pass over, for the moment, the critical, the dogmatic, the historic, and the typological explanations of the sacred text, and may confine his attention to the very letter of the Gospels as placed in his hands, in the vernacular, by holy Mother Church. No doubt several of the temporarily discarded aspects of the New Testament will be forcibly presented to his mind, again and again, as the play progresses—specially the typological and the historic. He will accept all that he is mentally offered; but, he will not be permanently distracted from his main object. And his main object will be this, namely, to follow literally the lead of the text of the drama; and to observe—what he cannot fail to observe in the course of its development—how large a portion of it is a reproduction, more or less exact, and in some one of many forms, of the Gospel story of the life of Christ. This aspect of the Passion-Play may be explained at greater length somewhat as follows.

II. As the New Testament, rightly understood, may be described as an epitome of our holy religion, in a narrative,

memorial, or epistolary form ; so, the Gospel account of the Passion may be considered, both abstractedly and in the concrete, as an epitome of the New Testament itself. There is, indeed, a very Gospel in the Passion story. Apart from the almost endless questions touching the fourfold interpretation of Scripture, in any given passage, there is scarcely a leading event, or a word of teaching, in the New Testament which does not find an actual or typical counterpart in the records of its concluding pages on the Passion of Christ. The closing scenes of the life of our Lord appear to reproduce, more or less clearly, the story of His sacred infancy, of His childhood, of His three years' ministry. And such reproduction is found in many various shapes, whether in repetition or reflection, by fulfilment, as a parallelism, or by comparison, or by contrast. Some critics of the Ammergau Play have allowed themselves to remark that the types of the Old Testament history which serve as material for the *tableaux* preceding each act of the sacred drama, are novel to them, far-fetched in idea, or intrinsically unreal. Not to enter into the wide topic of typology, it may be observed that such superficial students would, perhaps, be surprised to find how large a portion of the story of the Passion has been anticipated, not indeed in the Old Testament, but in the earlier chapters alone of the Gospel ; and how much of the Passion story is only a completion, in the various senses above indicated, of the Gospel narrative.

It may be pointed out to these and others, in the merest outline, and in but a very few of the cases which crowd the memory as one witnesses the Ammergau representation, that the Gospel of the Passion contains, directly or indirectly, but in miniature, the more part of what we believe, of what we hope for, of what we love. The Passion story holds, as it were, in solution, the elements of Catholic faith, of Catholic aspiration, of Catholic sentiment. Read, for example, those marvellous four chapters of St. John's Gospel—the 14th to the 17th—chapters which contain the last formal dogmatic teaching recorded of Christ to the Apostolic college : and say, if the divine Master's final discourse may not be regarded as an epitome of the New Testament as a religion of faith.

In these chapters, amongst other eternal truths, do we not find the enunciation of these articles of the Christian faith—the Fatherhood of God, the consubstantiality of the Eternal Word, the office and work of the Comforter, who proceedeth from both Divine Persons? Consider the acts and words of the Passion, as detailed by each several Evangelist; and say, whether or not, amidst other good things that we desiderate, now or hereafter, much that we hope for be not either obviously stated, or not obscurely suggested? For instance, these points may be named: God's greater glory; man's eternal good; the love of the Christian brotherhood; the salvation of our own soul; and the final end of man's creation and of man's redemption, his absolute union and oneness with his Creator in the future. Or, take the Gospel story in all its simplicity and in all its fulness, and declare if it does not overflow with record and teaching of all that we ought to, and of all that we do, most deeply reverence and love? For, does it not contain a memorial, in terms true without error or mistake, definite without exaggeration or suppression, exact without essential addition or material omission, in detail as well as in outline, of the Passion of Jesus our Love, as well as of Jesus our Lord, who, under Pontius Pilate the Governor, for us men and for our salvation, was crucified?

III. That the Passion story contains, under the above-named conditions, a compendium of the Gospel, may be illustrated from a rapid consideration of a few amongst many points which are enacted on the broad platform of the theatre at Ammergau. Indeed, if we calculate from the parting at Bethany to the last cry on Calvary, the divine life of three-and-thirty years is almost reproduced in outline in the almost identical number of hours of the Passion. The life shadowed in the sacred infancy, less obscurely indicated in the childhood of Christ, openly evidenced in His missionary career, and made plainer and plainer as the awful end approached, culminates in these concluding hours. Of this certain isolated cases, not always discussed in strict chronological order, in the scanty records of the early years of the Divine Child may be noted, in the first place—

1. The Passion was a time of passive endurance, in which

the very and true God placed Himself at the mercy of His creatures, and patiently awaited His predestinated death. Was it otherwise in the mysterious time at Bethlehem, in the bosom of Mary, when the Eternal Son patiently awaited His pre-ordained birth?

2. Of all the sons of men, our divine Master was pleased more nearly than many others, before and since, to fulfil in His own person the prophetic utterance of His servant Job, touching His entrance into, and departure from, the world. And is it not written of the soldiers beneath the cross, that they parted amongst them the garments of the Virgin-born, and left Him to die in the condition in which He was born?

3. In His dolorous Passion, the Creator of all things is seen bound with cords by the creatures of His almighty hands, and stretched upon the inflexible wood—be it bed, or chair, or saddle, or throne—of the cross. At His birth, do we not read that the fairest work of His creative power wrapped her Creator in swathing bands, and laid Him for shelter from the wintry blast in a cattle manger?

4. In the first hours of His young life, the Child Jesus was surrounded and sheltered by the beasts of the field, faithful in fulfilling the object of their creation; He was carried, by night, without His will being consulted, into Egypt; He was brought again, without concealment, into Judea; and at Nazareth was for years voluntarily subjected to Mary and to Joseph. So, in the awful Passion of the Christ of God—are we not witnesses of His being mobbed by men less faithful than the beasts that perish; of His being captured by night, and led hither and thither by daylight; and if not against His will, yet in His permissive will only, of His being made subject to Annas and Caiphas, and Pilate and Herod?

5. In His early years, the Word of the Father was pleased to be silent amongst men; to be taught to speak by His spotless Mother; to be found, later on, sitting in the Temple of God, in the midst of the Doctors, humbly hearing them, and meekly asking them questions. During His Passion-woes He is again in their midst, no longer a child: He is standing before the Governor; He is under examina-

tion by the Jewish Sanhedrim. Did not Jesus then hold His peace, insomuch that Pilate marvelled and the High Priest adjured? and did not the Word and Wisdom of God, hearing the taunts of His enemies, accept their accusation, and openly make answer, "Thou hast said: I am"?

Now, all these and many more fulfilments, parallelisms, and contrasts in the Gospel of the Childhood and the Gospel of the Passion, are visibly, aurally, circumstantially exhibited, in minutest detail, in the sacred drama at Ammergau. The silence and the speech of Christ; His capture in the Garden, and enforced subjection to Jew and Gentile, conqueror and conquered; His being bound with cords, and placed upon the rigid wood of the cross; His utter dereliction, and the division of His garments, and the gambling for His seamless vesture on Golgotha; and the infinitely patient endurance of His sufferings, during His Passion—all these anti-types of His early childhood, are they not exhibited afresh in presence of the representatives of the Christian world in the words and actions and gestures of the Play at Ammergau? They are. They are enacted anew, week after week, before the eyes of that vast, reverent and spell-bound audience, cosmopolitan and Catholic, which witness them: and he is wanting either in the elements of his New Testament knowledge, or in the power to apply and utilize such knowledge, who fails mentally to supply the type as the sacred anti-type is presented to his understanding verbally, or actively in dramatic reality.

The like evidence that the Gospel of the Passion is an epitome of the Gospel of the three years' Ministry, is equally obvious at Ammergau. Naturally, from the conditions of the case, the evidence is even more particular, exact, and detailed than the instances already reproduced. Of course, in this place, only the merest fragment of such evidence can be offered for criticism; and that only in brief.

Consider, however:—

1. The introduction, as it were, to the mission-life of Christ—His fasting in the wilderness for forty days; who, when it was ended, was permitted to tempt him? how and in what manner, during His trial, He was tempted, namely, to assert

His divinity? At three o'clock on Good Friday, the Master had probably been fasting for forty hours, if we include in this estimate the religious fast preceding the Paschal Feast; He was tempted by the Tempter in the person of man, under many forms—Jew, Galilean, and Roman; He was tempted to deny His divinity, as previously He had been tempted to avow it.

2. Christ, in preparation for His earthly ministry, sent forth His disciples, by two and two, in order to prepare a way before Him; He gathered around Him apostles on the Mount; He taught them the elements of His religion, and pronounced an abstract of its practice in the Ten Beatitudes. Previously to His Passion, He again sent two of His most trusted friends and followers to prepare a place in which to celebrate the last Passover and to institute the first Eucharist; He gathered together the apostolic college in the Upper Chamber, and taught them the higher mysteries of the faith; He finally uttered His last Seven Words from the Cross, which at least share with the Beatitudes the attention of the world—words of pardon, of promise, of sympathy, of complaint, of desire, of fulfilment, of commendation.

3. Our Saviour's first manifestation of His power before His mission, was done at the instance of His Blessed Mother, at a marriage feast, and water was turned into wine; and twice afterwards did He multiply a few loaves to feed the bodies of a few thousand of famishing men. His last private manifestation of divine power, before the crucifixion, Mary being present in spirit, if not in person, took place after the Paschal Feast, when bread became the super-substantial Food of Angels, powerful to suffice the famishing souls of an universe, and the Cenacolo became the anti-type of Cana in Galilee.

4. Three favoured apostles were chosen to witness their Master's glory on Thabor, when Moses and Elias assisted at the revelation, and a bright cloud overshadowed them all. The same favoured three were deemed worthy to watch with their Lord in the Garden, when the dark pall of night overhung them, under the olive-trees, and a created angel was sent to strengthen in His agony the Uncreated.

5. Again, in former days, and amongst His own people, Christ could do no mighty work because of the unbelief of His fellow-countrymen; His words were misapprehended; His deeper teaching was denied by friend and foe alike. It was not otherwise in the hours of His Passion. Our Blessed Lord, for the like cause, was powerless in Jerusalem even to speak the truth, because He would not be believed by the Jews; and the words of His friends on the sacraments of the Eucharist, Baptism, or Confession are fairly comparable with those of the false witnesses, "Destroy this temple;" or to those of the chief priests, "I am the King of the Jews."

6. Even that singular episode, of which no sufficient explanation (it is believed) has yet been given—the expressed wish of certain Greeks to see Jesus, is paralleled in the last hours of Christ by other not less singular episodes which, speaking humanly, come from nothing and lead to nothing in the history of the Passion; and which, having been placed on record in the inspired narrative, are then dismissed. Of these there are not less than four in the Gospel of the Passion, one being handed down by each of the Evangelists—the dream of Pilate's wife; the delivery of our Lord, in the first place, to Annas; the friendship of Pilate and Herod renewed over the captive person of our Lord God; and the young man's action who followed the procession to Golgotha, having a linen cloth cast about his body.

All these points, again, except the last one, are illustrated in the Passion Play at Ammergau, in the sight of all who will be at the pains to look below the surface and decipher them—the arbitrary, unaccountable episodes which stand out solitarily in the evangelistic story: the deliberate and intentional perjury of the false witnesses; our Master's almighty powerlessness against wilful unbelief; the election of the highly favoured three to witness His glory and His agony alike; the scenes in the Cenacolo; the mission of faith and love, Peter and John, in preparation for Christian mysteries; His supernatural fast, and the temptation of Christ by the high priest, the chief priests, the Jewish people, and the Roman soldiery.

Neither is the element of the miraculous, as it is termed, absent from the Gospel of the Passion, in ways paralleled by, or antithetical to, those with which we are familiar in the Gospel of the Ministry; and this, whether in act or in word.

Take but a few obvious instances in support of this position:—

1. More than once did our Blessed Lord Himself escape by supernatural agency from the malice of His enemies, or from the indiscretion of His friends, during His three years of mission. Now, in the midst of His Passion-woes, and with one almighty word, "Let these go their way," He ensures the escape of His apostles from the garden on the night of His apprehension.

2. Shortly after His transfiguration, when He descended from the mount, our Saviour healed the faithful servant of the centurion, who earnestly besought the cure. Directly after His agony, before He was led away by the temple guard, Christ healed the servant of the faithless high priest, who asked it not.

3. The unwilling testimony of the unclean or possessing spirits to the Godhead of Christ is noteworthy during the years of the ministry. In the hours of the Passion, the unconscious witness of the multitude, with a band of soldiers and officers, to our Saviour's Deity is even more remarkable. For, we read that at the incommunicable Name, I Am, they went backward and fell to the ground. And, if we turn from act to word, it will not fail to strike the student of Scripture that the absolute foreknowledge of our divine Lord, which was exhibited in many ways in the period of His ministry, is not without a counterpart in the time of His Passion. For instance: did He not foretell to Peter and John what would befall them on entering the Holy City, in order to prepare for their Master the Passover? Did He not warn the traitor of his treachery; and indicate, by sign and deed, afterwards understood by the apostles, the person of the traitor; and intimate to the eleven the near approach of Judas in Gethsemani? Did He not also warn His chiefest apostle, the great saint of the future, the not yet saint of to-day, of his threefold sad denial of his Master, and warn the

apostles in a body against seeking the first place? and did He not foretell that all should be offended because of Him, and that the flock should be scattered? And in the very same night did not Peter deny? was there not a strife amongst the apostolic college who should be the greatest? and before the day dawned had not all the trusted eleven forsaken Him and fled? And, not to go more deeply into this matter, did not our Saviour allude beforehand to His sufferings and death, both in general terms and in specific detail, to His rising again, to his apparition in Galilee, and to His ascension, where He was before? And were not all these pre-announcements duly and literally fulfilled?

Every one of these coincidences here mentioned, and many more that have been left unnamed, are enacted before the eyes of the spectator in the Passion Play at Ammergau. It is probable that the careful and exact attention which has been bestowed upon these and other incidents, apparently of secondary moment in the course of the drama, but really of main importance to a faithful reproduction of the sacred story, has done much to give to the Play, however inconsequentially, the title, in public estimation, which is fully deserved on other grounds, of "scriptural." In any case, it will be allowed that he only will have failed to read the Gospel in the Passion, repeated in the histrionic features of the Ammergau drama, who has failed to master the Gospel of the Ministry described in the pages of the New Testament.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

THE "LEAKAGE" FROM THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN GREAT BRITAIN.

MANY able and interesting articles on this subject, under different headings, have appeared from time to time in the I. E. RECORD. "Missionary Rector" and "Missionary Coadjutor" (1890) have crossed swords over it; while Father Vaughan (vol. viii., 343), with saintly humility, has asked us to deplore and stem the vast "leakage" that admittedly exists from the Catholic Church in Britain, at the foot of the tabernacle. The pages of *The Month*, *The Dublin Review*, *The Tablet*, &c., have also been devoted to discussing the subject. Dr. Tynan's interesting paper in the July number of the I. E. RECORD brings the matter fairly well down to date.

To those accustomed to read narratives of conversions to Catholicity in England and Scotland, accounts of Catholic missions being multiplied, and of churches, convents, and schools being erected and adorned in these countries, the news that, instead of advancing, the Church is, in fact, losing ground, will come with much surprise. Many will be startled at reading that the "vital" question for the Church in England to-day "is not the conversion of Protestants," but "the conversion of Catholics themselves;" or rather the retention of its own children in the faith of their fathers. And yet, such is the statement made by Dr. Tynan, and equivalently made by many others, from sources and opportunities of information that entitle them to be outspoken on the matter.

We would all wish that things were not so, and that the experiences the learned doctor gives in sustainment of his views, are exceptional and his statistics inconclusive. We would fain see more brilliant prospects for the return of England to the true fold than he holds out to us. However, an abundance of proof exists to convince us that vast numbers (Dr. Tynan computes those who have fallen away in England alone at well-nigh a million of souls) who were baptized

Catholics, fall away from the faith and become practically apostates. This, surely, is a gloomy prospect for the return of Britain to the faith, and one that calls for the most anxious exertions of all concerned. To none should it bring greater grief than to the Irish bishops, priests, and people: for, do not our "kith and kin" make up the vast numbers of those so falling away? By none should it be more seriously taken into consideration than by the Catholics of Great Britain, both lay and clerical; and even Rome itself must regard it with very grave anxiety. I offer no apology, therefore, save my inability to treat of it properly, for asking space for my views on this question in any Catholic publication. To anyone who may think me a "fool" for rushing in "where angels fear to tread," I would respectfully say,

"Si quid novisti rectius istis"

"Candidus imperti: si non, his utere mecum."

To catholicise Great Britain, I agree with Dr. Tynan, that the first and chief thing to do, even if there were no other motive, is to retain in the Church all those born of Catholic parents, and to pass them out of this world in the faith of their fathers, transmitting to their offspring, unsullied, the priceless inheritance of the true faith. It is easier to retain than to convert; and, were all, or nearly all, born of Catholic parents, professing Catholics in Great Britain to-day, the Church would be far more stalwart in itself and far more powerful in upsetting heresy and in resisting infidelity. To stop the disastrous "leakage" that undoubtedly exists, its location in the Catholic body should be determined and its causes examined, so that, if possible, effective remedies may be applied.

Some persons treat of it only as if it refers to the children of the Green Isle. Such is by no means the case. There are numbers of French, German, and Italian-speaking people in England and Scotland, Catholics by birth and early education: not merely do they not go to mass, but they don't rank themselves as Catholics at all. They don't contribute to the support of priests, or to the erection of

churches, convents, or schools, as many of the indifferent Irish do. They have become ashamed of their faith, or they act as if they can get on better by not professing it. They marry in heretical places of worship, or in registry offices; and rarely, indeed, are the children of such people baptized. Hardly ever are they sent to Catholic schools. Catholicity in Great Britain is unquestionably suffering great loss by such apostasy. Those who have experience of missionary work in the great English and Scotch centres will, I believe, agree with me that the practice, and even the profession, of the Catholic faith amongst other nationalities than the Irish, are things that are not much known (although vast numbers of such persons, many of whom must have been Catholics, have migrated into Britain and remain there), and that those who retain the profession of their faith the best, and who transmit it with the fewest losses by wilful apostasy, proportionally, are the children of St. Patrick. Catholic writers on the subject will all, I am sure, agree with me in this; and they will not deny the Irish all the credit that is their due for the catholicization of Britain. This, I venture to say, is nearly all that has been done for the Church in that country for the last forty years.

It is extremely difficult to counteract the "leakage" that exists amongst Germans, French, Italians, and other foreigners in England and Scotland. Faith, in such cases, is very often dead. The practice of attending mass and the sacraments may have been given up before such people left their homes. Their new associations are almost wholly non-Catholic, if not actually heretical or infidel; and the want of better class schools to compete with the grammar schools of the towns in which they settle down, completes in the second and for subsequent generations, the apostasy commenced in the first. To stem this "leakage" seems very hopeless as long as the Catholics in Great Britain belong almost entirely to the sons and daughters of manual toil; but, nevertheless, Catholic unions and Catholic clubs, acting in unison with the great Catholic organizations of the Continent, might do much in the desired direction. If the clergy in their various districts became aware of the abode

of such persons (as they could do, if Catholic unions were really effective), something might be done by timely and friendly visits to them. Where their numbers and goodness permit, Italian, German, and French churches are, I suppose, in existence for them. Such churches, however, cannot be sufficiently numerous; and, perhaps, the formation of Catholic guilds, consisting of such foreigners and presided over by priests who thoroughly understand their language, would do something to retain them in the Catholic faith. A combination of even a few in one centre, and a connection and sympathy with a similar few in adjoining centres, might foster a good Catholic tone amongst them, rouse them to religious fervour, and stimulate them into zealous action for the salvation of their compatriots.

I can speak with greater confidence, because I have greater knowledge, of the "leakage" amongst the Irish.

That "leakage" is truly deplorable, and if much more be not done to stop it, it is likely to increase in tenfold magnitude amongst the descendants of those who left Ireland for England and Scotland in the present half century. Those English-born Irish, though very frequently more Irish than the Irish themselves, don't drink in their faith from their mothers' breasts. They don't grow up in it, regarding it as more valuable than life itself. They are nurtured by parents who have been affected by the religious indifference in the midst of which their lot is cast; and they come in contact, in mills, mines, and market-places, with alluring vices that kill religious instincts, and with associations that inevitably contaminate pure faith. All the greater care and zeal, therefore, are required for them; and hopeless as the task would seem, discouraging as the efforts of truly missionary priests may appear, the Catholic Church and the grace of God are powerful enough to succeed.

Of the "leakage" amongst the Irish the causes are of various kinds. Some are on the part of the people themselves; others are traceable to the foes of our faith; and some others, perhaps, may be found in the deficiency of Catholic organization and in the working of the Church itself.

The causes that may be said to be the fault of the people themselves are chiefly—(a) intemperance ; (b) mixed marriages ; and (c) carelessness of religious duties.

These causes must be met by the usual weapons of the Catholic Church, assisted by such aids, not purely religious, as the circumstances of time and locality will provide.

It is undoubtedly true that great zeal is manifested in the use of these weapons by bishops, priests, and many Catholic laymen. Young men's societies, clubs, confraternities, leagues, libraries, &c., are worked in many places to stem the evils in question ; and frequently the smallness of the success apparent is most discouraging. The success, however, gained is greater than that apparent ; for, when zeal is of a preventive kind, its achievements are hidden and known only to God Himself. Greater things, however, must be done, and done in a greater number of places, if intemperance and its crowd of evils are to be stayed, and a stop put to its fecund generation of apostates. It destroys most of the Irish in Britain who fall away from the faith, body and soul ; it paralyzes their success in life, robs them of all happiness and social influence, makes them a disgrace to their country and to their creed : and they become by it a stumbling-block in the onward march of the Church of God. All the religious strength, as well as all the political power and social influence of the Irish people, at home and abroad, should be employed against it. Individual zeal will produce only a transitory effect if the laws do not assist in removing the temptations and encouragements to intemperance. Purely political considerations should not divide the Irish people on this great religious question ; nor would their power in England be one whit the less, but much the greater, if they were united upon it.

But what is to be done with mixed marriages ? A priest on an English mission told me, some time ago, that on one "road" in his district, and in the streets emptying into it, he counted over one hundred mixed marriages. In almost all these cases the Catholic party had practically given up the faith ! Similar stories are very numerous, and it seems to be agreed that mixed marriages are causing a vast amount

of the "leakage." No wonder the Church with its unerring wisdom and foresight has most emphatically condemned such nuptials, and warned long ago and repeatedly the Catholics of Britain against them. "*Tanquam illicitas ac perniciosas tum ob flagitiosam in Divinis communionem, tum ob impendens Catholico conjugii perversionis periculum, tum ob pravam sobolis institutionem.*" It seems the Church merely tolerates them, and it orders that they are never to be permitted unless "*gravibus dumtaxat de causis atque aegre admodum fit,*" and on certain well-known conditions. The seasonable publication of the laws of the Church, and well-reasoned explanations of them from the pulpit and the Catholic press, will do much to prevent mixed marriages; but they will continue, and they must be looked upon as a necessary evil, in a country where Catholics count as only one to ten of the population. To have as few of them as may be, is ardently to be desired and laboured for; but to have those that are entered into, celebrated in the Catholic church, those in charge of souls should zealously endeavour. Vehement denunciations of their sinfulness elsewhere than in the Catholic church, and a salutary infusion of a holy dread of divine vengeance if celebrated elsewhere, will do much with those persons who have not yet lost the Catholic faith and spirit, to prevent, at all events, the sacrilegious reception of the seventh sacrament. That sacrament being religiously received, and an acquaintanceship formed between the priest and the non-Catholic party, the removal of prejudice from the latter will primarily result. A friendly visitation, directed by a well-kept *status animarum*, will then very often bring about an exact compliance with the conditions on which the dispensation was granted. Should that be so, the outcome very probably will be that, not merely will the Catholic party continue in the practice of the Catholic religion, and all the children of the marriage be brought up Catholics, but the non-Catholic party will sometimes be converted. Migration from district to district, and from town to town, militates against this system of visitation. In most cases, however, the parties migrating can be brought under the cognizance of the priest in the new district; and,

if he in his zeal "take up the running" where it was left off in the former parish, the same desirable results may be realized.

As to negligence of mass and the sacraments being a cause of eventual, virtual apostasy, and thereby of a great "leakage" from the Church—it would, indeed, seem that such negligence can hardly be distinguished from the "leakage" itself. Nevertheless I am far from admitting that the vast number of those Irish Catholics who, in England and Scotland, miss mass, and absent themselves from the sacraments even for years, have given up the faith. No. I have met thousands of such persons in an experience of several years, and hardly ever did I meet one that wished to do so.

Even the most careless Irish, as a class, are easily influenced by a sympathetic priest. On them should prudent, timely, friendly zeal be exercised; and, unquestionably, it will be largely profitable. Much tact, however, is required in the exercise of it; for the best meant exertions frequently come to nought, even after great labour and prayer, because of the manner in which the Irish people are spoken to and spoken of, and sometimes because of pushing theological views, inimical to an Irishman's sense of patriotism, needlessly and defencelessly too far. The peculiarities of this people must be allowed for. They should themselves be treated with respect and friendship, as well as with urbanity and charity. They should be exhorted and admonished, and not upbraided and threatened; and when brought to the church, whether to an early mass at which bad clothes would induce them to prefer to attend, or to a week-evening service, to which, for the same reason, they often prefer to go rather than to the Sunday evening service, they should be instructed in plain and forcible language on religious truths and obligations, and they should be exhorted *with unction* to persevere in the profession of the former and the fulfilment of the latter.

In reference to the "leakage" that occurs amongst Irish people arising from the avowed opponents of their creed, I would consider that most of it concerns the children of the very poor and the very careless. Associating with infidels in clubs and lecture-halls does something to shake and

destroy the faith of some of our people. Reading misrepresentations of Catholic practices, and hearing attacks on Catholic truths, veiled in sophistry; do also something to undermine the faith of the Irish in Great Britain; but those of them brought up Catholics, are proof enough, so far, against such temptations, save in rare instances. The deserted children, the orphans, the juvenile Catholic inmates of English and Scotch workhouses, by being hired out to non-Catholics at an early age, almost always lose their faith, and there seems at present no adequate way of saving them from this heartrending fate. Priests may do a deal for their spiritual welfare while such members of their flocks remain in workhouses—where, indeed, it is very hard for them to practise Christian virtues. But boards of guardians will get rid of them on principles of economy at as early an age as they can. If they have any concern for their religion when parting with them it will be to have it destroyed, and if they are compelled to take some steps for its preservation they will content themselves with being promised that the children's religion will not be interfered with. Rarely is such a promise kept. I have known instances where poor law boards were told of an expressed intention on the part of applicants for children as servants to proselytize them. The board was besought not to entrust the children to such masters, in these circumstances, no matter what promises were made. It acted, however, on the promise principle, and gave a month's trial. The proselytism was accomplished within that period, and on a child stating she did not wish to go to mass, or to be a Catholic any longer, the guardians were too liberal-minded to interfere with her "free choice!" What is to be done to stop this "leakage"? May I commend the matter to the earnest consideration of the Catholic association that, I understand, has been recently formed in England for protecting Catholic interests?

Is any portion of the "leakage" amongst the Irish people traceable to the working of the Catholic Church itself in England and Scotland?

This may seem a very disrespectful—nay, even an impertinent—question, if it is to be answered in the affirmative.

However, I think it would be deplorable to be fastidious where I mean no disrespect, and when the most important of all issues is involved.

"S. V." wrote in the May number of last year's I. E. RECORD, assigning to "dearth of love and patience" on the part of some clerics a considerable portion of the "leakage." A "Missionary Coadjutor," in the June number, would seem to point to an unequal distribution of work, and an excessive amount of duty for some priests, as a cause of it. Dr. Tynan in his able "Plea for Discipline" (September, 1890), and Fr. Vaughan on the "Leakage" (vol. viii., 343), would indicate other sources of the loss of faith in the working of the Church itself. Be these true causes or not, I think there is one cause that has not been touched upon up to the present. It is a supposed necessity of "chapel brass," as it is sometimes called, for admission to mass on Sundays.

Rightly or wrongly the Irish in many places in England and Scotland consider that they are required to pay for admission to mass on Sundays; and what they consider is required of them, amounts to a considerable sum each Sunday where a whole household is taken into consideration.

This requirement, whether it be real or imaginary, is the cause of much of the negligence of mass of which the Irish people are guilty, and which so often results in practical apostasy. How often is not the want of "chapel brass" alleged as the reason for missing mass? How often is not such omission the beginning of a "break down" in the best resolutions? How often is it not the commencement of the relapse of a poor penitent?

The Irish poor are proud. They find it hard, even when their inability to pay entrance money arises from their own fault, to meet with obstruction from a door collector; to be humiliated by him; and to be relegated, if admitted, to places set apart for those unable to pay. Frequently, inexcusable and highly culpable though they know their conduct to be, they absent themselves entirely, rather than be thus humiliated; and thus is lost the great chance of their reformation, and commences a sinful habit which ends in their being lost to the Church.

It is not merely the poor that keep away owing to chapel money having come to be regarded as required : many "fairly well off," where a number out of a family ought to attend mass every Sunday, find "chapel-going" expensive. The Irish-reared portion of this class rarely grumble on this head. They would give their last sixpence to their religion. But their children, grown up in England and Scotland, earning wages and retaining control over it from an early age, think more of money and less of mass ; and having to pay for their music halls, benefit societies, clubs, &c., they easily avail themselves of the bad example of religious negligence they see around them, to save the Church entrance money.

I know the answer that can be given to these views :—priests must be supported ; schools must be maintained ; churches must be supplied with their requirements ; heavy interest must be paid ; large debts must be wiped out ; and new churches, schools and missions must be started.

I grant all this, and I avow that too much credit cannot be given to those who have supplied Great Britain, in most difficult circumstances, with so many beautiful churches, convents, schools, and other Catholic institutions. By having done so, they did what mortals could to save the poor Irish that were driven from their own country, and their children, in the faith of their fathers, so far. Too much gratitude cannot be paid to those who laboured so hard, begging, in the past, for the erection of these religious buildings. The debt system, however, was necessary to supplement their praiseworthy exertions, and, like mixed marriages, it has been a necessary evil. Everything provided by borrowing costs at least double its value, and if things that are not absolutely necessary are waited for, till their cost is presented or collected, they would then be had at their value and in good time enough. There would not then be the same necessity for big church door collections. Expensive outlays have not attracted many converts ; but have they not kept away many Catholics ? If I might express an opinion, therefore, without giving offence, I would respectfully submit that, if the "leakage" is to be stopped, the debt system in England and Scotland should be got rid of as soon as possible,

and, for that purpose, that things that are not urgently needed be done without for the present. I would wish the day had come when all Catholics could enter their churches without their fearing to be repelled for want of money, or to be hurt in their feelings by being relegated to humiliating places in the house of God. As in the postal and railway systems, income has vastly increased by a decrease of charges; so, I think, church income would likewise increase, if charges for admission were diminished; greater numbers would attend, the offertory plate would be better supported, and much of the "leakage" would be stopped.

Another cause that may render partially ineffective the efforts of priests in England and Scotland in retaining so many of the Irish and their descendants in the practice of their faith, is, I think, clerical inaction, outside religion, for their welfare.

In no country in the world have priests so much influence for good as in Ireland. No people on God's earth are more amenable to the ministers of our holy faith than the Irish. Why is it that so much can be made of them at home; that, at the words of their pastors, they will do anything and dare everything? Because they find the priest in Ireland in "touch" with them in all their legitimate aspirations; and because they know he is their friend, ready to use his talents, influence, and position, for their welfare. Why is it that these same people (the most faithful to God's Church all the world over, and the most exemplary at home in the practice of Christian virtue), are abandoning it in such numbers, and becoming a disgrace to it in Great Britain? I fear one reason is, that there is not enough of priests in that country who understand them, who are "in touch" with them, and who prove to them that they sympathize with them in their legitimate aspirations. Unless a priest is "in touch" with his people, and sympathizes with their legitimate aspirations as far as the laws of his Church permit, he is in danger of being regarded as a mere mechanical apparatus for the application of God's graces; and such priests, be they Irish, English, French, or Dutch, in Ireland, England, or Scotland, would soon reduce the Church in these countries

to the humiliating position it occupies on the continent. I believe in priests taking active part (*exceptis excipiendis*) in the legitimate efforts of the vast bulk of their people, who, in Great Britain, are almost all Irish, for a satisfactory redress of the wrongs of their country, for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes that constitute the vast portion of their flock, and for the general welfare of the public at large; and I submit that their abstention deprives them of influence for religious good in the present, and is calculated to relegate them, even amongst their own people, to positions of trifling influence in the settlement of social questions affecting religion, in the not distant future. I also think that judicious and manly action in these matters, on the part of priests, will save their people from irreligious control, and give the Church an influence over them that will enable it to mould them as it wishes for religious purposes. Cardinal Manning has made himself a power amongst the English masses, in spite of their diabolical hatred of his sacred character, by his invariably showing himself their friend. He has been none the less the friend of truth, justice, and religion, in so doing; and if the Irish people are to be retained in their faith in England and Scotland, they must be able to recognise as their friends, the priests of their Church, and not the Bradlaughs and Besants of the infidel schools. That the clergy of Britain may prove themselves entitled to such recognition, they have only to imitate the exalted lead given to all ecclesiastics by Leo XIII. and Cardinal Manning. To do so, and thus to save their Irish flocks from socialistic and infidel inroads, next to their sanctity, everything depends on their education and sympathetic zeal.

The years we are passing through should be of deep interest to Irish Catholics, and they are most momentous ones for the Church in England and Scotland. The descriptions of the "leakage" (almost all of which refer to the Irish) we meet with in Catholic publications make me ask, Can Ireland do anything to help in stopping it? A million of souls fallen away from the Church! writes Dr. Tyman.¹ A

¹ I. E. RECORD, July, 1891.

well-known London priest said some time ago, that almost nine out of every ten boys were lost sight of after leaving school!¹ "If we look around in our churches, where," asks Fr. Richardson² "are the vast numbers of youths that have passed through our schools during the past five years?" What's the good of trying to get them to Catholic schools, he despondingly seems to say, when they drift away from the faith in such numbers? In a district in Scotland (an esteemed correspondent informs me) in which Catholics had been fairly numerous, there are many villages where the faith is gradually dying out. I gather from the recent census that, although in one large town (which may be taken as a sample of many great centres of labour where Irish usually congregate) the whole population has largely increased within ten years, the Catholics have decreased, though the Irish are known to be a prolific race! Is not this alarming? And such the state of things amongst a people of whom Cardinal Manning³ wrote some years ago:—"I know no country in the world more truly Christian, nor any Catholic people that has retained its faith and traditions more inviolate!" And these are the people that are giving up their faith and propagating indifferentism in such numbers within a few hours' journey of the land of their birth!

Can anything more be done than is being done to stop this state of things? Are there enough priests in Britain to effectively minister to their Irish people? It may be said there are as many as can be decently supported amongst the church-going people: and these priests, in most cases, are overworked. But there is manifestly work for more priests; and, if these would speak effectively and work with sympathetic zeal, a superabundance of support would arise for them, even from these now "leaking" away.

But can such priests be got? Can even enough of reliable vocations be had for the Catholic colleges of Britain? If there be any of these wants, Ireland, that should be so eager

¹ I. E. RECORD, vol. xi., 661.

² I. E. RECORD, vol. vii., 155.

³ Letter to the late Primate of All Ireland. His Eminence excludes Rome as outside comparison.

for the preservation of the faith amongst its own people, and that always has done so much for the propagation of the faith all the world over, would not be appealed to in vain.

These fleeting years are most momentous ones for the Church in England and Scotland. Both these countries are now getting a chance such as they did not get since the Reformation, and such as they are not likely to get again. The Irish people have been mercilessly driven from their own country, and God who takes good out of evil, uses their very oppression to rekindle the light of faith amongst their oppressors. As by the prayer of St. Stephen, St. Paul was converted, so, it would seem, from the sufferings of the Irish, God wishes to bring back the British people to the faith of Becket and Augustine. This is England's chance, therefore; and, should it glide, in vain may another be expected.

I do not despair of a happy outcome. The conversion of a nation is pre-eminently a work of divine grace, and God, who out of the stones of Jerusalem can raise up children to Abraham, will, ere long, let us hope and pray, stud the once grand old Catholic plains of Britain with a population intensely Catholic and religious. Though vast masses of English people are not coming over to the Church, the tremendous prejudice that existed some years ago is fast dying out. Who would have thought that so great a change could come over the minds of the people of Great Britain on the political question, as has taken place in the last decade of years? May not a similar change take place on the religious question, even in the next decade? The English people are, at bottom, a religiously inclined, if a worldly people. Let us only convince them, charitably, that they are in error on a question of transcendent importance, and, with the grace of God, their conversion will be soon accomplished.

JOHN CURRY, P.P.

THE APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER: ITS ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND ORGANIZATION.¹

THE organized devotion to the Sacred Heart, known as the *Apostleship of Prayer*, or *League of the Sacred Heart*, is now so widely established throughout the Catholic world, and producing such marvellous results, that we think it advisable to furnish in the I. E. RECORD a brief account of its nature and advantages.

ITS MEANING.

The word *Apostleship* brings with it the idea of doing something like an apostle. Now, one of the first and primary advantages of this association is, that it makes each member virtually an apostle; that, whilst each member cannot leave home, and go into distant or infidel countries, yet, by joining this association and keeping to its rules, each member can gain the merit of an apostle, and can really do an apostle's work. This fact alone is sufficient to render this holy devotion worthy of being examined and fully known.

ITS ORIGIN

And this idea of apostleship originated in a foreign missionary college. Young men were being prepared for the foreign missions, in the Jesuit College of Puy, a town about seventy miles distant from Lyons, in the south of France. It is needless to say that the young men's minds were entirely bent on their future avocations; and it is needless, too, to say that the fathers appointed to direct the studies and spiritual exercises of these levites were men who were themselves full of missionary zeal. To the eyes of scholars and masters, the harvest indeed stood ripe, and the labourers were few; and the question most at their heart was, How could they render present and immediate assistance in that harvest field?

¹ We have much pleasure in publishing this paper, which is intended as a reply to several inquiries regarding the organization of "The Apostleship of Prayer."—Ed. I. E. R.

On the feast of St. Francis Xavier, the great missionary apostle, in the year 1844, the problem was thus solved by Father Gautrelet, S.J., Spiritual Director of the College. He pointed out that by consecrating all their thoughts, words, actions, and sufferings to the Sacred Heart, and offering them to the Eternal Father for the interests of Jesus Christ, they could find, even during their college course, ample opportunity for satisfying their missionary zeal. "The proposal," we read, "was received with enthusiasm by the young religious, and thus were laid the first foundations of *The Apostleship of Prayer*, which was destined to spread with wondrous rapidity throughout the world, and to inscribe on its registers many millions of associates." At present the number is supposed to be coming towards thirty million souls, and by the time the little mustard-seed reaches its golden jubilee, in 1894, it will in all likelihood be far beyond it.

All these twenty or thirty millions, every morning, unite in offering up all their thoughts, words, acts, and sufferings during the day for the one same thing. That one thing to be prayed for is appointed month by month; and the subject of prayer for the month is approved, if not directly chosen, by the Supreme Pontiff himself. It is not alone that they pray—and it is written that if two or three ask anything of the Father in Christ's name it will be given to them—they do more; they offer acts, words, and sufferings; and that *morning act or offering* is made by over twenty million of people. If it may be permitted to take a simile from the old Grecian warfare, they thus form a Grecian phalanx, irresistible in their onset at whatever point they attack.

LEAGUE OF THE SACRED HEART.

But there is something still better. The Sacred Heart of our Lord is not dead, but living. It is living in heaven; and in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar. It is living, "always living to make intercession for us." That is its continual and ever-blessed work—"always living to make intercession for us." With that cry of the Sacred Heart going up from the multitudes of altars on earth, and which

is "heard for its reverence," the cry of twenty millions joins, and the phials of the angels bear this glorious incense before God. The prayers, works, and sufferings of the twenty millions of people become transformed and glorified, because of their connection with the Sacred Heart, and are thus rendered immeasurably more pleasing before God. This, then, is the League of the Sacred Heart; innumerable souls joining their piteous cry with the "strong cry" of the Sacred Heart of Jesus for the salvation of souls and the triumph of the Church.

Our Blessed Lady, too, is joined with this praying multitude; for what interest of the Sacred Heart can be indifferent to the Heart of Mary? This, then, is the reason why in the morning offering the associates say: "Oh, Jesus! *through the most pure Heart of Mary*, I offer the prayers, works, and sufferings of this day, for the intentions of Thy divine Heart, and I offer them especially for the intention assigned to this month and to this day." An associate may not always know the *general intention* for the month; but, evidently it is better that he should, as in that case his prayer, in all likelihood, will be more earnest and more fully from the heart.

It has for its motto or legend the words taken from our Blessed Lord's prayer—" *Thy kingdom come.*" "By this we beg," says the little catechism, "that God may reign in our hearts by His grace in this life, and that we may reign with Him for ever in the next." That is what the associates ask and pray for—that God may reign in the hearts of all, but most especially in their own. That is their one wish and aim—that the kingdom of God may come. If that were accomplished, earth indeed would need no more.

A TEMPORAL ADVANTAGE.

Before passing from this view of the subject, there is one aspect more under which this devotion is beautifully attractive and consoling. When the divine Saviour was on earth He graciously condescended to do many temporal favours for those in sorrow and distress, as well as to cure their souls. The poor woman from the Philistine borders brought

her little girl; the Israelitish father brought his son; the ruler asked Him for his boy—in fact, as soon as they knew Him to be in a town, they brought their sick from the whole country round, and “virtue went out from Him,” “He cured all.” Poor human kind is stricken to-day as then. The wail of the sorrowing heart is heard in our time as it was nineteen centuries ago. The appeal is sent to the Central Director. At the beginning of the month he asks, through *The Messenger*, the prayers of the associates for those whom God has laid a heavy hand on; sometimes it is sickness, sometimes want of employment, sometimes an erring or a lost friend; and the associates put themselves in the place of the wounded one, and in their morning offering they “bear the infirmities” of their sorrowing brother or sister before the Heart of Him who hath known how to have compassion on all.

PROGRESS AND APPROVAL.

The first thing that an ecclesiastic will, as a rule, ask, is—Is this devotion known to the Church, and has it its sanction? It is almost unnecessary to answer the question; for, in the Church of God nothing will increase and multiply that has not the approval of the Holy See; and this has increased and multiplied, it might fairly be said, beyond precedent. It is in every country in the world, and it has no less than thirty authorized organs, preaching to nearly as many races and peoples.

In its lifetime it has seen but two Popes almost; for it might scarcely be said to be known at all when the late Pope Pius of venerable memory ascended the throne in 1846. But he was only three years Pope when it became known to him; and it was while he was an exile at Gaeta, in 1849, that, pondering over it, reviewing in his own mind its nature and its evident usefulness in the Catholic world, that he approved of it, and enriched it with many indulgences. This gave it a publicity and a standing that hitherto it had not. Religious communities began to fraternize with it; holy bishops gave it welcome to their dioceses; and zealous

priests and pious lay people endeavoured with eagerness and success to propagate it.

In the year 1861 appeared the first number of the organ dedicated to its furtherance—*The Messenger of the Sacred Heart*. In this our century no cause is fully equipped that has not a special organ, be the cause political, religious, or industrial. The press and the post-office carries the knowledge of the devotion into the remotest districts ; sometimes knocking at the doors of the learned, the wealthy, and the influential ; sometimes at those of the poor, the unlettered, and the afflicted ; but bringing, oh ! such a beautiful message alike to all—a message from the adorable, human, living, Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ.

What Catholic could refuse to receive *The Messenger* (as it was beautifully, almost inspiredly, styled) *of the Sacred Heart* ? What Catholic heart could refuse to listen to a message from the Heart of Jesus ? We read that the monthly issue of this periodical led to a prodigious development of *The Apostleship of Prayer*. And who could doubt it ? The wonder would be if it were otherwise.

Then came a second notice and sanction of the Vicar of our divine Lord in 1866, when numerous indulgences were granted to the devotion by him. At the same time there came the best intelligence of all, that the League of the Sacred Heart had “ *received a definite organization, through the approval of the statutes by the congregation of bishops and regulars.* ”

The present holy Pontiff, even before he was Pope, also gave the devotion his approval, his blessing, and his support. In that very year of 1866, when it was declared a definite organization, he wrote, being then archbishop of Perugia, to the Central Director of Italy :—“ *The Apostleship of Prayer* is so beautiful a work, and unites so much fruitfulness with so much simplicity, that it assuredly deserves all the favours of ecclesiastical authority. I rejoice to see it established in my diocese, and I shall never tire of promoting it.” That was in 1866. We know how political matters were tending at that time in Italy, until a crisis came in 1870. Now, a bishop during that time would

surely look to the best ; nay, even to a miraculous means, if it could be found, of preserving his flock to religion, and religion to his flock. In a pastoral which the present Holy Father, who was still only archbishop of Perugia, wrote in the intermediate time, *i.e.*, in 1868, he speaks of it thus :—" The plentiful fruit which the Holy League has already produced, no less than its rapid extension, shows plainly how pleasing this association must be to our Lord."

Leo XIII. was scarcely a year on the throne when he perfected and confirmed the statutes ; and during the twelve years of his pontificate he has issued no less than eight successive briefs or rescripts, each conferring new and more abundant privileges and indulgences on the association : that is to say, a brief or rescript almost every year. This, surely, is abundant and superabundant sanction, and certainly no stinted advocacy. Authorized and advocated by such high authority, no one need have a dread in following or furthering its work.

The " simplicity and usefulness" of this organization will be considered in another paper.

J. CULLEN, S.J.

Liturgical Questions.

THE "QUARANT' ORE," OR FORTY HOURS' ADORATION.

" The prayer for forty hours together before the Blessed Sacrament, in memory of the forty hours during which the Sacred Body of Jesus was in the sepulchre, began in Milan about the year 1534. Thence it spread into other cities of Italy, and was introduced into Rome, for the first Sunday in every month, by the Arch-confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity of the Pilgrims (founded in the year 1548, by St. Philip Neri) ; and for the third Sunday in the month, by the Arch-confraternity of our Lady of Prayer, called *La Morte*, in the year 1551."

" The devotion of the Forty Hours was established for ever by

Pope Clement VIII. for the whole course of the year in regular continuous succession from one church to another, commencing on the first Sunday in Advent with the chapel in the Apostolical Palace, as appears from the Constitution, *Graves et diuturnae*, Nov. 25, 1592. This Pope was moved to establish this devotion by the public troubles of Holy Church, in order that day and night the faithful might appease their Lord by prayer before the Blessed Sacrament solemnly exposed, imploring there His divine mercy. He further granted holy indulgences to those who should assist at prayer during this solemn exposition. All this was afterwards confirmed by Pope Paul V. in the brief, *Cum felicitis recordationis*, May 10, 1606.”¹

In course of time some irregularities and abuses in connection with this solemn ceremony were allowed to grow up in various districts, notwithstanding the zeal and vigilance of popes and bishops. To put an end to these, and to secure uniformity, at least in the churches of the Eternal City itself, Clement XI. published, January 21, 1705, his famous Instruction—called after him the *Instructio Clementina*—by which he regulated, down to the minutest detail, everything connected with the devotion of the Forty Hours. This Instruction has the force of law in the City of Rome, and must, therefore, be exactly observed in all the Roman churches as often as this devotion takes place in them. Outside the city the Instruction has only a directive force;² but it is superfluous to remark that it is a highly praiseworthy thing to follow it wherever local circumstances and diocesan laws permit.

The indulgences³ attached by the Sovereign Pontiffs to

¹ *The New Raccolta*. English translation, authorized by the Congregation of Indulgences, page 106. Philadelphia, 1889.

² “Verbo dicam, eandem (scil. Instructionem) quoad urbem vim præceptivam habere, quoad alias Ecclesias dumtaxat directivam.” Gardellini.

³ These indulgences are—(i.) “A plenary indulgence to all who being truly penitent, after confession and communion, shall devoutly visit any church, and pray there for peace and union among Christian Princes, for the extirpation of heresy, for the triumph of the Church, or for other favours, as the devotion of each one may suggest.”

(ii.) “An indulgence of ten years and as many quarantines for every visit made with true contrition and a firm purpose of going to confession. This indulgence was confirmed by His Holiness Pope Pius IX. by a Rescript of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, November 26, 1876 (and can be gained as often each day as the visit is repeated. Wapelhorst, n. 219). By a Rescript, May 10, 1807, Pius VII. declared that henceforth and for ever in the churches where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed all the altars are privileged during the time of the exposition.”—(*Raccolta*, page 107).

this devotion, were, like the Clementine Instruction, intended only for the city of Rome, and cannot, consequently, be gained anywhere else unless by virtue of a special privilege. Moreover, this privilege was at first granted only on condition that the exposition should continue uninterruptedly day and night, for the space of about forty hours; that it should be begun and ended with a solemn procession; and, in a word, that the Clementine Instruction should be substantially carried out. This discipline is now greatly modified. Hence we find that, in answer to the petition of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore,¹ the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* extended to all the dioceses of the United States the ordinary indulgences attached to the exposition in Rome, at the same time sanctioning the interruption of the exposition during the night, and dispensing with the procession at the will of the pastor of each church.²

The Blessed Sacrament should be exposed at the high altar, the drapery of which should be white, no matter what colour the office of the day requires. Relics should not be allowed to remain on the altar, nor images, except such as form part of the structure, and except also images of angels supporting candelabra.³ The altar-piece and any other paintings in the immediate vicinity of the altar should be covered with white hangings.⁴

On the altar and about it, twenty wax candles, according to the Clementine Instruction, should be kept lighting during the whole time of the exposition. Of these, eighteen should be on the altar and round the throne, while the remaining two, which should be of ponderous size, fixed in suitable candlesticks, should remain *in plano* in front of the altar,

¹ *Acta et Decreta*, n. 376.

² Wapellhorst, *ibi*. In Ireland, his Lordship the Most Rev. Dr. Woodlock, obtained from the same Congregation, in 1882, a Rescript granting a similar privilege to the Exposition of the Forty Hours in the churches in the diocese of Ardagh. By this Rescript the usual indulgences are granted, and permission given to replace the Blessed Sacrament privately in the tabernacle at night, and expose it privately in the morning. See Rescript and interesting correspondence between his Lordship and Cardinal Simeoni in the I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. iv., page 197, &c.

³ *Instr. Clemen.*

⁴ Martinucci, l. 2, c. 38, n. 107.

These details regarding the position and size of the candles are not regarded as obligatory even in Rome ;¹ still less, then, are they obligatory in other places.

With regard to the number and quality of the candles, the case is different. There is no doubt that this provision must be observed in Rome by virtue of the Instruction; while outside of Rome the reverence due to the Adorable Sacrament requires that the altar of exposition should be always furnished with a plentiful supply of lighted candles, and that at least those on the altar and immediately about the throne should be of wax. A decree² of Innocent IX. permits solemn exposition of the Blessed Sacrament with so few as ten wax candles. But there should be, at least, this number. Indeed, there is hardly any church or parish so poor that it cannot afford to keep at least twenty wax candles burning during the few hours that this solemn ceremony lasts. The candles should be arranged as far as possible before the mass of exposition, and should be lighted before the consecration. During the time the candles are lighting, a priest or cleric, vested in soutane and surplice, should look after them.³ Even Regulars should wear a surplice over their habit when engaged about the altar.⁴

The cross remains on the altar as usual during the mass of exposition. During the mass of deposition it may or may not remain on the altar, according to the custom of each church or place. But at all other times it must be removed. The charts, also, must not be permitted to remain on the altar unless during mass. The Instruction lays down precise rules regarding the mass to be celebrated on each of the three days included in the Forty Hours. It supposes, however, that each mass will be celebrated solemnly; that is, with deacon and sub-deacon, and all the other accessories of a solemn mass; or in that sense, that it shall, at least, be sung by the celebrant assisted by a choir.⁵ But as in very

¹ Gardellini, *Instr. Clemen.*, sect. 6, n. 3.

² May 20, 1682.

³ *Instr. Clemen.*

⁴ Gardellini, *loc. cit.*, sect. 7, n. 2.

⁵ Gardellini, *loc. cit.*, sect. 15, n. 5.

many places in this country, and in others similarly situated, it is impossible to have either a solemn mass or a *missa cantata* on occasion of the Forty Hours' devotion, it will be necessary to indicate the modifications in the Instruction which these circumstances call for. We shall, then, point out—first, what the Instruction prescribes for those places where mass can be celebrated solemnly in the sense just explained; and afterwards, what analogy, the general principles of the Liturgy, and various decisions, prescribe for places where only a private mass can be celebrated.

I. WHEN MASS CAN BE CELEBRATED SOLEMNLY.

On the first and third days a solemn votive mass of the Blessed Sacrament should be said, and on the intermediate day also a solemn votive mass *pro pace*, or for such other necessity as the Pope or the bishop of the place may have ordered for the time.¹ There are, however, certain days whose offices are so highly privileged as not to admit of the celebration of a solemn votive mass even on such a solemn occasion as the devotion of the Forty Hours. These days, as defined by the Instruction, and by subsequent decisions, are:—1. Sundays and feasts of the first and second class. 2. Ash Wednesday, and the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Week.² 3. All the days within the Octaves of the Epiphany, Easter, and Pentecost; and 4. The eves of Christmas and Pentecost.

On these days the mass of the day is celebrated, and under the same conclusion with its prayer is said the votive prayer of the Blessed Sacrament, or *pro pace*.³ All other commemorations are omitted, except that of an occurring Sunday or feast of double or semi-double rite.⁴ But even when such a commemoration as this is to be made, the votive prayer is said immediately after the prayer of the mass, and under the

¹ *Instr. Clemen.* Gardellini, *loc. cit.*, sect. 13.

² On the last three days of Holy Week the devotion of the Forty Hours is strictly forbidden.

³ *Instr. Clemen.*

⁴ S.R.C., 18 Maii, 1883, ad Episc. Marianopolitanus (apud Wapelhorst, n. 220) Gardellini, *loc. cit.*, sect. 12, n. 9. De Herdt, tom. 1, n. 45. Merati, p. 1, tit. 4, n. 44.

same conclusion.¹ In the mass of these days no other changes are to be introduced on account of the exposition. They are to be celebrated with or without the *Gloria* and *Credo*, and with a last Gospel other than the beginning of St. John, according to the rubrics general and special referring to them.²

Except on these days the votive masses as already mentioned are to be said. The votive mass of the Blessed Sacrament to be said is that which is found among the votive masses at the end of the missal. Within the Octave of Corpus Christi, however, the mass of the feast is said, with the sequence and only one prayer.⁴ The solemn votive masses on the first and third days admit no commemoration whatsoever, even of an occurring Sunday.⁵ The *Gloria* and *Credo* are said, the Preface is *de Nativitate*, and the last Gospel is always the beginning of St. John.

The mass *pro pace* admits the commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament only. This commemoration is said under the same conclusion with the prayer of the mass. In this mass, which is celebrated in violet vestments, the *Gloria* is always omitted; the *Credo* is also omitted, unless on Sundays; and the Preface, since there is none proper, is selected according to the ordinary rules. Hence, on week-days the Preface will be *de octava*, *de tempore*, or *de communi*; on Sundays, *de octava*, *de tempore*, or *de Trinitate*. Should Ash-Wednesday happen to be one of the three days, the Prayers, Preface, and *Pater Noster* are sung in the ferial tone, and the prayer *super populum* is said after the Post-Communions.⁶

II. WHEN MASS CANNOT BE CELEBRATED SOLEMNLY.

Here again, two cases are to be distinguished. Either the days of exposition or any of them admit of private votive

¹ Gardellini, *ibidem*.

² Wapelhorst, n. 2, 20.

³ Gardellini, *loc. cit.*, sect. 12, n. 15. Wapelhorst, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *Ibidem, ibidem*.

⁵ "Idque etiam si incidat in Dominicam non solum in ecclesiis collegiatis, sed itam in aliis." Martinucci, l. 2, c. 38, n. 107. Wapelhorst.

⁶ S. R. C., *loc. cit.*

masses, or they do not.¹ In the former hypothesis a votive mass of the Blessed Sacrament should be celebrated on the first and third days, and on the intermediate day, a votive mass *pro pace*, or for any other necessity, according to the directions of the bishop of the place.

These masses, since they enjoy no privileges over ordinary votive masses, are subject to precisely the same rules in their celebration. The *Gloria* and *Credo* are always omitted, the last Gospel is the beginning of St. John, and at least three prayers must be said, while none of the prescribed prayers can be omitted.

In the latter hypothesis—that is, when a private votive mass cannot be said on one or more of the days of exposition—the mass of the day must be said with a commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament. This commemoration must be omitted, however, on doubles of the first and second class on Palm Sunday and on the eves of Christmas and Pentecost.² Its place when made is after all the prayers prescribed by the rubrics, but before such as may be ordered by a bishop—*orationes imperatae*.³

All private masses celebrated in the church during the days of exposition, whether at the altar of exposition or at another, take a commemoration of the Blessed Sacrament, subject to the limitations and regulations just mentioned.⁴ The bell should not be rung during the exposition, unless, perhaps, at the principal mass.⁵

At the altar of exposition only the mass of the first and third days, that is, the mass of exposition and the mass of reposition, as they are called, should be celebrated.⁶ There are two evident exceptions, however: one founded on a long-existing custom of celebrating at the altar of exposition; the

¹ Private votive masses are forbidden—1, on all Sundays and on feasts of double rite; 2, within the octaves of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost and Corpus Christi; 3, on Ash-Wednesday and on all the days of Holy Week; 4, on the eves of Christmas, Epiphany, and Pentecost; 5, on the Commemoration of All Souls.

² De Herdt, tom. 1, n. 73, 2.

³ *Ibi.*, n. 4.

⁴ *Ibi.*, n. 2.

⁵ *Instr. Clemen.*

Ibi.

other founded on necessity ; namely, if there is not a second altar in the church.¹ The same is to be said of the distribution of communion as of the celebration of mass. It should not take place at the altar of exposition, unless sanctified by custom or justified by necessity.

Requiem masses are forbidden in a church in which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, unless on the commemoration of All Souls, when violet vestments are to be used.²

THE FIRST DAY.

The mass of the first day is selected according to the directions just given. The ceremonies, until after the communion of the celebrant, are precisely the same as in an ordinary mass. Two large Hosts, however, are consecrated ; one for the mass itself, the other for the exposition.

The preparations for the mass of exposition include, besides the things required for the mass, those also that are required for the procession—namely, a cope of the same colour as the vestments ; a white humeral veil, no matter of what colour the vestments are ; the processional cross, the monstrance, a second large Host, a second censer, candles for those who are to take part in the procession ; four, six, or eight lanterns, if the procession is to go outside ; the large canopy for the procession proper ; and the small canopy, or *ombrellino*, which is extended over the celebrant, while carrying the Blessed Sacrament between the altar and the large canopy.

THE MASS.

When the celebrant has consumed the Precious Blood he places the chalice on the corporal, and the sub-deacon covers it with the pall. The deacon and sub-deacon then genuflect and change places, and again genuflect along with the celebrant. Meantime the master of ceremonies brings the monstrance from the credence to the epistle side of the altar, and hands it to the deacon. The latter removes the white veil, which is carried to the credence by the master of ceremonies or by an acolyte,³ and places the monstrance on the

¹ Gardellini, *loc. cit.*, sect. 12, 5.

² DeJHerdt, tom 1, n. 49.

³ Martinucci, l. 2, c. 38, n. 36.

corporal. He then fixes in its place the lunette holding the consecrated Host, and places the monstrance on the back part of the corporal, taking care that it faces outwards. All three now genuflect, and the sacred ministers change places, the deacon returning to the celebrant's left and the sub-deacon to his right. On their arrival they again genuflect, the sub-deacon uncovers the chalice, and the celebrant purifies the corporal at the place where the second Host rested. During the remainder of the mass the rules laid down for a mass in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed must be observed. The cruets, &c., are no longer kissed, salutations are omitted, and even the celebrant genuflects each time he comes to the centre of the altar or departs from it.

THE PROCESSION.

When the celebrant has finished reading the last Gospel, he goes to the centre of the altar accompanied by the sacred ministers, and all genuflect on one knee, and go by the lateral steps to the bench. Arrived at the bench, they remove their maniples, and the celebrant the chasuble in addition, in place of which he puts on a cope corresponding in colour with the other vestments.¹

The two thurifers now approach the celebrant, having their censers replenished with fire. When passing the centre of the altar they genuflect on both knees, and when they come in front of the celebrant they stand in single file—*alter post alterum*.² The celebrant, having assumed the cope, puts incense into the censers, but does not bless it, and all proceed in front of the altar, genuflect on both knees on the pavement, and, rising, kneel on the first step. In this position the celebrant incenses the Blessed Sacrament with three double swings, making, as the ministers also do, a profound inclination of the head before and after. The white humeral veil is now put on the shoulders of the celebrant, who, together with the deacon and sub-deacon ascends the steps. The deacon mounts the predella, while the others kneel on the

¹ While the ministers are at the bench, the charts, missal, and stand should be removed from the altar by the sacristan or an acolyte.

² Martinucci, *loc. cit.*, n. 51.

front edge. Having genuflected on the predella, the deacon takes hold of the monstrance with both hands, the right being towards the upper part of the stem, and the left under the foot, and the front of the monstrance being next himself. Holding it thus, he turns towards the celebrant, who inclines his head to the Blessed Sacrament, and, still kneeling, receives the monstrance in both hands covered with the ends of the humeral veil. The deacon having placed the monstrance in the hands of the celebrant, genuflects on one knee on the predella towards the Host in the monstrance, and immediately takes his place at the right of the celebrant. The latter with the sub-deacon rises, and both are accompanied on to the predella by the deacon. On the predella all three turn towards the people, the deacon and sub-deacon keeping their respective places at the right and left of the celebrant. As soon as they have turned round, the chanters intone the *Pange lingua*, and the procession moves off.

The sacristan or an acolyte will now take the small canopy, extend it, and hold it over the celebrant while he moves from the altar to the large canopy. Those who carry the large canopy will have it in position at his approach.

The procession, which forms part of the Forty Hours' Devotion, is supposed to be confined to the church.¹ It is, however, permitted to proceed a short distance outside the church, if the interior does not afford sufficient space.² When the procession is confined to the church it goes from the altar by the right, or gospel side, and returns by the left, or epistle side; but when it leaves the precincts of the church it proceeds direct from the altar to the door by the centre of the nave; and, having emerged from the door, it goes away by the right, returns to the door by the left, and reaches the altar again by the same path by which it came from the altar to the door.³

The procession is composed of lay confraternities, if there be any attached to the church; Regulars, should any take part in the ceremonies; and the secular clergy. When a

¹ *Instr. Clemen.*

² *Ibidem.*

³ Gardellini, *loc. cit.*, sect. 20, n. 16.

large number are to take part in the procession they should begin to leave their places at such a time as will enable the whole procession to be formed when the celebrant is ready to accompany it, or shortly after he is ready. With this object it is permitted to begin to form the procession any time after the consecration, or even before it, if necessary.¹

The lay confraternities walk at the head of the procession, each preceded by its own cross carried by one of its members, having on either hand one or two members with lighted torches.² If the Regular clergy who are present form one or more distinct bodies, they follow the laity, each Order having its cross borne in front of itself.³ The secular clergy occupy the rear, being next the Blessed Sacrament. In front of the secular clergy the cross of the church is borne by an acolyte or a sub-deacon, vested only in soutane and surplice. He is accompanied by two acolytes, bearing lighted candles or torches. After these follow the clergy, two and two, also carrying lighted candles, each in the outward hand. In front of the canopy there should be, at least, eight priests or acolytes; and if the procession is to go outside the church there should be on each side of the canopy two, three, or four acolytes, with lighted candles in lanterns, carried on staves. The canopy is borne by the senior priests, or, if need be, by the most worthy laymen.⁴ Under the canopy walks the celebrant,⁵ carrying the monstrance raised up, so that the Host is about the height of his eyes. He is accompanied on the right and left by the deacon and sub-deacon, and in front of him walk the twothurifers, turned towards the Blessed Sacrament, which they continue to incense during the whole time of the procession. The celebrant and sacred ministers recite alternately psalms or hymns.

¹ *Instr. Clemen.*, sect. 20, n. 1. Those who take their places in the procession after the Host has been put into the monstrance genuflect on both knees in front of the altar.

² Martinucci, *loc. cit.*, n. 60.

³ Gardellini, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Martinucci, *loc. cit.*, n. 62.

⁵ The celebrant of the mass of exposition should carry the Blessed Sacrament in the procession—unless in one case, namely, when the bishop of the diocese is present, to whom this privilege would then belong.

When the procession returns to the altar, the cross-bearer places the cross in some convenient place on the epistle side, the acolytes lay their candles on the credence, and the clergy either divide into two lines, between which the Blessed Sacrament is borne to the altar, all genuflecting as the canopy approaches; or, without making any reverence to the altar, they return to their places in choir; and here also they kneel at the approach of the Blessed Sacrament.¹

The large canopy is borne only to the entrance to the sanctuary, whence it was carried at the beginning of the procession. As soon as the celebrant emerges from beneath it the small canopy is held over him until he reaches the altar. Those who carried the large canopy having consigned it to the persons who are charged with removing it, receive lighted candles, and kneel in a semicircle inside the sanctuary, if in surplice; but outside the rails, if only in secular dress.²

Having arrived at the altar steps, the celebrant places the monstrance in the hands of the deacon, who receives it kneeling on the pavement. The deacon, having received the monstrance, rises from his knees, and, without turning towards the altar, waits until the celebrant has adored the Blessed Sacrament. He then ascends the altar, and places the monstrance on the throne prepared for it, genuflects on one knee on the predella, and kneels on the lowest step at the celebrant's right.

The chanters immediately intone the *Tantum ergo*, and at *Genitori*, the celebrant—from whose shoulders the humeral veil should have been removed as soon as he gave the monstrance into the hands of the deacon—and the sacred ministers rise, and the former puts incense into the censer, which is presented by one of thethurifers, but does not bless it.

Again all kneel on the first step, and the celebrant, having received the censer from the deacon, who offers it without kissing the chains or the celebrant's hands, incenses

¹ Martinucci, *loc. cit.* n. 67.

² Bauldry, *apud* Baldeschi.

the Blessed Sacrament with the usual number of swings, and with the usual inclinations.

The hymn is not followed by the versicle *Panem de coelo*, &c., but immediately by the Litany of Saints, which is sung by two chanters, kneeling in the middle of the choir, the choir singing the responses. At the end of the psalm which is placed after the Litany, the celebrant sings the versicles. At *Dominus vobiscum* he rises, sings the prayers, standing with his hands joined, and at the end of the prayers again kneels, sings the versicle *Domine exaudi*, &c. The chanters then sing *Exaudiat nos*, &c., and the celebrant adds in a subdued voice, *Fidelium animae*, &c. After a brief delay the clergy return to the sacristy, in the usual order, making a double genuflection in front of the altar. The celebrant and sacred ministers remain uncovered until they get beyond the view of the Blessed Sacrament.

If for any reason there cannot be a procession, none of the other ceremonies are to be omitted. Hence when mass is finished, the celebrant assumes the cope as usual, puts incense into one censer, and coming in front of the altar genuflects on both knees, as do also the deacon and sub-deacon, if a solemn mass has been celebrated. Then kneeling on the first step he incenses the Blessed Sacrament. The monstrance is placed on the throne by the deacon, by another priest in surplice and stole, or, in defect of either, by the celebrant himself. The *Pange lingua* is sung. At *Genitori* the Blessed Sacrament is again incensed, and the Litany and prayers are sung as above, or recited, if they cannot be sung.¹

THE SECOND DAY.

Wherever it is customary during this devotion to replace the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle at night and expose it again in the morning, both reposition and exposition may be accompanied with the singing of the *Pange lingua*, and the prayer *Deus qui nobis*, and the reposition by Benediction in addition, or they may take place without any special cere-

¹ Wapelhorst, Martinucci, Gardellini, &c.

monies, according to diocesan statutes and established customs.

The mass on the second day, according to the Clementine Instruction, should be a solemn votive *pro pace*, or for whatever other necessity the Pope or bishop may order for the time. The days on which this votive mass is permitted have been already pointed out, and full explanations given as to what mass is to be said in its place, as well on days which exclude a solemn votive mass as in circumstances which exclude a solemn mass of any kind. These explanations, therefore, need not be here repeated, though it may be useful to call attention again to one or two points in connection with the place and manner of celebrating this mass.

The mass of the second day should not be celebrated at the altar of exposition, nor even at the altar where there is a tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament.¹ Of course necessity, which recognises no law, and custom, the best interpreter of the law, justify a departure from this direction.² The mass *pro pace*, when it is said, requires violet vestments, excludes the *Gloria* always, and the *Credo*, except on Sundays. The bell is not rung during the mass whatever it may be.³

THE THIRD DAY.

The Blessed Sacrament is exposed early on the morning of the third day, as on that of the second, and preparations are made for celebrating mass at the altar of exposition.⁴ These preparations are precisely the same as those for the

¹ "Hæc vero missa votiva solemnus cantanda est in altari ab eo in quo fit expositio et ab eo in quo adest tabernaculum cum incluso Sacramento diverso." (*Inst. Clemen.*)

² Gardellini, *loc. cit.*, sect. 12.

³ Baldeschi, Martinucci, *loc. cit.*, n. 23.

⁴ Martinucci (*loc. cit.*, n. 24) is of opinion that, whenever the Blessed Sacrament is placed in the tabernacle overnight, final reposition should take place in the evening, and not in the morning. This opinion even Wapellhorst seems to adopt. It is, however, merely an *opinion*, and one, moreover, for which there would seem to be no foundation in analogy or in custom.

mass of the first day, except that on this occasion there is no second Host, and no monstrance to be prepared. For the procession on this day the same preparations are made as for the procession on the day of exposition.

The mass is selected according to the directions already given, and is celebrated with all the ceremonies proper to a mass sung or said in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed.

After finishing the last Gospel, the celebrant and sacred ministers genuflect on the predella, and proceed to the bench, where the celebrant exchanges the chasuble for a cope, and all lay aside their maniples. Incense is not put into the censers, as on the first day. Instead, the celebrant having assumed the cope, all go at once to the front of the altar, make a double genuflection on the pavement, and rise to kneel on the first step.

Immediately the two chanters begin the Litany, which is continued by them and the choir alternately, as on the first day. During the Litany, or before it, if necessary, the procession is formed, all genuflecting on both knees to the Blessed Sacrament.

After the versicle *Domine exaudi orationem meam*, and before *Dominus vobiscum*, the celebrant and ministers rise, the two thurifers approach, and incense is put into both censers without any blessing. The celebrant and ministers again kneel, and the former incenses the Blessed Sacrament as usual. The humeral veil is now put on the shoulders of the celebrant, who, with the sub-deacon, rises, ascends the steps, and kneels on the edge of the predella. The deacon goes up with them, but does not kneel. Instead, he goes up to the predella, genuflects, but so that he does not turn his back on the celebrant, takes down the monstrance from the throne, and places it on a corporal spread on the middle of the altar. He again genuflects, and places the monstrance in the hands of the celebrant according to the directions given for the procession of the first day. The celebrant having received the monstrance in both hands, which should be covered with the ends of the humeral veil, ascends the predella in company with the sacred ministers, and all turn

towards the people. The chanters intone the *Pange lingua*, and the procession begins to move.

This procession is in all respects similar to that of the first day. The same rules, therefore, as to precedence, among those who take part in it, the limits within which it is to be confined, the direction in which it is to set out and return, and, in a word, as to its minutest detail, are to be followed in this as in the former. When, after the return of the procession, the deacon has placed the monstrance on the altar, the *chanters* begin the *Tantum ergo*. At *Genitori genitoque*, the Blessed Sacrament is incensed, and at the end of the hymn the versicle and response, *Panem de coelo*, &c. *Omne delectamentum*, &c., are sung, to each of which in paschal time and during the Octave of Corpus Christi an *Alleluia* is added.

The celebrant now rises, and sings, without *Dominus vobiscum*, the prayer *Deus qui nobis*, and the others which follow. Having finished the prayers, he again kneels, sings the versicles and responses alternately with the choir, until he comes to *Fidelium animae*, which he says in a subdued tone. The humeral veil is again put on his shoulders, and, assisted by the sacred ministers, he gives Benediction as usual. After the Benediction, the Blessed Sacrament is replaced in the tabernacle, and the ministers and choir leave the church in the usual order.

When there cannot be a procession, it alone is omitted; everything else is observed.

Documents.

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES.

SUMMARY.

1. WHEN A SIMPLIFIED DOUBLE CONCURS WITH A PRIVILEGED SUNDAY—WHICH SHOULD PRECEDE IN THE ORDER OF COMMEMORATIONS?
2. SHOULD THE SECOND VESPERS BE OF THE OCTAVE DAY OF CORPUS CHRISTI, ON THE EVE OF THE FEAST OF THE SACRED HEART?
3. SHOULD THE COLOUR OF THE VESTMENTS FOR THE FEAST OF THE SACRED HEART BE WHITE, WHETHER THE MASS BE *Egredimini*, WITH THE PREFACE OF THE NATIVITY, OR *Miserebitur*, WITH THE PREFACE OF THE CROSS.

NITRIEN.

Rmus Dnus Augustinus Roshovanyi Episcopus Nitrien. Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequentia Dubia pro opportuna declaratione humillime subiecit, nimirum :

Dubium I. An concurrente commemoratione festi ritus Duplicis simplici cum commemoratione Dominicae privilegiatae, huius commemoratio praecedere debeat alteram de festo Duplici simplici, vel viceversa?

Dubium II. An iuxta Decretum *Urbis et Orbis* diei 28 Iunii 1889, secundae Vesperae diei octavae Corporis Christi integrae de eadem octava fieri debeant; vel iuxta alias Decreta a S. Rituum Congregatione illae Vesperae integrae de sequenti festo Sacri Cordis Iesu dicendae sint, absque octavae Corporis Christi commemoratione?

Dubium III. An Sacra paramenta coloris albi in Missa de Sacro Corde Iesu adhibenda sint, tum in locis ubi Missa *Egredimini* cum Praefatione de Nativitate celebratur, tum reliquis in locis ubi Missa *Miserebitur* cum Praefatione de Cruce usurpari debet?

Sacra vero eadem Congregatio, exquisito voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit, videlicet :

Ad I. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam;

Ad II. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundum;

Ad III. Affirmative. Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit die 15 Novembris 1890.

C. Card. ALOISI MASELLA, *Praef.*, S.R.C.

VINC. NUSSI, *Secretarius*.

SHOULD A PRIEST AT THE ALTAR, IMMEDIATELY BEFORE OR AFTER MASS, GENUFLECT DURING THE ELEVATION AT ANOTHER ALTAR OF THE CHURCH?

Accidit quandoque, ut statim post absolutam Missam unius Sacerdotis, in alia Missa fiat ab alio Sacerdote elevatio Sacramenti: tenetur ne Sacerdos, qui Missam explevit, expectare elevationis utriusque speciei finem, in quocumque altari fiat?

Resp. Rubricae Missalis leviora illa temporis momenta, quae intercedunt a fine Missae ad initium usque reditus in sacrarium, explicite non considerant; sed casus respiciunt solum, qui accidere possunt cum vel e sacrario ad altare, vel ab altare in sacrarium Sacerdos incedit. Nihilominus eadem ad casum applicanda est Rubrica, quae tractat de modo se gerendi Sacerdotis, antequam Missam immediate incipiat; idque, uti patet, ex paritatis ratione. Itaque Rubrica (*Rit. celebr. Tit. III, n. 4*) ait: "Celebrans... dicit... *In nomine Patris*, etc. Et postquam id dixerit, non debet advertere quemcumque in alio altari celebrantem, etiamsi Sacramentum elevet." Ergo, omnes communiter concludunt, omnique, ut patet, iure, antequam praefata verba pronuntiet, genuflectere debet tempore quo Sacramentum elevatur in alio altari: idem de fine dicas. At merito inquiritur, utrum genuflectere Sacerdos debeat, quocumque in Ecclesiae altari elevatio fiat. Sed negative respondemus, et ut genuflectat Sacerdos, seu celebraturus, seu qui iam celebravit, requiritur, ut vel e conspectu Sacramentum elevetur, vel saltem in

proximiori altari. Sane Rubrica de Sacerdote incedente sic se habet: "Si vero contigerit, eum transire ANTE altare maius... Si ANTE locum Sacramenti... Si ANTE altare, ubi celebretur missa, in qua elevatur, vel tunc ministratur Sacramentum, etc. (*Rit. serv. Tit. II, n. 1*):" tunc tantum, Rubrica exigit, ut Sacerdos genuflectat; ergo minime in aliis casibus, in quibus ANTE non transit. Eodem quoque sensu primam superius relatam Rubricam esse intelligendam, satis pariter liquet, seu ex communiter servata consuetudine, seu ex inconvenientibus, quae ex contraria praxi derivarent, maxime in amplioribus Ecclesiis. Ergo a pari in casu nostro, post scilicet expletam Missam, eadem est norma sequenda. Hinc de principio Missae agens cl. Zualdi, ait: "Si Sacramentum elevetur in altari proximiori antequam Missa incipiat, potest genuflectere in infimo gradu; imo convenit, si duo altaria inter sese nulla pariete separentur (*Caerem. Miss. priv. pag. 52 in nota*). Clarius autem Wapelhorst habet:" Si vero ante Missam, vel post eam, finito ultimo Evangelio, fiat elevatio in alio altari VICINO, utrumque genuflectit in infimo gradu, donec ibi calix depositus fuerit (*Compend. Sacr. Liturg. pag. 82, § 51, n. 2*)." Adeo ut, proinde, altaris proximitas plus minusve, omnino requiratur, ut Rubricarum vi Sacerdos, seu ante initium, seu post finem Missae, debeat genuflectere, si in illo elevetur Sacramentum. Id autem ita esse intelligendum, ut Sacerdos ad expletam utriusque speciei elevationem utroque genuflectus stare debeat, adeo res patet, ut nec innuere necessarium censeamus.¹

¹ Taken from the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*.

Notices of Books.

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA AND THE EARLY JESUITS. By Stewart Rose. London : Burns and Oates. New York : Catholic Publication Society Co. 1891.

IN 1870 Mr. Stewart Rose published the first edition of this work, which was then received rather coldly by critics. The public, however, must have liked it better than their would-be guides, for in less than twelve months a second edition was called for. The present is an *edition de luxe*, and, according to the author, is so much improved "that it may be called a new life." But this statement, though coming from one who should know, we are not bound to accept in its entire fulness. That there are improvements, and great improvements, we fully admit ; but these are rather in the form than in the matter of the work ; rather in little details than in the substance of the narrative. The illustrations are, of course, a new feature ; so is the division into chapters ; several additional letters of St. Ignatius—not indeed of absorbing interest—are added, and a few queer expressions used in the first edition have been changed or expunged ; but the narrative, taken as a whole, remains substantially what it was.

In connection with the illustrations no expense has been spared. They are intended to serve as a kind of small panorama of the saint's life, and are, therefore, for the most part "restorations." Cities and churches, palaces and piazzas, convents and colleges, and common dwelling-houses are shown, not as they are at present—if they exist at all—but as they were in the time with which the narrative is concerned. These restorations have been made by one who is at once an eminent archæologist and an eminent artist. They are, therefore, of great value from an historical and archæological point of view, while they excite the interest and stir the imagination of even the ordinary reader. The portraits are few—too few, indeed, for the curious reader. Among them are two of St. Ignatius—one of his mail-clad youth, wherein he seems prepared to conquer the world with spear and shield ; the other of his old age, when he had laid the world at his feet with the arms of prayer and self-denial. But the original of neither one nor other of these was taken

during the saint's lifetime, nor indeed does there exist any portrait painted during his lifetime. Immediately after he died, casts of his face were taken, and with the aid of these, assisted by suggestions from Father Ribadeneira, Alonso Sanchez de Coello, an eminent Spanish artist painted the portrait, of which the second of those just mentioned is a copy.

Of the narrative itself we do not purpose to say much. It has been, even in its present form, before the public for more than twenty years. Besides there is hardly a saint in the calendar, if we except the immediate followers of our Lord, the outlines of whose life are so universally known, as are those of St. Ignatius. But for those who have not yet read Mr. Stewart Rose's work, many interesting details about the saint and his companions remain to be learned. The narrative has all the dramatic interest of a powerful novel. Ignatius is the hero; his personality is kept constantly in the foreground, and we follow him with the greatest interest through the exciting, and in some cases almost incredible, scenes of his extraordinary life.

Ignatius, or Iñigo—for this is the name he received in baptism—spent the time of his youth at the Court of Ferdinand, King of Spain, where—

"He was trained with other young lords of his own age in all the knightly exercises, Don Antonio Manriquez, the Duke of Najera, kinsman and warm friend of the Loyola family, taking charge of his education. He caused him to take lessons in fencing daily, taught him the art of war, and along with this made him acquire the skill in writing and speaking, held in those days to furnish 'the two wings of letters and of war' which were to lift him up to the summit of honourable distinction whereto his thoughts aspired. According to the usage of the time, he devoted himself to the service of a noble lady, whose name in after days never passed his lips. The saint, indeed, never adverted to this passage in his life except very slightly, and then only to characterize the whole affair as a piece of wordly vanity; yet this much he said of the lady in question to Gonçalves, that she was not a countess nor a duchess, but of a rank more exalted than either—a lady of very illustrious and high nobility."

This lady, according to our author, was Juana or Juanita, daughter of Ferdinand I. of Naples, who with her widowed mother, sister of Ferdinand of Spain, was then at the Spanish court. Mr. Rose, with a turn for romance which he frequently

displays, takes leave of this interesting princess in the following manner :—

“ We can find afterwards no mention of the Princess Juanita, and may conjecture as we please from the silence of history that she remained unmarried from some memory of her illustrious lover ; or, incited perhaps by his example, took shelter in the obscurity of a religious life.”

The description of Ignatius, the soldier, is interesting :—

“ He was generous, high-spirited, an honourable lover, a loyal courtier, well versed in every branch of knightly education ; with something too of taste in his handling of the pencil and the pen. He loved splendour, and new devices for display or amusement ; he liked to show himself in the saddle, managing with equal dexterity the jennet or gineta used in the tourney or the ring, and the heavy war horse which bore him with his lance into the field. He followed the war, says Padre Garcia (but without saying in what quarter), and gained himself a name that seemed to promise him the highest place in military honours ; he made himself beloved by the soldiers ; he respected the churches and convents, and all consecrated things ; and once defended a priest who was in considerable danger against a ‘ streetful,’ as he termed it, of men. He was scrupulous in speaking always the strictest truth, holding that as strictly indispensable to true nobility ; his words were ever guarded and modest, and such as a lady might have heard ; he was master of his wrath, and never drew his sword on slight occasions ; he thought it unworthy of his nobility to assert a right of precedence ; more than once he had appeased dissensions among the soldiers, even at his own personal risk, and averted mutiny in the field ; impetuous and quick to resent an insult, he was equally ready to forgive ; and the gift of influencing men’s minds, which was afterwards so remarkable in him, showed itself amongst his companions whether in the camp or court. He was short of stature, but he was active, lithe of limb and light of heart ; easily moved to mirth ; his complexion olive ; his hair very black, glossy and clustering ; his features well formed ; his forehead high ; his countenance so expressive and varying that no painter could ever make a true portrait of him. His dark eyes had the deep lustre of the south ; and to the close of his life their eloquence could command, console, and speak the liveliest sympathy, even when he did not utter a word. We hear often in his after life, from persons not among his followers, of the power of those marvellous eyes—then seldom raised from the ground except to gaze on heaven, but fraught with a persuasiveness exceeding that of language.”

Ignatius, as everyone knows, was wounded at the siege of

Pampeluna, or Pamplona, as Mr. Rose writes it; but it is not so universally known that the town itself had been actually surrendered to the French prior to the engagement in which Ignatius received the wound. The officers in charge of the defence of the walls, despairing of being able to hold them against the overwhelming numbers of French soldiers without, and the citizens within, who strongly sympathised with the besiegers, had drawn off their soldiers and evacuated the town, notwithstanding the earnest protests of Ignatius against what he deemed a cowardly and dishonourable retreat. He himself, scorning to purchase safety at the price of honour, retired to the citadel, and by word and example so fired the commandant and the little garrison with his own enthusiasm, that they bade defiance to their foes, and prepared to defend to their last breath the charge entrusted to them. What follows is thus told by Mr. Rose:—

“ Ignatius, seeing himself and those around him in immediate danger of death, prepared to meet it as devout Catholics have often done when no priest was near, by making his confession to a comrade in arms, a gentleman with whom, he said, he had often fought. Then he addressed the officers and men; he represented to them how much better was an honourable death than a cowardly capitulation; he reminded them of the duties of a loyal soldier, and the glory that crowns an heroic sacrifice. The attack on the fortress and the defence were equally obstinate. The French, endeavouring to effect a breach in the walls directed the fire of their batteries against a quarter where Ignatius was combating with desperate valour, when a stone detached from the wall by a cannon-shot struck him on the left leg, and the ball itself by a fatal rebound shivered the right. Under these two blows he fell, and with him sank the courage of the garrison. On the same day, Whit-Monday, May 20th, 1531, the French made their entrance into the citadel.”

This was the turning-point in the life of Ignatius Loyola. He had fought his last fight with the arms in the use of which he had been trained from his childhood; he had offered his last sacrifice on the altar of ambition. But he was not to cease to be a soldier; for, with prayer and preaching as his arms, having Christ as his King, and the Church his lady-love, he was destined to wage unceasing, unrelenting, and successful war against Satan and sin, the implacable enemies of the human race. His wound occasioned a long and painful illness. Twice was his broken limb badly set. Once it was rebroken, and when it healed again, a protruding bone had to be sawed off. But the intense pain

caused by these operations, and the wasting fever which supervened, Ignatius bore without complaint or murmur. God visited him in his suffering; grace inundated his soul; he yielded to its sweet influence; scales, as it were, fell from his eyes; and he beheld how despicable, in comparison with the friendship of Almighty God, is the friendship of kings, or all the honours kings can bestow.

Then follow the pilgrimage to Montserrat, and the ten months' sojourn at Manresa. These ten months formed the saint's novitiate. But they were more than a mere novitiate. For not only was he himself thoroughly purified and sanctified, and his mind illuminated with the clearest knowledge of divine things, but he composed, though well-nigh illiterate, a book which has influenced the world more than any other mere human production has done. It is open to question, however, whether the "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius is a mere human production. But we must stop, or we shall be accused of wishing to write a biography of the saint ourselves; yet we cannot stop without pointing out that Mr. Rose's work is not a mere life of St. Ignatius. It is what its title bespeaks, and in its pages we find sufficiently detailed accounts of the earlier Fathers of the Society, particularly of the noble band that first rallied round Ignatius. The visit to Ireland, at the request of the Pope of Salmeron and Brouët, is described. They arrived in Ireland from Scotland in the beginning of Lent, 1542, and, having spent thirty-four days traversing the island, they returned, in obedience to the orders of Paul III., to whose ears had come the fact that confiscation of property and death were threatened against anyone who should give them food or shelter. Robert Waucop was then Archbishop of Armagh, but, owing to the savage persecution of the Catholics in Ireland by Henry VIII., had taken refuge in Rome. Though blind from childhood, he was an eminent theologian and man of letters. Having heard from the returned envoys the frightful sufferings the poor Irish had to endure for their faith, he instantly resolved to return, and suffer and die with his flock.

"But the Pope would not consent to this; he sent him, confiding in his remarkable endowments, to Germany with his Legate, and afterwards Waucop assisted at the Council of Trent. He must have been a man of rare ability, since his blindness had not hindered him from professing divinity at Paris. He ever loved and venerated the Society of Jesus, and died at Lyons on November 10, 1551, at their college."

D. O'L.

THE INTERIOR OF JESUS AND MARY. Translated from the French of the Rev. J. Grou, S.J. Edited by Rev. S. H. Frisbee, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.

WE welcome this new and improved edition, in two handsome volumes, of the well-known work, *The Interior of Jesus and Mary*, by Fr. Grou. This book has continued to maintain its hold on pious souls who feel naturally drawn to know better and better Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. As a proof of the appreciation in which it has been held, it is only necessary to state that since it was first published, in 1815, more than *twenty* editions have been published in French; and it has been translated from French, in which it was originally written, into almost every European language.

The work may be briefly described as a series of readings on the life and virtues of our Blessed Lord and of His holy Mother. Pious souls who live in religious communities will find it to be an excellent book for spiritual reading, and thoughtful people in the world cannot easily meet with a book which will attract them more surely to the study of the life of Him whom to know and to imitate is life eternal.

It is important to explain that the present is a much improved edition. The work was originally composed in French for the help and direction of a saintly lady, Miss Weld, of Lullworth Castle; but the first and many succeeding editions were printed with many inaccuracies, and from an unrevised manuscript. In the sketch of the life of Fr. Grou, which prefaces the present edition, we are told that he had found that his penitent, Miss Weld, had a special attraction to imitate the Blessed Virgin in her interior dispositions, and as a help to her he composed *L'Interieur de Marie*. Finding that she corresponded generously to the design of our Lord, and desiring to confirm her in her vocation, he next composed for her *L'Interieur de Jesus*, which he finished in 1794. Some time after he asked for the manuscript, and made a copy in his own handwriting, introducing many improvements. This done, he returned the first manuscript to Miss Weld. The second was found among his manuscripts after his death.

Miss Weld loaned her copy to a French lady, who, with the permission of the former, copied it for her own use. Returning to France, she carried her precious manuscript with her, and thinking the interest of God and the good of souls demanded that she should not keep so great a treasure for herself, she had it published, unknown to Miss Weld, at Paris, in 1815. This edition

had been made with too little care for publication ; but its chief defect was, that it was a reproduction of the first manuscript of the author, and not the second, which he had revised and considerably improved. . . .

In 1847 Miss Kennelly, a religious of the Ursuline Community of Blackrock, near Cork, translated *L'Interieur de Jesus et de Marie* into English. This translation was made from one of the earlier editions, and is, therefore, free from many of the faults which have disfigured the French stereotyped editions. It is a new edition of this work which is now presented to the public.

ASCETICAL WORKS OF ST. ALPHONSUS. New York :
Benziger Brothers.

THE Centenary edition of all the ascetical works of St. Alphonsus, which was begun a few years ago, is now complete, and has been issued from the press of Benziger Brothers in a style worthy of the occasion. There are eighteen volumes in all, including such works as *The Selva*, *The Divine Office*, *The True Spouse of Christ*, *Sermons for Sundays*, *Preparation for Death*, *Glories of Mary*, *The Holy Eucharist*, &c., &c., and all his smaller treatises collected into one volume.

In looking over this library of ascetical books, it cannot but occur to one as simply marvellous how any one man could find time to compose and write so many books, and yet we know that all these works represent little more than his half hours of mental relaxation, when the saint turned aside from his active missionary labours, or deep absorbing study necessary for the composition of his great work on moral theology. Here we can realize how well he kept his promise never to waste a moment.

The ascetical works of St. Alphonsus cover the whole field of this department of study ; and, owing to their character for solid information and genuine simplicity, there are few, if any, books which we would more strongly recommend to priests and people. The priest will find in them, moreover, a great mine of instruction for the guidance of all classes of penitents, as well as for use in his Sunday sermons. We commend this Centenary edition of the ascetical works of St. Alphonsus to the attention especially of young priests and students.

CARDINAL NEWMAN'S WORKS. London: Longmans,
Green & Co.

THE readers of the I. E. RECORD will be pleased to learn that a new and cheap edition of Cardinal Newman's chief works is

issuing from the press. They form a large part of the "Silver Library" which is being published by Longmans, Green and Co., and which is so called from the silver lettering on the cover of each volume. The size is crown octavo, and the type and paper are the very best. The price of each volume is 3s. 6d.

It is obviously unnecessary to write in praise of the literary excellence or varied learning of the great Cardinal's works. We have only to strongly recommend any of our clerical readers who may not have yet secured them to take advantage of the present issue, and he will be amply repaid for his moderate outlay by the store of reading—the most delightful and improving—which he will have laid by for the long winter evenings.

The following are some of the works which have been already published:—*Apologia pro vita sua*; *Callista*; *Loss and Gain*; *Historical Sketches*; *Essays, Critical and Historical*; *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*; *The Arians of the Fourth Century*; *Verses on Various Occasions*; *The Idea of a University defined and illustrated*; *Parochial and Plain Sermons* (8 vols.); *Difficulties felt by Anglicans*; *Discussions and Arguments on Various Subjects*; *Grammar of Assent*; *Biblical and Ecclesiastical Miracles*, &c., &c.

TRACTATUS DE ACTIBUS HUMANIS. Auctore G. J. Walsh, S.T.D., &c. Dublini: Browne & Nolan.

As we are about to go to press with the October Number of the I. E. RECORD, an early copy of the second edition of the *Tractatus de Actibus Humanis*, by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, has been sent to us.

When this work appeared a few years ago we gave our opinion of its merits at considerable length, and our estimate of its worth has been fully borne out by the rapid sale of the 1,500 copies which composed the first edition. Now a second edition has been issued at the urgent and repeated appeals of the Theological Colleges, whose students have been greatly inconvenienced by the difficulty of securing a copy of the first edition.

The same reason which has restrained us from writing a word of praise of Cardinal Newman's works, in our notice of the new edition, is full as strong in the case of the *Treatise on Human Acts*, by the Archbishop of Dublin. Amongst theological students the *Tractatus de Actibus Humanis* is already recognised as a classic, just as the books of the great Cardinal are in their own order.

We have only to note that the new edition is printed in larger

type and better style than the first, and is most creditable, for its accuracy and form, to the printers, Messrs. Browne & Nolan.

SCOTT'S "ROKEBY." With Notes, &c. By W. F. Bailey, B.A.
Dublin : Browne & Nolan.

FOR Intermediate students it will be enough to announce that in the Intermediate School Texts, published by Browne & Nolan, Dublin, is now included *Rokeby*, edited and annotated by Mr. Bailey.

The "Intermediate School Texts" have been year by year increasing in popularity; and as for the editor of *Rokeby*, it is only necessary to remind our readers that he is the same W. F. Bailey who has already edited for the same series of texts, Goldsmith's *Traveller*, Grey's *Elegy and Odes*, Lockhart's *Life of Napoleon*, Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, &c.

Rokeby is prefaced by a Life of Scott, and enriched, in addition to the footnotes, with an appendix and a complete map, in which every place mentioned in the text is identified.

SERMON DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION OF THE CONSECRATION OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE CHURCH. By the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert.
Dublin : Browne & Nolan.

It happens so rarely that a sermon to which one has listened with great pleasure is capable of evoking the same feelings when calmly read over in print, that we confess to taking up the published copy of the Most Rev. Dr. Healy's Maynooth *Sermon* with a certain reluctance. We were amongst those privileged to hear the sermon when delivered, and it was our opinion then, and the opinion of those with whom we spoke, that it was worthy of the occasion, which was certainly the greatest that has been presented to a pulpit orator in Ireland within the century. All the Bishops of Ireland, and some from America and Australia, were present, with representative priests who came as delegates from every diocese in Ireland, and all assembled in the great National College, and in a chapel which for its exquisite beauty is a credit to the country.

Well, we have read over the *Sermon* in its neat pamphlet form, and we confess that we have done so with no less pleasure, and with, perhaps, more profit than when we heard it delivered. We are greatly pleased that the Bishop has yielded to the demand for its publication, for it would be a loss to let so beautiful a specimen of highest pulpit oratory die with the day.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1891.

LEO XIII. AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.—I.

“RERUM NOVARUM.”

IT is a custom with many writers of no mean standing to exalt to the sky the superior intelligence and industry, and the greater productive capacity of the Teutonic races, to the disparagement of the nations outside the circle of these privileged sons of progress. But a strange problem stares writers of this class in the face to-day as they pen their panegyric. Precisely from the chosen nations of modern advancement comes the present cry of almost hopeless perplexity amid the social and economic difficulties of our time. From England, and America, and from Germany, rise the loudest sounds of unending labour-war—from these same we hear of the greatest poverty in spite of all their teeming wealth, of the greatest oppression and misery in spite of boasted liberty.

The problem before us, baptized “the social question,” is world-wide, no doubt; yet, nowhere is the fatal law of modern progress, which our Holy Father simply and comprehensively enunciates as “divitiarum in exiguo numero affluentia, in multitudine inopia,” to be seen so strikingly exemplified as in the case of those nations which have surrendered themselves most completely to material prosperity, and appear to superficial observers to be the favoured sons of heaven:—

“Unfortunately it still remains true [writes Mr. Chamberlain] that in the richest country of the world the most abject misery

exists side by side with luxurious profusion and extravagance. There are still nearly a million persons in the United Kingdom who are in receipt of parish relief, and as many more who are always on the verge of poverty. In our great cities there are rookeries of ignorance, intemperance, and vice, where civilized conditions of life are impossible, and morality and religion are only empty names. In certain trades unrestricted competition and the constant immigration of paupers from foreign countries have reduced wages to a starvation level; while there are other industries—as, for instance, shipping and railway traffic—where the loss of life is terrible, and the annual butcher's bill is as great as in a serious war.”¹

It is true that “the utilization of steam and electricity, the introduction of improved processes and labour-saving machinery, the greater subdivision and grander scale of production, the wonderful facilitation of exchanges, have multiplied enormously the effectiveness of labour;”² and that consequently, there is a greater *absolute* number who enjoy improved conditions of life. Nevertheless these gains are far from general; and there seems room to question whether the *proportion* elevated by the benefits obtained from the prodigious increase in wealth-producing power, which has marked the present century, may not be incredibly smaller than that of those who have been depressed.

“The new forces [says Henry George] do not act upon the social fabric from underneath . . . but strike it at a point intermediate between top and bottom. It is as though an immense wedge were being forced, not underneath society, but through society. Those who are above the point of separation are elevated, but those who are below are crushed down.”³ Wherever the new forces are anything like fully utilized, large classes are maintained by charity, or live on the verge of recourse to it; amid the greatest accumulations of wealth, men die of starvation, and puny infants suckle dry breasts; while everywhere the greed of gain, the worship of wealth, shows the force of the fear of want. The promised land (*i. e.*, of *material* happiness) flies before us like the mirage. The fruits of the tree of knowledge turn as we grasp them to apples of Sodom that crumble at the touch.”⁴

¹ *North American Review*, May, 1891.

² Henry George, *Progress and Poverty*, page 1.

³ *Ibid.*, pages 4 and 5.

⁴ The value of George's remedy I may be allowed to examine by the light of the Encyclical in a future paper.

This association of poverty with progress, of squalid misery with luxury, of huge percentages on capital with the smallest possible remuneration of labour, the black wretchedness of over-crowded cities with mansions and villas, of sleek contentment and refinement with struggling toil and degradation—all this forms a cancer that eats away the very heart of our civilization. No wonder that “the momentous seriousness of the present state of things just now fills every mind with painful apprehension; wise men discuss it; practical men propose schemes; popular meetings, legislatures, and sovereign princes—all are occupied with it, and there is nothing which has a deeper hold on public attention.” “All agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found and quickly found.” (*Encyclical.*) Yes, truly, for this is “the riddle which the sphinx of fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed.”

It is a hopeless folly on the part of “exploiteurs” and interested optimists, with smiling self-satisfaction, to declare themselves and the nations out of the reach of calamity, on the slippery pretext that this distemper, which, is now threatening the very life of society, is common to all times and to all countries. Undoubtedly other times have had their social questions, and other lands are distracted as well as our own by social antagonism and social danger. But between the past and present of the problem there is an essential difference. Under the old regime master and man were bound together by an identity of interests; the patron went forth to the combat supported by his workmen and dependents. Now he has to face them armed against him. The “craft-guilds,” composed of masters and men, which of old unified trades and industries, have been swept away, and have given place to “trades unions,” made up of men violently hostile to their employers, and to associations of capitalists who forget their obligations to the employed. Formerly, too, there was struggle, perhaps even violence and bloodshed; but, then, peace came at length to the workshop, bringing *some* period of healing calm. Now-a-days the battle is unceasing, and divides not workshop against workshop,

but man against master—employer against employed—sundering those who should join hands as brothers in the struggle of life.

The social question of our time is, in fact, the outcome of a five-fold revolution—the revolution in the State, in religion, in political economy, in machinery, and in the general tendency of mankind.

“Machinery has brought about disorder ; a science of false economics has elevated disorder into an institution ; the strife against God and against His Christ has precipitated it ; new political liberty—the enfranchisement of labour—has rendered it powerful, nay, irresistible ;¹ and the development of mankind has assigned to the ‘fourth estate’ a larger part on the stage of national and international life than it ever played before in the history of nations.”² “The elements of a conflict [declares our Holy Father] are unmistakable : the growth of industry, and the surprising discoveries of science ; the changed relations of masters and workmen ; the enormous fortunes of individuals and the poverty of the masses ; the increased self-reliance and the closer mutual combination of the working population ; and, finally, a general moral deterioration.”

To begin with, machinery has transformed the whole economic condition and order of the world. It has created increased facilities of communication, and has thus made the world one immense trading community. Production has been revolutionized, in consequence, by the minute division of labour, whereby “trades have become so specialized and localized, that one country, or perhaps one group of towns, produces the greater part of all the goods of a certain sort which are consumed throughout the world.”³ Large production is, therefore, the order of the day, and great armies of operatives, of both sexes and all ages, have been marshalled under the command and direction of a few intelligent *entrepreneurs*. Luxury and refinement of living have been carried to the maximum—

“So that not only are classes of goods multiplied almost indefinitely, but fashions and modes enter in, till *standard styles*

¹ Cf. “The Federation of Labour,” by H. H. Champion, *New Recier*, 1890

² Cf. *Le Moniteur de Rome*, May 24, 1891.

F. A. Walker, *Political Economy*, page 173.

almost disappear, each season bringing minute modifications of demand, which are not to be satisfied except by an exact compliance, even the colours and shades of one year becoming intolerable the next."

The consequences of such a state of things are—1st, that there is an incalculable increase of unskilled labour, or worse still, of only partially skilled, and therefore *immobile* labour;¹ 2nd, that there is an ever-widening gulf between capital and labour, between master and man—the latter being condemned to slave all his days with one set of muscles, to the deterioration of his general physique, and with the least possible use of his intelligence; the former being under the necessity, from the very purpose and end of his occupation, of sharpening and developing his intelligence to the utmost. 3rd. And last, but most direful of consequences, the toilers are at the mercy of the tender consideration of the *entrepreneur*, or of the whim of the luxurious consumers.

"Machinery has revolutionized the mode of production, the form of labour, the distribution of income and of property; it has destroyed the workshop to make room for the factory; it has by its immense productivity made the world into a market; it has created the despotism of capital on the one hand, and on the other the vast inorganic army of labour; and humanity has become, under its sway, as a mass of dust without cohesion, without unity. . . . This new order is the reign of the few—the resurrection of ancient Rome, where millions of slaves ministered to the pleasure and enjoyment of ten thousand wealthy lords, insolent in their riches."²

Let us write down in letters of red the words of our Holy Father:—

"Cum ipsa instituta legesque publicae avitam religionem exuissent, sensim factum est ut opifices inhumanitati dominorum offrenataeque competitorum cupiditati solitarios atque indefensos tempus tradiderit. . . . Huc accedunt et conductio operum et rerum omnium commercia fere in paucorum redacta potestatem; ita ut opulenti et praedivites perpauci prope servile jugum infinitae proletariorum multitudini imposuerint."

¹ *E. g.*, pitmen, stokers, firemen, dockers, &c.; by "*Immobile Labour*," I understand that which experiences an incapacity to exchange the kind of operation, or to migrate from one scene of work to another.

² Cf. *Le Moniteur de Rome*, as above.

In consequence of the almost infinitesimal division of labour, which has followed upon the introduction of machinery, trades are no longer in themselves attractive and interesting—no longer (in themselves) constitute an education for the great majority of those who engage in them. "The work of the living individual phantasy" is replaced in the general mass of workers "by the dull uniformity of a lifeless mechanism;"¹ room is no longer left for an honest pride in "something attempted, something done;" but a dull monotonous effort day after day in the performance of "some mechanical operation, which requires little thought and allows no originality, and which concerns an object in the transformation of which, whether previous or subsequent, the toilers have no part,"² renders our modern industry, in large part, little better than a system by which a superior minority is enabled to get the best results out of the slavery of the majority—a slavery that paralyzes a man's best powers of mind and body. Then add to this, I will not say, the incidental injuries which, though actually suffered in this century by multitudes, especially women and children, at work on machinery, are yet in no essential connection with their employment; but the inevitable noise, the dust, the heat, and in particular "the injury to the nerves through the uniformity and monotony of the work, and the suppression of all variety in the play of the muscles." These attendant evils of machinery—"aesthetic, psychical, physical injuries," inseparable from our present system of production—are calculated to make one hesitate to join in the triumphant acclamations which greet this great age of discovery and invention—"our glorious nineteenth century." And, besides, the trades that once were an education in themselves—as the smith's trade of old—now develop the labouring man only in one portion of his bodily constitu-

¹ Devas, *Groundwork of Economics*, page 149. Of course I am not here called upon to make a comparative estimate of the good and evil of machinery. I am only showing that the influence of machinery is a necessary element to be taken into account in the examination of the *Res Novæ*, which have created the Social Problem, and called forth the Encyclical.

² Here the psychological dictum "Idem semper sentire, et non sentire recidunt eodem" (Hobbes), finds, to my mind, striking exemplification.

tion ; or, worse, they demand innumerable " hands " without heads—unskilled toilers—to wheel and to shovel, and to " feed " engines. A man with the *potentia* in him of as famous a workman as he who wrought the grand rood-screen preserved in the South Kensington Museum as the glory of the British blacksmith's art, may now-a-days be clad in scant *mutande* and leathern mask, as a puddler in one of the enormous ironworks of the land, or at best be allowed to develop his talents by manipulating a " bogie "-load of half molten iron to suit the stroke of the giant steam hammer.

While this is, in general, the effect of our industrial system on the toilers, the masters, managers, and directors of labour have a much superior fate. Their position and occupation oblige them to understand the working of the factories as a whole, and often the construction of each individual machine ; and, more, they must make themselves acquainted with the developments and phases of trade and commerce, and must know the countries and provinces with which they have trade dealings. This all constitutes an intellectual education for the superior class, apart altogether from the refinement and mental training secured to them by their " social standing " and income.

Considering, then, the respective effect of our modern system on the toilers and on their masters, one cannot help perceiving the ever-increasing gulf between the employers and the employed. For, if we look back along the line of economic development, we shall see that at each stage in the evolution of things there has been, since the middle of last century, a tendency to exalt the superior or directive class materially and intellectually, and at the same time to depress the labouring classes mentally and physically by injurious kinds of employment, and by monotonous unfructifying repetition day after day of the same unvarying muscular operation.

Political economy here puts in its claim for the title of Guide of Society and Protector of Labour. But, unfortunately for all genuine science of economics, the results we have before us, of much at least of the early teachings of professed

economists, are sadly against its pretensions. I do not deny "the satisfactory results, which have attended the extensive recognition of the principles of economics in the commercial and financial codes of the country."¹ My contention is, that these advantages have been confined in their application: the few have been the gainers; and the many, if not losers, at all events have not been adequately and proportionately aided by this means in the struggle for life and decent existence. And, moreover, I would lay special stress on the Professor's declaration, that economic doctrines "have in recent years received some useful developments and *corrections*;" by which he implies that there was and is need for such corrections. Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill—the most distinguished names in the lists of the science—are by no means capable of supplying society with an infallible panacea for all human evils, even for all purely economic evils. Jevons and other moderate men have done much towards erasing the blots on the systems of their predecessors of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth.² Instead of devising a new method of practical doctrine to correspond with the new modes and conditions of production, economic science, left mostly in the hands of men inspired by the philosophy of Voltaire, Hume, Bentham, &c., advocated and introduced principles which have rendered the social action of the great mechanical triumphs of Watts, Stephenson, Nasmyth, destructive in the extreme. *Laissez-nous faire, laissez-nous passer*, cried the precursors and apostles of the French Revolution; and their cry, which meant ultra-individualism, or well-nigh complete independence for each member of society, *i.e.*, licence, was echoed and re-echoed in varying tones through Europe. Quesnay (1758), and Turgot (1769), and Condillac (1776), and J. B. Say (1803), Adam Smith (1776), and Malthus and Ricardo, and James Mill and J. S. Mill—these are the champions of "economic liberty," which too often—aye, generally—in State regula-

¹ Cairnes, *The Logical Method of Political Economy*, page 19, &c.

² Jevons' *State in Relation to Labour* deserves attention as following very closely the lines of the Encyclical in regard to State interference.

tions and in practice, has been a cloak for the licence of the wealthy and the dominant. The factory legislation of England from 1816 to 1833 was opposed by the generality of the writers and teachers of economics on the false principle of non-interference; and the tribe of superficial thinkers of our times are found to quarrel with the Encyclical on this same ground. Surely experience should have taught them reflection. For, there can be no doubt, the tendencies and doctrines of the so-called Manchester school of economists, aided and abetted by the teachings of Darwin and Spencer,¹ have resulted by direct causation, on the one hand in the erection of anarchism into a supposed scientific theory; and, by indirect influence, on the other—that is, by the natural operation of the principle of “reaction against exaggeration”—in the appearance of Karl Marx and Hyndman, and the whole system and organization of socialism. Thus the “proletariat” created by the vast expansion of modern industry, while thrust and trodden down, in the maddening scramble for place and pelf, into the squalor of poverty and of helpless wretchedness, is left, on the one hand, with an irony almost cynical, to the “free play of economic forces,” and to the “self-protecting power of labour;” and, on the other, it is invoked and armed by the ignorance of the wild enthusiast or the contrivance of the designing demagogue against all the rights and institutions of society.

Had the masses retained any portion of their Christianity, they might have been able to withstand the combined attacks of “liberalism” in economy and in philosophy. But, alas! the fragments of religion left among the lower classes by the Reformation have been largely swept away by generations of neglect, or else by the active agents of '89. An interesting though heart-chilling study is it to trace back the genealogy of the present social standards and ideas to the time when a lustful king and a godless queen robbed the English people of their noblest inheritance—

¹ Prince Krapotkin (*Nineteenth Century*, August, 1887) rests the “Scientific Basis of Anarchy” on the philosophy of Spencer.

the gift of the true faith. It is as evident as day-light that both the doctrine and influence of Protestantism have combined to destroy all the purest and loftiest ideals, which serve to raise the fallen race of man, and are imbibed by the people from religion. The teaching of Leo XIII., on more than one occasion, is plain enough. The reason of the present divorce of social and industrial life from religion, he declares, and of the consequent moral and material degradation into which the mass of the people have sunk, is to be found in some rude departure from the sublime ideals of Catholicism, in some violent separation from the traditions of the past; further, that this departure, this separation, is due to the ideas, the doctrine, and the practice of the Reformation; and, finally, that if the ills of society are to be healed, it must and can be only by a return to the spirit of the times when "the life of Jesus Christ, God and man, penetrated every race and nation, and impregnated them with His faith, His precepts, and His laws."¹

The first and essential idea of the Reformation was rebellion, the rejection of authority, the spurning of all restraint, the levelling of all restrictions. Private judgment, which means individualism or anarchy in religion, was the watchword of the Reformers; private judgment soon led to "liberalism," liberalism to thoroughgoing rationalism, and rationalism to complete infidelity and uncontrolled licence. The *laissez-nous faire, laissez-nous passer* of the Encyclopedists was all but the final expression of the spirit of the Reformation; the "rights of man," i.e., the complete independence of each individual, anarchy or licence—the revolution in all its Protean shapes and phases—these are all the legitimate children of the Reformation. And note that, simultaneously with this cry of *laissez-nous faire, laissez-nous passer* arose the malignant shout *écrasez l'infâme*, which has been dinned into the ears of the people as the supreme motive for civil and social activity ever since the gospel of the Reformation was revealed and promulgated

¹ Cf. *Rerum Novarum, Inscrutabili Dei ad init., Quod Apostolici Muneris, &c.* See also Vat. Council, *De Fide Cathol.*

by the word of Voltaire and Rousseau. For more than a century false savants, impious philosophers, and writers without shame or modesty, have been employed and paid handsomely¹ to speak to the mob, and to tear from the hearts of the people, as far as in them lies, the belief in the immortality of the soul and the existence of God. "To hunt the Church from public life, from the school, from politics, from the hospital—to banish her out of sight and lock her up in the sacristy, to cast down the ramparts she has raised, to inoculate the world of labour with materialism and godless instruction—behold the aims and objects of those who now-a-days claim to guide and rule the world by their wisdom." And but yesterday (June 3rd)¹ the walls of Rome bore in large type a placard with the final and definite sentence of our modern leaders of the people, *non c'è più la religione*, "religion is no more." As a consequence, we seem to-day almost to be looking upon the fulfilment of the warning words, so oft repeated, of the Abbé Meric: "When you have driven God from the world, when you have torn from the breasts of the people their faith and the hopes of religion—that day you will witness such a storm of hatred let loose as you will not be able to control, and the torrent that bears away the ruins of our churches, will bear away also on its seething waters the *débris* of your wealthy mansions, given over into the hands of those whom you yourselves have armed and let loose."

We have, therefore, before us at the present time a problem, momentous indeed—a problem as old, it is true, in one phase or another, as civilization itself, but by causes innumerable assuming to-day a new and alarming aspect, and become more than ever hard to solve, yet pressing ever for instant solution. Luxury and poverty, capital and labour, these are the ends of the entanglement; and in the midst of all lie religion and morality bound and strangled. The moral and the material are so mutually intertwined, that if we would permanently extricate one from confusion, we must grasp and disentangle both. The conversion of England means

¹ Instance a certain "pensioned professor," whose pen is never so sharp and ready as when directed against aught savouring of religion.

² The substance of this paper was written early in June.

the redemption of the great masses of her people from the degradation, material and moral, to which they have been reduced by the principles of modern advancement introduced by the Reformation. Hence are needed, in order to undo the fell work of that movement, and to meet the requirements of the present crisis, men profoundly possessed by the divine ideal and fired by apostolic example ; earnest, unselfish, self-sacrificing, devoted to the poor, stern enemies of indulgence, gentle yet firm, men of prayer and mortification, men who will lay down their lives to restore the hope of the people ; the sacrifice of daily mass and the sacraments ; and at the same time men trained in sound knowledge of social and economic conditions, who can grapple with the material side of the problem ; can understand how to get filthy hovels, the fruitful abodes of crime and misery, swept away ; can rescue children and youths from degradation and vice, brand civilized slavery, and detect all the wily pretences of interested wealth for the maintenance or introduction of wrongful systems and measures ; and can show masters and men alike the folly of strikes, lock-outs, and unfair combinations. " Every minister of holy religion," proclaims the Vicar of Christ, " must throw into the conflict all the energy of his mind and all the strength of his endurance ; . . . they must never cease to urge upon all men of every class, upon the high as well as the lowly, the gospel doctrines of Christian life ; *by every means in their power* they must strive for the good of the people."

We may legitimately conclude, then, that never before in all the long ages has the social question thus attacked with its menaces the very gates and foundations of civilized order. Everywhere the passion for revolution is abroad, stirring up the waters of society from their lowest depths ; states tremble beneath the shock of anarchy and socialism, the respective synonyms of disorder and tyranny ; industry seems in danger of complete dislocation ; the classes are marshalled against the masses, capital seeking to cast the chains of slavery on labour, and labour armed to the teeth against capital—an unholy and self-murdering conflict ! Confusion holds almost undivided sway, and men's minds, racked by dread expectation of evil soon to come, seek on all hands for aid and

guidance. Only three short weeks ago, I saw the troops of United Italy filling the streets of Rome ; the great question was being settled by the bayonets of the Bersaglieri and the revolvers of the Carabinieri ! Thirty thousand armed men, foot-soldiers and cavalry, are required to make the Eternal City safe to live in, and to maintain the tottering government. And on the same much-feared 1st of May the Lebel rifles of the French soldiery were employed with fatal effect on the unarmed crowd of labourers at Fourmies. The Revolution devours its own entrails !

While still the sounds and scenes of that May-day fighting at S^{ta} Croce in Gerusalemme were fresh in the memories of the inhabitants of Rome, and when the bayonets and revolvers had scarcely disappeared from the streets and the doorways of public buildings, a calm clear voice was heard speaking from the Vatican in accents of the deepest love and sympathy for the suffering and misguided masses, with words of warning to many, and with lessons of supremest import to all. The great problem, which has occupied the minds of so many of the wise ones of this age of enlightenment, is solved by the great Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, as far as human nature will allow the solution to be realized. "Roma locuta est, causa finita est."

A. HINSLEY, B.A.

THE LOUGH DERG PILGRIMAGE.

IT is considerably more than a century since Dr. Pococke referred to Lough Derg as a "famous place of pilgrimage."¹ From the lips of a Protestant bishop, such words afford a noteworthy testimony regarding this celebrated Irish sanctuary, and one which is all the more remarkable as it reaches us from the dark period of persecution when the Government had put forth all its strength to destroy every vestige of Ireland's faith and sanctity. As a place of pilgrimage, it had, indeed, been famous centuries before the

¹ *Tour in Ireland*, page 72.

Tour in Ireland was penned. And, judging from the number of pilgrims who annually seek its secluded shores, it is evident that it still maintains its ancient character. Its position, sheltered within the secluded highlands of Donegal, was then remote. But in our day the railway line from Enniskillen, which skirts the picturesque shores of Lough Erne as it passes on to the Atlantic, has removed the chief difficulties of approach. A short drive from the pretty station at Pettigo, through some winding valleys and over a stretch of moorland, takes one to the shores of this historic lake. And here the islands which diversify its surface, and the sheltering hills—in many places picturesque with wood plantings, and gay with the bright tints of the flowering heather—burst upon the sight. The view is a very pleasing one; and yet the purple hill-slopes and the wooded islands seem to speak but of solitude. Nor is that feeling removed by the sight of the group of buildings which rise before you on “Station Island”—Ireland’s most historic sanctuary. If the soft pealing of the bell, which floats over the water from the island campanile, tells you of the near presence of your fellow-man, it tells you also that they are men who have sought the solitude of that island to devote some days to penance and to prayer. Though among the smallest and least picturesque, “Station Island” is, perhaps, by far the most interesting island in Lough Derg. Its area, not probably more than three roods, presents a perfectly barren surface, and thus contrasts very unfavourably with the wood-clad outlines of “Prior” and “Allingham” islands just adjoining, and with the fertile slopes of “Saints’ Island,” which rise above it on the opposite side. But the sharp rocks and broken shingle, which make its barren aspect all the more desolate, are the silent witnesses of the faith and piety of its pilgrims. To the pilgrim it is, indeed, holy soil; and in popular estimation in Ireland it has been regarded as such for many centuries. Do we not learn by a time-honoured tradition that our national apostle had sanctified its shores by his prayers and his penances? A church which bore his name was erected there to perpetuate the tradition. And though no traces of it remain in our time,

the traditions which it perpetuated are not forgotten. And though some may, with Lanigan, critically question or disregard those traditions, because they may not rest on evidence historically certain, yet we think they may well be treated with respect when found associated with religious observances which have won the admiration of many men of all classes and ranks for centuries. And are there not there still the remains of the old stone cells which speak to us, probably from centuries past, of some of the most celebrated of Ireland's early saints? Yes, many think that the ruins of some of the circular stone-roofed cells, in which our early saints were wont to pray and to perform their heroic penances, may still be seen there. And there, too, we are told, was the "Cave," or "Purgatory," celebrated in the Middle Ages throughout Europe, where unwonted visions of the other world were, it was said, granted to favoured souls—where the veil was sometimes set aside, and the agonies of the reprobate and the joys of the elect were thus partially revealed to mortals. That the fame of the Lough Derg "Cave" was widespread in the Middle Ages, is historically certain. It is also certain that its fame attracted pilgrims from very remote lands. It is well known that its historical and legendary interest suggested to Calderon one of the grandest subjects immortalized by his Muse. It is also certain that its fame was spread through Italy at an early period. But whether Saltrey's narrative of the Knight Owen's experiences of the unseen world at Lough Derg, did or did not suggest to Dante the outline of his noble epic, it is not improbable that it inspired the narrative of the Spanish Viscount, which is reproduced at some length by Philip O'Sullivan in his well-known *Historia Catholica*. This Spaniard, who represents himself as a pilgrim at Lough Derg, sketches with a graphic pen the various regions of hell, with the awful suffering endured by the reprobate within them. He also classifies them, and represents himself as having succeeded in passing through them unharmed, by frequently and piously invoking the divine and the sacred Name. How like the Saltrey narrative! He was next conducted safely through Purgatory; and, finally, favoured with a vision of the bliss of the elect.

Such legendary narratives, however fanciful or ideal, must lend to the place a poetic interest quite distinct from that which is historical and strictly religious.

We find that the penitential practices at Lough Derg were either tolerated or recognised from a very early period. Over two centuries ago it was described by Dr. Lombard as "*celeberimus ille et sanctissimus locus.*"¹ Dr. Kirwan—the saintly bishop of Killala—was, about the same period, one of the pilgrims to its shores ; and, while punctually performing the duties of the pilgrimage with the humblest, we are assured by his biographer that he also "*diligently applied himself to hearing confessions and preaching sermons.*" There the legate Rinucini regrets that he was unable to protect the Purgatory from the ravages of the Calvinists. And, later still, the critical and accomplished De Burgo speaks of it in the very highest terms of praise. He even states that, in his opinion, it was the most remarkable place of pilgrimage in the Church. And the Irish people, yielding to the promptings of their religious feelings, have long regarded the Purgatory as the holiest spot within the Island of Saints. And so, when setting foot upon its soil, they literally "*put their shoes from off their feet.*" It is with head reverently uncovered and with naked feet that they visit its holy places ; and, as if inspired by the genius of the spot, the pilgrims imitate there the heroic penances of the saints of old, by adopting the rigorous fast peculiar to our country in ages long past, together with other penitential observances usual in our early Church. This must appear all the more remarkable, when we remember that, in consideration of her children's weakness, and of the degenerate spirit of our time, the Church has been obliged to remove most of the restrictions which had made the ecclesiastical fast irksome to nature in the past. But though they have died out elsewhere, the penitential practices of our early Church still find a safe asylum within the island sanctuary of Lough Derg. As in the time of Dr. Lombard, so in our day, the pilgrims support weary nature by one meal only each day. This daily meal

¹ *De Regno Heb. Comment.*, page 119.

consists of bread and water. Those who prefer black tea to water are allowed to use it. Now, as then, the prescribed "rounds" of the Church and cells, &c., are made in bare feet, while the prescribed prayers are recited three times each day. And as the cave is there no longer in which the vigil was spent in prayer and fasting, St. Patrick's Church is used for the purpose. It may, therefore, be said that the penitential exercises there in our days, just as in the time of Dr. De Burgo, seem to have no counterpart in any other European country.

On the evening of our arrival the mists were being drifted in heavy masses along the hills before a sharp east breeze. And as the twilight shadows deepened over the lake, and the outline of hills and islands was being gradually lost in the gloaming, it was strange to watch the pilgrims moving like shadows around the church and cells, and to the water's edge—now kneeling, and again standing in prayer, and finally returning to St. Patrick's little church, where all the penitential and devotional exercises have their opening and their close. It was impressive to catch the murmur of their prayers over the sighing of the night wind and the soft lapping of the water on the broken shore. Yet such are the customary sounds which reach the visitor's ear on Station Island, except when the music of the solemn benediction service, or the pathetic stanzas of the *Stabat Mater* float upon the air from the adjoining church. The casual visitor, who sees for the first time those pilgrims engaged in their penitential exercises, almost unconsciously asks himself if the saints of old have returned to earth again. But no. They are only their spiritual children, who in the nineteenth century imitate the heroic virtues of their ancestors, as they inherit their undying faith. At such a time no very active imagination is required to realize the guardian spirits of the place ascending before the throne with the petitions of the pilgrims, and descending with the graces which bring peace to weary souls who seek it there through Mary and Patrick's intercession. In our time there are many who would contemptuously relegate such practices to the old and the ignorant. But at the Lough Derg pilgrimage on

the occasion of our visit the young were far more numerous than the old, and there were many of both sexes who, judging from their bearing and manner, were persons of education and refinement. Some had come from Scotland and England, and some there were who had crossed from the remote shores of America to the old land, and gratified, by visiting Lough Derg, a long-cherished wish of seeking their great apostle's patronage at his own far-famed shrine.

There are comparatively few, if any, who visit Lough Derg for the mere purpose of gratifying an idle or an irreverent curiosity. Indeed, curiosity is apt to die under the severity of the regime to which visitors know that they are expected to submit there. And the devoted priests in charge of the sanctuary, while courteous to all, are careful to have it felt that it is solely a place of prayer and penitential exercises.

The pilgrims are received there only from the beginning of June to the feast of the Assumption; and the penitential exercises are carried out under the supervision of the priests who reside on the island during that period. In this way the pilgrims succeed in combining the ordinary religious exercises of a retreat with the rigorous fast, and the performance of the penitential exercises in connection with the "Station."

As regards the ritual which prescribes these penitential exercises, it is known only on the island, and seems to have been preserved by an unwritten tradition from a very remote past. It is now substantially unchanged from what it had been in the days of Dr. Lombard—over two hundred years ago. In some of the penitential exercises, however, certain modifications have been introduced, which may be noticed here.

Though continuing for nine days in the past, the exercises may now be completed in three days. Yet, even now, the exercises may be continued for nine days, should the pilgrim wish it.

In the past the vigil was observed only at the conclusion of the exercises, and *in the cave*; now it is observed on the

first night of the pilgrimage, but only in the church. These seem to be the chief relaxations from the rigid procedure usual in Dr. Lombard's time. As regards the use of black tea, now permitted, it can hardly be regarded in the light of a relaxation, as many prefer taking the water of the lake, which is usually taken hot, with a little sugar. By a polite and pardonable euphemism, this beverage is usually referred to as *the wine of the island*, and is regarded by many as agreeable and constitutional.

A knowledge of the devotional exercises of the "Station" must prove interesting to the general public; and may therefore be briefly given here from the copy published in Father O'Connor's interesting *History of Lough Derg*.¹ The pilgrim begins his station by a short visit to the Blessed Sacrament in St. Patrick's Church. He then proceeds to St. Patrick's cross, which stands outside the gable of the southern transept, and recites there a pater, ave, and creed, on bended knees. He next proceeds to the opposite gable, to what may be the site of "St. Bridget's cross" (as it retains that name), and recites the same prayers in the same manner; after which he renews his baptismal vows, in an audible voice, and with arms extended in the form of a cross. After this he walks seven times around the exterior of the church, reciting at each round a decade of the beads, and adding a creed at the last.

The "beds" or "cells" of the chief patrons of the island are next visited successively by the pilgrims, in the following manner:—three circuits of the outside of the cell are first made, while three paters, three aves, and a creed are recited; the pilgrims then kneel at the entrance of the cell, and recite there the same prayers; and, having entered, the same prayers are again recited, while they make three circuits of the interior. A large crucifix occupies the centre of each cell, before which the pilgrims again kneel, and after reciting the same prayers kiss them reverently. Having visited the various cells, the pilgrim next proceeds to the water's edge on the south-eastern shore, and there recites, in a standing posture, five paters, five aves, and a creed; after which he

¹ Page 183.

kneels, and repeats the same prayers on bended knees. From the water's edge the pilgrim returns to St. Patrick's cross, and, kneeling, repeats there the same prayers which he recited at the beginning of the station. He finally returns to St. Patrick's Church, where the usual prayers for the Pope's intention are recited by many, even after each station, though not prescribed; many also add a third of the Rosary. Father O'Connor summarizes these devotional exercises in the following sentence:—

“Our readers will be able to form some idea of the piety and devotion practised at this holy retreat, when we tell them that a Station at present consists, besides the visit to the Blessed Sacrament, of ninety-seven paters, one hundred and sixty aves, and twenty-nine creeds; that three of these Stations are performed each day; and that at the end of each day's Station five decades of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin are said.”¹

In estimating the severity of these exercises of the “Stations,” it should not be forgotten that they are gone through in bare feet; and that the surface of the island, which is naturally rugged, is strewn alike with the wreck of its old monastic buildings, and with *débris* from the buildings recently erected there. The paths of the barefooted pilgrims are over such a surface. Yes, they are now, as they were when visited by Dr. Kirwan, over two hundred years ago, “paths beaten by the feet of saints.” They may be truly described as pathways of penance.

As the soft light of the early summer morning begins to glow upon the surrounding hills and to play on the surface of the sparkling lake, the bell summons the pilgrims to morning prayer, and to an early mass at five o'clock. There is a midday visit to the Blessed Sacrament, and a lecture; and when the evening falls the bell summons the pilgrims once more to the church for evening prayer, benediction, and sermon, after which the Stations of the Cross are gone through. It will thus be seen that the spare time may well be filled up by the preparation for confession. It is on the third day that the pilgrims usually approach the altar.

It is interesting and encouraging to know that by an indult dated 26th June, 1870, a plenary indulgence has been

¹ *Ibid.*, page 188.

attached by the late supreme pontiff to the Lough Derg pilgrimage. This favour has been granted without limitation as to time, and at the "postulation" of the present venerated bishop of the diocese of Clogher, who guards the old sanctuary with so much watchful care. It appears from the terms of his lordship's "postulation" that it enjoyed a similar privilege in the early part of this century. It also appears from an official communication addressed by Dr. M'Mahon, one of his lordship's venerated predecessors, to the Holy See in the beginning of the last century, that a similar favour had been extended to it by Pope Clement X. Such encouragement from the supreme pontiffs may have, in part, explained how the pilgrimage continued in his time "with little or no interruption," despite the severe penal enactments of the period for its suppression. And the prelate adds:—"Though everywhere else throughout the kingdom, the ecclesiastical functions have ceased on account of the prevailing persecution, in this island, as if it were placed in another orb, the exercise of religion is free *and public*, which is ascribed to a special favour of divine Providence and to the merits of St. Patrick.' It is also recorded by this good prelate, that on the occasion of his visit there, a Protestant was converted at the sight of the earnestness and piety of the pilgrims.

We know that some of the penitential exercises, such as the circuits of the cells, and the prayers at the water's edge, may be regarded as unmeaning by persons who know nothing of the penitential practices of our early monks. But a knowledge of those ancient practices enables us to see in them but the survival of customs that were dear to our early saints. The circular stone-roofed cells, the ruins of which may still be seen in many parts of Ireland, were occupied by those holy men. As their lives were lives of continuous prayer, many of their daily prayers must have been recited while moving around their cells. Choice and perhaps atmospheric changes, frequently determined whether those circuits might be in the open air or within the cell. In the pilgrim's "rounds" both within and without the cells, we have little else than a devoted imitation of the old practice.

The prayers recited at the water's edge must remind us of a practice of extreme severity with which our early monks were familiar, and which was consecrated by the example of our national apostle; that, namely, of praying while standing immersed in cold water.¹ And this practice was long continued in the early ages of our Church. It does not seem to have entirely died out, at least at Lough Derg, when Dr. Kirwan visited its sanctuaries in the seventeenth century. His biographer tells us that the pilgrims at that time were in the habit of "advancing a considerable distance into the water" to pray.² The testimony of Dr. Lombard is similar.

In Dr. Lombard's time the "cave" or "Purgatory" was in being, and used by the pilgrims—though he is careful to point out that in popular estimation it had undergone certain structural changes. It was then almost on the same level as the surrounding surface of the island. It was built and roofed with stone, and lighted only by one small aperture. It was so low that the inmates could scarcely stand erect, and was capable of accommodating only about a dozen penitents together. Yet here they spent twenty-four hours in watching and praying, and without any food whatever.³ Lynch refers to it as "a place of dismal darkness," in which "they partake of nothing save a little water to moisten their throats when parched with thirst."⁴ It was natural that the place and its practices should excite accordingly the special hostility of the heretics. Legal enactments of special severity were passed against them. In the year 1632, Sir William Stewart, by orders of the Government, had the Purgatory "defaced and utterly demolished." Every trace of the cave was removed; and the stone preserved within it, on which St. Patrick was supposed to have knelt in prayer, was cast into the depths of the lake. Yet, though the very "foundations of the place were rooted up" by the fanatical Puritans, the "cave" was again reconstructed; and in defiance of persecution and penal enactments, pilgrims

¹ *Aquis Algidis se. Immergus Com. de Reg. Hib.*, page 75.

² *Comment De Regno Hib.*, page 119.

Vita Kirwan.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, page 61.

sought the shores of the island sanctuary from even the most remote parts of Ireland. It was in persecutions' darkest days that Dr. M'Mahon found religion "free and public" within this sanctuary, while its functions had ceased throughout the kingdom. The numbers who came to seek admission to the reconstructed "cave" became so large towards the middle of the last century, that the prior in charge thought it desirable to erect a church which might be used instead. Accordingly the Church of St. Patrick—known also as the "prison church"—was erected. The "cave" was then finally closed, and the church has since been used as the recognised and authorised substitute. It was then a simple oblong building, but has since assumed a cruciform shape by the addition of commodious transepts. It stands on the north western side of the island.

On the opposite shore stands St. Mary's Church. The church which stands there now, was lately erected by the present energetic prior. It is an oblong with a small chancel. Its simple lancet windows and buttressed wall in ashlar present a neat and effective exterior.

Describing the sleeping accommodation of the island, Dr. Lynch writes:—"When night comes on, they (the pilgrims) lie down, not to enjoy repose, but to snatch a few hours' sleep. Their beds are of straw, unfurnished with coverlids."¹ When Dr. M'Mahon visited in the following century, we learn that the pilgrims slept "upon the cold ground." As regards this feature in the penitential exercises of the island, a radical change has been introduced, but one which we think has been imperatively demanded by the altered standard of delicacy of feeling and constitution peculiar to our age. A commodious hospice has been accordingly erected in the island in which sleeping accommodation is provided for even considerable numbers. While sufficiently commodious, its internal arrangements are wisely in harmony with the character of the place and the object of the pilgrimage. It may be also added that exteriorly the outline of the hospice is pleasing and monastic.

¹ *Vita Kirwan*, page 61.

In the open space, immediately in front of the hospice, life-size statues of our Lady, St. Joseph, and St. Patrick have been erected recently. They are of marble, and those of St. Joseph and St. Patrick, which have been executed in Rome, reflect great credit on the artist. That of St. Patrick merits special attention. He is represented arrayed in episcopal robes, with mitre and crozier, and holding the shamrock raised aloft in his right hand, as he may be supposed to have held it at Tara when illustrating the sacred dogma of the Trinity to the great parliament of the nation. The attitude and expression show a singular combination of authority, dignity, and sweetness. The erection in the island of those beautiful specimens of sacred art is a gratifying evidence that what is beautiful in sacred art in the nineteenth century shall soon bear testimony to what was heroic in the penitential spirit of our ancestors; and that our national sanctuary may soon bear upon it the visible impress of a nation's love and reverence.

J. FAHEY.

"THE OXFORD MOVEMENT: TWELVE YEARS.
1833-1845."¹

WHEN a system of thought, feeling, or action has secured far-reaching consequences, and has completely changed or modified one side of our national life, it is well that the beginning, growth, and final development of such system should be presented to us from a variety of points of view. That the Tractarian movement did effect great changes in the Protestantism of England, and to a lesser extent in that of Ireland, is undeniable. We, therefore, welcome a further history of its origin and work, notwithstanding the fact that the story has already been told so fully and so sincerely, and with so much sympathy and pathos by its inspiring

¹ By R. W. Church, sometime Dean of St. Paul's. London and New York: Macmillan and Co.

leader, by the man who, better than any other, knew its real import, that, at first sight, all other accounts would seem to be superfluous.

The *Apologia* of Cardinal Newman, however, from its very perfection, leaves us, on one point, in a questioning frame of mind. It is, as is well known, a history of the gradual emancipation of a soul; and had the emancipation stopped short in any inadequate way, had the deliverance not been so complete and final as it was, the book had failed to satisfy us. But it is also well known, that to many of Newman's fellow-workers, to many who shared his early labours and his first hopes, deliverance never was vouchsafed. When their great leader saw light, and, thorny and painful as was the road, yet bravely followed its guidance, they hung back and refused to follow. After the first alarm and consternation were passed, these disciples fell each into his own particular line; and for the future, avoiding deep and heart-searching questions, they led apparently contented lives in a communion into which—their efforts to catholicize it having failed—they had merely succeeded in bringing a fresh element of discordant teaching. Disappointing as we may deem such a fall from high hopes to be, it is well that we should make an effort to understand how it came to pass. Men of the high calibre of certain of Newman's friends must have something to say for themselves, and to this we are bound to listen. We do so the more readily when the tale is told with the literary skill, the delicacy of touch, and the tolerant consideration for other views which characterize Dean Church's volume.

That the volume before us gives a satisfactory answer to the question, why so many men who went the one mile with Newman, compelled thereto by piety and personal fascination, should have resolutely refused to go the second mile, we cannot affirm. The question is, probably, insoluble. The spirit bloweth where it listeth; one is taken, and another is left, and it is not for us to assign the reason. It is easy to make assertions, to impute interested or unworthy motives, to suppose abnormal stupidity, or steady resistance to acknowledged grace. But, in the presence of the dignified

and elevating account which Dean Church gives of the men and of the times of which he writes, we feel that such accusations, if made, would but recoil on their author. All that is left for us to do, is to point out how meagre and unsatisfactory is the explanation of an acknowledged fact, and how poor were the actual results of the high hopes with which the Tractarians started, so far as they touched on Anglican Protestantism.

The commencement of the Tractarian movement is generally dated from Mr. Keble's assize sermon, preached at Oxford, in July, 1833. Dean Church prefaces his account of its early days by a description of the state of the Establishment when Tractarianism sounded the first note of alarm, and the need of defensive action. Those were days of general and of philosophical excitement. The Reform agitation had awakened and stirred many minds on other subjects than simple politics, whilst the philosophy of Bentham and the elder Mill was teaching others to probe deep questions deeply, to rest satisfied with no half or inadequate answers, and to realize fully the truth and reason of all to which their assent was asked. The verdict which would be the result of such questioning concerning a rich and indolent body like the Anglican Establishment—a body of which it could be truly said that "it was slumbering and sleeping when the visitation of change came upon it"—is not difficult to prophesy. That it was told "to put its house in order" by Whig statesmen, has been deemed a grave insult, and at the time was seriously resented. The Tractarian movement was, however, an attempt to obey the not unneeded summons, and its promoters may be considered as striving to justify the existence of their Church, in reply to the attacks of the Liberal school, by trying to bring it more into harmony with the lofty pretensions of many of its formularies, to put life and reality into its doctrines and discipline, and to imbue its members with a high standard of holiness.

That this last was the main object of the movement, is strongly insisted on in the present volume. "The movement was, above all, a moral one; it was nothing, allowed to be nothing, if it was not this." It was a call to a serious

and reverend view of religion and duty, and, above all, to a dread of unreal words in their connection, or to professions which, though not consciously insincere, men were not prepared to fulfil to the utmost in their lives. Newman's sermons at St. Mary's and Littlemore, which, even more than the Tracts, influenced the spread of the movement and brought it adherents, were seldom doctrinal in their main import. Rather they treated, as a rule, of that holiness which "is necessary for future blessedness," which was the title of his first published sermon. "It was this wholeheartedness, this supreme reverence for moral goodness, more than even the great ability of the leaders, and in spite of mistakes and failures, which gave its cohesion and its momentum to the movement in its early stages." It was the work of men of deeply serious minds, of men to whom God and the unseen were the only matters of real and lasting interest, and to whom religion meant the most awful and the closest personal concern on earth. In a world where the type of clergyman depicted in Miss Austin's novels—and her's is no unfriendly hand—still existed, or where much that was admirable in the more worthy and religious evangelicals was yet overlaid by pretentious words and inconsistent grotesqueness, it was not wonderful that the effort to bring about a reaction "against the slackness of fibre in the religious world; against the poverty, softness, restlessness, worldliness, the blunted and impaired sense of truth, which reigned with little check in the recognised fashions of professing Christianity," was felt to be bracing, and worth striving after as a high and ennobling aim.

On looking backward, we can now see that what has lasted and grown and prospered in the Church of England as the result of the Tractarian movement is precisely that side of it of which we have spoken. It is the side with which we and all Christians can sympathize—that increase and vitality in their religious life and in the doing of good, and the readiness to make sacrifices at the call of duty, which were, and are still to-day, to be found in the ranks of Anglican High Churchmen. On its doctrinal side the movement was weak and easily answered by a theologian. As all men know, the

great theological mind to whose adhesion is mainly due the early successes of the movement, was driven, after more than one change of his doctrinal standpoint, by the mere exigencies of truth, to cut himself adrift from early home and friends, and to oppose the very system he had been the main instrument in creating. Had Newman been more one-sided, had his intellect been subordinated to his moral sense, the issue might have been different. Had he been content to take unquestioned all the articles of the Creed, or even to stop short at the momentous one, "I believe in the Catholic Church" he might have shared the fate of Keble and Pusey, indeed of Church himself, and died in his blindness. But the very questions which the Dean tells us were the main propositions of Tractarianism on its theological side—What is the Church? On what grounds does it rest? How may it be known? Is it amongst us?—these very questions, when put to a fearless and keen intellect, to a truth-loving conscience, to a man ready to brave all for the sake of God and right, could bring forth but one answer.

We find ourselves, however, already discussing the conclusion of this volume, before we have made any endeavour to place its earlier contents before our readers; an omission on which, before we attempt to rectify it, we will make one remark. The fact is, that the history of the movement is mainly interesting as the history of Newman himself. The story flags when he is overshadowed, and grows vivid, life-like, and attractive the moment he again springs into prominence. The end comes with the end of his own career in the Church of England—"the catastrophe," as, from his point of view, Dean Church not untruly calls Newman's reception into the "one fold of Christ." Attractive as are the portraits of many of the fellow-workers in the movement of which we read in this volume, and praiseworthy and disinterested as was their work, both they and it fail in having that indescribable but easily felt power over us which we call *interesting*, and which Cardinal Newman possessed in a supreme degree. The manner in which Dean Church recurs again and again to Newman and to his influence is evidence of the above

remark; and although Dr. Pusey is nominally considered the leader of the party bearing his name, the very small portion of this history of the movement which is devoted to him reduces his position to its true proportions; whereas the many pages in which we read of Newman, show where was the main power and real influence. We should not, however, give a fair account of Dean Church's history were we not to endeavour to place his descriptions of other men before our readers.

We are told that, in the beginning, the movement was the work of three men. Keble gave the inspiration; Hurrell Froude gave the propelling impulse; whilst Newman took possession of the work, and for the future the direction was his. With these other and less familiar names were associated, men little known to Catholics, but who may now live with an importance not their own, as having given Church subjects for very perfect and delicately-drawn portraits in words, and be saved from oblivion by the excellence of his sketches—Isaac Williams the poet, Charles Marriott, Copeland (who gave his name as editor of Newman's Anglican sermons when republished), Hugh Rose, and others. They were men who, as a rule, had had distinguished university careers, and whose lives were greatly influenced by one or other of the Tractarian leaders. Thus, Isaac Williams came up to Oxford—where he soon gained a scholarship at Trinity College—as a careless but ambitious youth, "who had never heard a word about Christianity, and to whom religion, its aims and its restraints, were a mere name." He brought with him an introduction to Keble, then a great Oxford don, but as an undergraduate saw little of him, until Keble's attention was attracted by Williams writing the prize poem of the year. Shortly after, Keble offered to take him as a companion and pupil during the vacation, and the influence to which he was subjected during these months determined the future direction of Williams' character and life. As he says: "It was this very trivial accident . . . which was the turning-point of my life." During this vacation Williams came not only to appreciate the essential characteristics of Christianity, but he also received a considerable

amount of theological teaching. At that date, such teaching was rather that of the old-fashioned, High Church orthodoxy than of the neo-"Catholicism" of the Tractarians. Indeed, to the end, Isaac Williams represented the more moderate side of the movement—the side which was averse from all change, and which relied more on infusing greater reality into religious teaching, and more self-discipline into the lives of the teachers, than on new views, or even on the reassertion of old truths, for awakening and deepening the Christianity of England.

A chapter in this volume is also devoted to Charles Marriott; and in it we have a life-like portrait of a little-appreciated, though very useful type of man. Marriott had gained high academical distinction, and could well have obtained an independent position, yet he was content humbly to live his life in the spirit of a disciple, and never wished to shine except with the reflected light of his master. When brought under Newman's influence, he placed his whole life and talents at the services of the former, in his endeavours to reanimate and elevate the Establishment. Marriott was willing to take the modest, though necessary part of a translator, a collator, an editor of other men's writings. He believed that the leaders were wiser than himself, and was satisfied with doing the work they assigned him, this being "to raise the standard of knowledge of early Christian literature, and to make that knowledge accurate and scholar-like." To his life's end, we are told, he continued "a disciple." Unfortunately, however, instead of allowing his master to lead him onwards, when the final change came, and a real sacrifice was demanded, he drew back; and, instead of venturing all for a great gain, he simply transferred his allegiance to Newman's successor (we suppose Pusey is meant), and served him, too, with equal diligence. With these men were associated Percival, William Palmer (not the future Catholic), and Hugh Rose.

The alarm at this moment amongst Churchmen was very genuine. The Establishment was assailed by foes from without, and its defence so far had been undertaken, at best, after a half-hearted fashion by its members. Indeed, amongst

these were many whom it was difficult to distinguish from open enemies, so ready did they seem to yield all that the latter might ask; and, still worse, the Tractarians could discern no principle in the public mind to which they could appeal, no consistent theory of Church government or doctrinal basis on which they could rely. The country was inundated with pamphlets on Church reform and Church enlargement, meaning generally little besides Church despoiling and Church dismemberment; whilst the abolition of the creeds and all that distinguished the Establishment from the sects around her, was openly advocated. The necessity of speedy action was obvious; the danger was imminent; indeed, if it could be averted for a while, the Tractarians were hopeful that they could stem the anti-religious current which threatened to engulf so much they revered and valued. "I should have little fear, if I thought we could stand for ten or fifteen years as we are," wrote Mr. Rose.

The means taken by the friends of the existing order to baffle its assailant, seem, at first sight, somewhat inadequate. The idea of founding an association to defend their cause was suggested; but, being found unworkable, was abandoned, and an address to the Archbishop of Canterbury was the only action determined on. It had greater success and influence than could have been expected, and bore the signatures of seven thousand clergymen; and, moreover, was followed by a lay address, signed by two hundred and thirty thousand heads of families. Besides the large number of those who actually signed, the fact that a canvass for names was being carried on must have brought to many more thousands the knowledge that a stir was in the air; and, as a fact, the Tractarians dated the turn of the tide in their favour to the presentation of these two addresses. Had nothing more followed, it is not probable that such an assertion would have been possible; but, behind the addresses and in full sympathy with their object, were the three men of whom we spoke above, Keble, and Hurrell Froude, and, above all, Newman. Although, however, agreeing that the addresses were useful, so far as they went, the three friends considered that something more direct, more awaken-

ing, even more startling, was called for by the evils of the day, and the issue of the *Tracts for the Times* was determined on, and thus the struggle began in earnest.

Out of his own head Newman began the Tracts, and in their brief, clear, but stern intensity they were something very different from anything of the kind yet heard in England. He wrote in the buoyant frame of mind which resulted from the renewed health and strength that followed his serious illness in Sicily, in the "exultation of health restored and home regained." Dean Church gives in full the first Tract. It was addressed to "The Presbyters and Deacons of the Church of Christ in England;" and if we put ourselves in the place of the average, comfortably established parson, with his snug rectory and garden and happy family relations, we cannot wonder that the appeal to be drawn from their pleasant retreats into the arena of strife and battle for great principles (principles, too, which they hardly understood) found little response; or, that the still bolder wish that the bishops might have a blessed termination to their course in the spoiling of their goods and eventual martyrdom, was as deeply resented as the Whig threat of Disestablishment.

But, though this was the case in the country, from the first, at Oxford, the Tracts were a powerful force which soon greatly influenced the whole University. They now followed each other in rapid succession, and by the end of the next year had reached the number of forty-six, and were republished as a volume. Whilst these were enforcing some elementary Catholic truths, a still more potent influence in the same direction was brought to bear on Oxford at St. Mary's Church. Here Newman was preaching his famous parochial and university sermons every Sunday afternoon; and in these discourses the full meaning of the doctrines, and their bearing on our lives and daily conduct, was enlarged on and developed. "While men were reading and talking about the Tracts, they were hearing the sermons: and in the sermons they heard the living meaning and reason and bearing of the Tracts, their ethical affinities, their moral standard." Thus, at the same time, men were intellectually

brought to acknowledge truths, whilst their will and their heart were engaged in the task of making their life accord with them. The result could not but be the elevation of the whole tone of the University.

In the early days of its success, the party were fortunate in securing Dr. Pusey as a coadjutor. Though sympathetic, he had at first abstained from identifying himself with the movement; but in its second year he definitely joined it. He was a man of influence on account of his "religious seriousness, his deep learning, his position of professor at Oxford, and his friendly relations with the University authorities." His adhesion changed the character of the Tracts. In the place of short, startling, often one-sided, and in many ways incomplete papers, they became regular theological treatises, and for the future were either carefully elaborated essays on questions then being discussed, or else *catenae* of patristic or of Anglican divinity, intended to support the theories advocated by the Tractarians. Dr. Pusey's co-operation was, moreover, a voucher that, however novel might be their teaching, nothing adverse to the Church of England was intended; that the leaders knew what they were about; and that only benefit to the Establishment would result from their efforts.

So far, many things had favoured the spread of the movement, and in many ways its promoters might count themselves happy. The time, the locality, and above all, the great leader tended to arrest attention. As we before said, these were days of wide-spread intellectual activity. The emancipation and political triumph of the Catholic Church had re-awakened the animosity of her enemies; and whilst the Tractarians were preaching doctrines hardly distinguishable from her own, the Evangelicals, on their side, started a "Reformation Society," which commenced an "anti-popery" agitation all over the country. Although this opposition, which soon became directed as hotly against the Tractarians as against the Church, may, at first sight, appear to have been dangerous, its result in the end was the very reverse from damaging; for, not only did it arouse men's interest, and set them inquiring and questioning

concerning the matter in debate, but the very violence and unscrupulousness of the attacks often rebounded on their authors, and their exaggeration produced the very opposite effect to that wished for or intended. Oxford, too, was a worthy stage for the acting of the theological drama, which was played out between 1833 and 1845. The University has always had a self-centred life of its own ; and if in these days of rapid communication, and the annihilation of distance, it is now less noticeable, in the first half of the century, before even a railway came within many miles of Oxford, its isolation as a school of thought was still complete. Oxford had its own fashions and ways, its own social ranks and positions, its laws and discipline, and its special characteristics. Although its proud claim to be pre-eminently the guardian of " true religion and sound learning " occasioned in its midst a certain jealousy of innovation, yet a place where all the actors knew one another, and were meeting daily, a place where the atmosphere was full of controversy and intelligent and critical humour, was no inappropriate locale for a " Church Revival." On such a scene appeared Newman, with his fascinating personality, his unsought influence, and, above all, his heart-searching sermons—those deeply sympathetic addresses, wherein each and every soul could find an answer to its questions and a power against its temptations.

As we stated before, had the movement been only ethical, the issue might have been widely different. But, besides inculcating sincerity of feeling, simplicity of life, and an elevated standard of character, Newman had early realized that true holiness cannot exist unless it be based on a firm and consistent faith. Although questions of doctrine were not prominently forced to the front, the acceptance of an orthodox standard of Anglican belief was presupposed ; and an effort was made to put reality into the words which, by constant unheeded repetition had come to mean little to many who used them. The Tracts had been started with the idea of setting forth the strong but forgotten claims of the Church, and not unnaturally the question, What is the Church ? speedily followed the attempt to create an interest

in her welfare. To many, she represented a mere abstraction; to others, she was only the nation on its religious side; or again, she was simply the aggregate of all good Christians of every creed or sect throughout the world. The Tractarians had, however, mastered the truth so far as to believe that the Church was the kingdom of Christ, founded by Him, and resting on a visible organization, with a power of teaching the truth, and of imparting heavenly ordinances. With so true a belief before them, and face to face with the difficulty of harmonizing it with the established body of which they formed a part, it was certain that what was styled the "Roman question," would soon become of irrepressible importance.

As we said of the *Apologia*, so we may say of the movement, that it is mainly the history of the emancipation of Newman's soul; and this being so, it is worth while to follow in detail the steps by which he extricated himself from his early errors. He had started with the popular belief that the Pope was Anti-Christ, and that the case was so clear against the whole Roman system, as to need no further examination—it carried its own condemnation on its very front. As we read lately in his *Letters*, he wrote: "As to the Roman system, I have ever detested it so much, that I cannot detest it more by seeing it"—an opinion, indeed, which is more consistent with itself, and more easy to understand, than the more temperate views by which it was succeeded. If the Church is *not* all she claims to be, we fully admit that she is an impostor; and as such, of her very nature she is anti-Christian. With the majesty and power of the Church, Newman appears always to have been impressed; but, at first, they had seemed to him to represent the greatness of a Babylon, the magnificence of a fallen spirit—great merely for evil, which, whilst it might fascinate, must yet be opposed by all on God's side. The study even of Anglican divinity served somewhat to modify these views; and although still holding that the "Romanism" of the modern Church was seriously corrupt, yet he gradually came to admit that the body in communion with Rome had not altogether forfeited the claim to form part of the Church of

Christ. The arguments against Rome, he speedily discovered, required sifting. Many must be discarded as proving too much, and as fatal to belief in any Church at all. Others were founded on misrepresentation arising out of popular ignorance, and if seriously relied on, would simply recoil on their own party.

Together with Newman's knowledge of the extravagance and falsity of much in the Protestant conception of the Church, came a change in his animus. Rome to him was no longer Anti-Christ, but a strange and wonderful mixture of good and bad, attractive from her greatness, for the extent of her sway, her world-wide organization, and her imperial authority, and because she surpassed every other form of religion, for good as well as for evil. The evils, however, were so evident, and Rome's claim to supremacy and infallibility were so inadmissible, that either submission to her, or union with her were impossible. The duty of Anglicans, he held, was to resist Rome ; but, in doing so, it was not necessary, nor was it truthful, to have recourse to indiscriminate and coarse abuse, or to deny the good which was to be found mingled with the supposed evil. The idea of a pure Church on the one hand, and of a hopelessly corrupt body on the other, was exchanged for that of two portions of the Church of Christ, each with its own history and life and character, existing side by side, neither being perfect, and neither realizing, in fact, all that they professed in theory ; yet neither having so sinned as to have forfeited the promises of Christ. We are told that Newman dared to know and acknowledge much of real Christian life in the Church of Rome that our insular self-satisfaction did not care or wish to know, and to own that much that was considered "Popery" was really "Catholic;" though whilst he did this, he fiercely attacked, and, as he supposed, with a hand strengthened by the fact of its moderation elsewhere, the main notes of the Church's apostolicity and infallibility. But, as is freely admitted, it is easier for an Anglican to upset in argument the authority of the Church than to indicate by what authority it is to be replaced. The *Via Media*, as Newman's theory was called, though it may be

supposed fatal to the claims of the Catholic Church, denies the existence of any teaching Church whatsoever. If Rome may not teach infallibly, in spite of her historic claim to do so, England, without making any such claim, undoubtedly cannot do so either; and the teaching office of the Church is denied or considered to be in abeyance. Dean Church, indeed, goes further, and ventures to assert that in the "early and undivided Church," though there was such a thing as authority, there was no such thing as infallibility. Were we to allow this, and to agree that no claim to teach absolute truth was ever made in the first centuries, we must admit with the sceptic that we receive even the creeds of the Church on inadequate grounds.

To the *Via Media* two objections were made, and were never satisfactorily answered. The first was, that, although the authority of the early Church was appealed to, her definitions could only apply to early controversies; and that, as a fact, the decisions of the first centuries had left untouched a great portion of the deposit of the faith. Secondly—and this objection appears to Dean Church the more serious of the two:—

"Your theory is nothing but a paper theory; it never was a reality; it never can be. There may be an ideal 'halting-place, there is neither a logical nor an actual one, between Romanism and the ordinary negations of Protestantism.' The answer to the challenge then was, 'Let us see if it cannot be realized. It has recognised foundations to build upon, and the impediments and interruptions which have hindered it are well known. Let us see if it will not turn out something more than a paper theory.'"

This answer was given in 1835, but was abandoned in 1845, needlessly, thinks Dean Church, as, in his opinion, whatever may be the failings of the Church of England, she has at least shown in the last fifty years, that she is no "paper" Church. We have no wish to assert that she has; but, whilst we admit as much, we yet assert that the *Via Media* is a "paper" theory; and that by its abandonment, and not by its maintenance, the Church of England has worked successfully, so far as she can claim success. We

should be anticipating were we to enlarge on this topic here ; but the very canons by which Dean Church bids us judge of the Establishment to-day, merely by its work and zeal in doing good, are beside the mark, so far as the theory is concerned.

The first years of the movement were those of its chief success. Newman still possessed unbounded confidence in his position ; no doubt had yet assailed him, nor had it crossed his mind that, although he might hold his own against popular Protestantism, in the closer fight with Rome he would be driven to yield. Troubles from his Protestant enemies were, however, near at hand ; and whilst these were gathering into a storm of University and Episcopal condemnation, the little rift in the party itself unexpectedly opened—the rift that was to widen into an impassable gulf—and whilst it shattered the fortunes of the movement, shook the very foundations of the Establishment.

In 1839, whilst deep in patristic studies, the thought, like the apparition of a ghost, suddenly flashes through Newman : "The Church of Rome will be found right after all," and henceforth to him "the world is never the same again." A new struggle began, and from this moment the Tractarian party was divided in two, and the body of men who had so far acted in perfect unison, began to show a double aspect, whilst their great leader wrestled with conflicting calls and duties—between the simple and undivided truth, and home and country, early associations and present hopes, the ties of kindred and the affection of friends. The division in the party soon became manifest in its works and writings. Whilst most of the earlier members still confined their labour to improving the existing Church of England, Newman and the more recent recruits were searching their hearts as to whether the body in question was a part of Christ's Church at all ; whether, in working for her, they might not be working against the Catholic Church. The conflict lasted for years, and it was long before Newman could definitely settle the antagonistic claims by which he was confronted. The ideal of the early Church was always before him, specially in its double aspect of Apostolicity and

Catholicity ; and whilst, on the one hand, the non-Catholicity of the Anglican body was obvious to all ; on the other, his study of the early Fathers had led him to suppose that the Roman Church was non-apostolic, in so much as her teaching went beyond that of the first centuries, and defined much then left untouched. Until he could explain the apparent difference between the teaching of the first ages of Christianity and the present faith of the Catholic Church, he could not bring himself to throw in his lot with her's. The link was at length found in the theory of the gradual development of Christian doctrine, a theory which anticipated in the realms of theology Darwin's explanation of phenomena in the world of natural history and science—a theory by which we discover the gradual growth of the Catholic faith from the mustard-seed of its first deposit, and by which the essential unity of the Church's teaching through centuries of definitions is made manifest, and the doctrines of to-day with those of the Apostles are proved to be one, in the same sense as the full ear of corn is one with the grain from which it springs. Newman's mind being satisfied on this point, the apostolicity of the Church being proved :—

"Then the force of the great vision of the Catholic Church came upon him unchecked and irresistible. That was a thing present, visible, undeniable as a fact of nature ; that was a thing at once old and new ; it belonged as truly, as manifestly, to the recent and modern world of democracy and science as it did to the Middle Ages and the Fathers, to the world of Gregory and Innocent, to the world of Athanasius and Augustine. The majesty, the vastness of an imperial polity, outlasting all states and kingdoms, all social changes and political revolutions, answered at once to the promises of the prophecies, and to the antecedent idea of the universal Kingdom of God. Before this great idea, embodied in concrete form, and not a paper doctrine, partial scandals and abuses seemed to sink into insignificance. Objections seemed petty and ignoble ; the pretence of rival systems, impertinent and absurd. He resented almost with impatience anything in the way of theory or explanation which seemed to him narrow, technical, dialectical. He would look at nothing but what had on it the mark of greatness and largeness which befitted the awful subject, and was worthy of arresting the eye and attention of an ecclesiastical statesman, alive to mighty interests, compared to which even the most serious human affairs were dwarfed and obscured."

That one who could thus write—as Dean Church writes—of the effect of God's Church on another, should have himself remained insensible to her influence, is a saddening reflection. Beside this picture of a great organization, of a world-reaching religion, of the only Christian body worthy of being the earthly representation of the power of God, all trivial objections do, indeed, seem petty and ignoble; and that he who could thus designate them should yet have been their slave, seems inexplicable.

To return, however, to Oxford. At the time that Newman's doubts were becoming urgent, the movement was joined by men differing in many ways from its first promoters—men without strong affection for the Church of England, who were impatient of her logical inconsistencies, who required distinct answers to distinct questions, and positive proof for much that the earlier school had taken for granted; above all, men to whom the great Church of Rome was ever present as an ideal, from which, although they were shut off, they were yet anxious to conform to. These were anxious not so much to improve the Establishment on the old lines, as to approximate it so far as possible to the perfect Catholicity of Rome, their "Ideal of a Christian Church." Amongst the most prominent of the neo-Tractarians we may name Ward, Dalgleish, Faber, and Oakeley, who all followed Newman in his all-important change, and to whom, later on, the Church was indebted for good and serviceable work.

Into the outside opposition which forced the hand of the advanced section of the Tractarian party, we do not now propose to enter. The attitude of the bishops, the condemnation by the Oxford authorities, even the University degradation of Mr. Ward, are an oft-told tale, and have been lately fully discussed in notices both of Dr. Ward's *Life*, and Cardinal Newman's *Letters*. The end of the Tractarian hopes, however, was the result more of the action of the leader of the party than the effect of any outward opposition. The enmity of Protestantism would only have braced the party; the defection of its chief annihilated it. Its foes proved, indeed, to be those of its own household, and the story of the great "catastrophe" which shattered the party and de-

stroyed the hope of converting the Establishment into an integral part of the Church of Christ, is told, not without a certain pathos, by Dean Church, though he fails to admit its full destructive force. To the remnant that refused to follow Newman, his secession and those which accompanied it, were merely a cloud; a very black cloud, it is true, yet only to be looked on as a mere temporary hindrance to the restoration to our country of the Catholic faith. To us, however, these events seem of greater importance; and, considering the high hopes of 1833 and their result, not only in 1845, but to-day, we cannot but think that with the final relinquishment of Newman's hopes for the Establishment, the Tractarian movement ceased to exist. The keenest intellect, the loftiest mind, and the finest character engaged in the experiment, was obliged sorrowfully to own that he had failed in engrafting the Catholic Church on to the Established Religion; and to admit that the English Church, on nearer sight, was discovered to be, not an indolent, an unworthy, or even a corrupt part of the Catholic Church; but that, notwithstanding many excellencies as a religious body, it was yet altogether outside the one Church of Christ.

And with this view—viz., the extinction of Tractarianism as a serious school of thought—we fail to see that Dean Church's last statement in any way clashes. He tells us that, when recovering from the first consternation and alarm of 1845, the party sought again for a principle by which they might measure their rule of life, the *Via Media* was not revived, nor was the stale assertion made that in all things England was as simply right as Rome was wrong. Nor at this date was the hollow theory of a Church with geographical limits yet advanced, a Church which, whilst it was Catholic in England, was schismatic abroad, with the correlative assertion that the Catholic Church in England is a mere intruder, and is to be shunned as such. No, the appeal was made from “brilliant logic, and keen sarcasm, and pathetic and impressive eloquence, to reality and experience, as well as to history as to the positive and substantial characteristics of the traditional and actually existing English Church, shown not on paper but in work, and in spite of contradictory appearances and inconsistent elements.”

Shorn of all rhetoric, this would amount to saying that the appeal was made simply to the *work*, past and present, of the Church of England; that work which, whilst we have no wish to decry its excellence or to lessen its importance, we have no hesitation in affirming, is to be found as active and as successful in every other religious body in England as in the Establishment. To depend on the excellence of the work done by the so-called "Catholic" school for its justification, is to undermine the very foundations of the definite creed by which the Tractarians sought to stem the latitudinarianism of their day. Newman's action had evidenced that either the principles of the movement must be abandoned, or their legitimate issue would be found in submission to the Catholic Church. To appeal from his dictum to the good work done by the party since 1845 is surely beside the mark, differs little from liberalism in religion, and simply plays into the hands of those who maintain indifference to all dogma so long as a good and holy life is led. The assertion that the successes which have followed the labours of the High Church school in late years should be considered as vindicating the movement, and being beyond those for which the most sanguine Tractarian hoped, we think is evidence that at the date when Dean Church wrote he must have entirely forgotten what those hopes were. That, in externals, Catholic worship is emulated—even that the religious life of many is modelled on a Catholic form, avails little. The luxury of the age may account for much of the first; the very reaction from such luxury may, perhaps, account for the second. But, while the Catholic truth which underlies both is as hotly denied by some in the Establishment as it is eagerly maintained by others, we can only reassert our opening statement—viz., that the principal result of the Tractarian movement, putting aside its happier effect in leading many souls into the Church, is simply to bring another element of discordant teaching into the Anglican body; and that, so far as the movement aspired to prove her to be one with the Church of Christ throughout the world, it failed disastrously.

EVELYN MORDAUNT.

THE APOSTLESHIP OF PRAYER.—II.

ITS SIMPLICITY AND USEFULNESS.

THE Holy League of the Sacred Heart has been, as already said,¹ approved of by Pope Pius IX. of blessed memory, by the present supreme Pontiff, even while he was still but Archbishop of Perugia; while during the twelve years of his pontificate he has advocated, encouraged, and blessed it in no less than eight successive briefs or rescripts.

We have even higher advocacy and approval. Our Blessed Lord, desirous to see established this beautiful form of devotion to His Adorable Heart, has, in a series of sacred promises, declared how He Himself regards it. To those who practice this devotion, He promised blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque that He would give :—

1. The graces necessary for their state.
2. Peace in their families.
3. Comfort in all their trials.
4. Secure refuge in life and death.
5. Abundant blessings on all their undertakings.
6. That sinners should find His Heart an ocean of mercy.
7. That tepid souls should become fervent.
8. That fervent souls should advance rapidly towards perfection.
9. That He would bless every dwelling where an image of His Heart should be exposed and honoured.
10. That He would give priests a peculiar facility for converting hardened sinners.
11. That persons spreading this devotion should have their names written in His Sacred Heart, never to be effaced.

It is hardly necessary to stay to speak on the authenticity of these promises. In two ways, the Church has implicitly guaranteed their authenticity; first, in beatifying Blessed Margaret Mary, who declared that our divine Lord made these promises; and secondly, in approving

¹ See I. E. RECORD, Oct., 1891.

of the devotion that makes these promises one of its promoting factors. And to these two may be added the further one, that they are spoken and taught, not in secret, but preached and published off the house-tops; and that the Church, so sensitive to everything tainted with false doctrine, has not thought it necessary to qualify or condemn them, but has permitted and encouraged them. Surely, then, for persons desirous to secure their eternal salvation, here is at hand a means marvellous "in its usefulness and in its simplicity," to use the words of Leo XIII., when Archbishop of Perugia.

Two questions now come to the front—how may a person, individually, become a member of it? and how may a priest, anxious to establish it in his parish, go about doing so? The first question is easily answered; the person has but to find where the Association is established—every Jesuit Church has one connected with it, as well as numbers of convents and parishes—and to give his name to be enrolled in the register. There are three degrees. By the first and simplest, he is required, besides giving his name, to make the Morning offering. By the second, he is asked, furthermore, to say one decade of the Rosary daily for the *Monthly Intention*. By the third, he binds himself to a monthly or a weekly Holy Communion of Reparation. In joining, one may become a member only of the first degree, if he wish; but he could not be a member without having his name on the register, and making the Morning offering; and on his habitually neglecting to make the Morning offering he would cease to become a member; because the Morning offering is the fundamental devotion underlying all. Therefore, if he wishes to be a member at all, he must make the Morning offering; and the more earnestly and devotedly he makes it, the truer member he is, the more fervent he becomes in his own soul, the more dear to the Sacred Heart, and the more powerful for obtaining blessings from God for the Association and for all its members. This will be seen at a glance by taking a case. Supposing that one of the things to be prayed for on to-morrow morning is, "5,000 persons out of employment;" plainly, the prayers of the earnest member will have

more influence before the throne of grace, than that of the tepid, in obtaining employment for these poor men and their families, and thus in keeping them from starvation, and perhaps other, and (it may be) worse evils.

Besides the Monthly Intention, which is broad and general, and which is usually selected by the Pope himself, as, for instance, the *Peace of Nations*, *Catholicity of the Press*, &c., there are those daily and local and personal intentions, which the associates ask the Central Director to pray for, and which he thus groups together, and appoints a certain group for one day in the month, another for another, and so on. These the associates find printed on the last page of *The Messenger*, or on what is called *The General Intention Sheet*. The zealous member keeps these requests before his eyes—reads them at night before going to bed, in order that they may be in his mind when he is making his offering in the morning; puts himself into the place of those who have made these requests, who have sent up these cries from (in all likelihood) bleeding hearts; and thus he excites his devotion, and prays and works more earnestly and more fruitfully.

It is written: "And behold a certain lawyer stood up, tempting Him . . . and, willing to justify himself, said to Jesus, Who is my neighbour?" Upon this our Blessed Lord told the beautiful parable of the Good Samaritan, who, seeing the sick man, "was moved with compassion, and going up to him, bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine." This is what the fervent member of the Holy League does every morning when praying for his neighbour who "hath fallen among robbers." We know with what implied eulogy our Lord narrates that touching parable, and with what admonition He says to every generation and to every man: "Go thou, and do likewise." And in this our day He has gone farther, for He has particularized the blessings He is prepared to give to those who will do so: "I will give them the graces necessary for their state. I will give them peace in their families. I will be their secure refuge in life and death. I will give them comfort in all their trials, and bestow abundant blessings on all their undertakings."

From the individual it is but a step to the parish. A parish of such souls is a picture that the mind loves to contemplate; the fleece of Gideon, anew, wet with the dews of heaven on the thrashing-floor "under an oak that was in Ephra;"—"as the smell of a plentiful field which the Lord hath blessed"—so would such a parish be.

Article VII. of the Statutes says:—

"The General Director may, in different countries and dioceses, appoint Central Directors, with the consent of the respective Ordinary, whose jurisdiction, moreover, must always be scrupulously respected, both with regard to centres established or to be established, or with regard to the faithful of his diocese, already enrolled or to be enrolled, according to the holy canons and apostolic constitutions."

This directs how to act in the case of a parish. The first thing to be obtained is the consent of the Ordinary. In this matter, it will not be difficult to obtain it. Nothing can be more welcome to those "who are set over us, so as to give an account of us," than to learn that we are desirous to live fervent Catholic lives, which is testified by our intention of joining the League of the Sacred Heart. That consent being obtained, the next step is to notify the same to the Central Director in Dublin.

This is the most convenient place to describe the internal government of the Association.

The General Director, who has supreme authority over the Association throughout the whole world, lives in France. He appoints, in every country, zealous clergymen who have a deep interest in the Association, and a great desire to advance it, and who are called Central Directors—one for every country, one for England, one for Ireland, &c. These Central Directors have the power of appointing, with the sanction of the Ordinary, as determined by the statutes, Local Directors, whose jurisdiction is generally conterminous with the parishes.

The Local Director, having obtained his diploma, proceeds to organize in whatever way he, in his judgment, considers best. Possibly, the best way would be, to explain, in one or two lectures, the advantages of the Association, and then invite members to join.

As in all things, so in this, our Lord seems greatly to desire the assistance of priests. In order to induce them to give their aid, He promises things which usually He bestows only on saints. "I will give priests a peculiar facility for converting hardened sinners." And, best of all, "Persons spreading this devotion, I will have their names *written in My Sacred Heart, never to be effaced.*" The worth of this promise may be judged from what our Lord, in the Gospel, says to the seventy-two disciples on their return to Him. "And they coming together unto Jesus, related unto Him all things that they had done and taught." His answer was, not to glory in the wonderful miracles they had wrought, or in the numbers that they had converted; but to rejoice in this, that *their names were written in the book of life.*

From the number enrolled, or from those who have helped to spread the devotion, the Local Director will choose persons of earnestness, of steadiness, and of zeal; and on these the great success of the work will depend. "The promoters hold their meetings once a month," says the little handbook of the Holy League; "and on these meetings the spread of the Association, the success of all its works, the fervour of its members, &c., mainly depend."

Every member, at joining, gets a certificate of admission. Blank forms are supplied from the office of the Central Director.¹ Promoters also get diplomas. They are received with certain ceremonies, all of which may be found by consulting the handbook.

Thus it appears how very simple in its construction, and how very self-acting it is. In the parish, the Local Director works through the Promoters, and they act on the members. And what is it not capable of effecting in a parish? Whether a work be one duly subordinated to it, or a religious movement which, at first sight, seems quite foreign and even alien, it readily unites and assimilates with all; for all things that are holy are dear to the Heart of Jesus. If it be the Propagation of the faith, it gathers it under its wings, as a

¹ In Ireland the office is at No. 5, Great Denmark-street, Dublin.

hen gathereth her chickens; if it be devotion to the Holy Souls, it as readily assists it. If it be temporal or moral virtues, such as the promotion of family peace, the blessings of domestic cleanliness among the poor, or the great advantage of temperance, nothing comes amiss to it; it is there, not alone present, but the "brightness of God shining all round, and with *it* a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and peace on earth to men of goodwill."

It is hardly possible to calculate all the good work it may do in a parish. By its beautiful tender devotion to the Sacred Heart, it brings souls to our Lord in the Holy Communion, thus inducing a more frequent reception of the holy Sacraments of Penance and the Blessed Eucharist. Children take immediately to it; and no one need be told what is the advantage of binding the child to the altar and the Church. The growing-up young men, and the brave heart in the strong man's breast, yield with childlike softness to its pleadings. "His locks are wet with the dews of the night." There is something sublimely pathetic in seeing the power of religion exercised on the strong and the robust. God's eye may see many a Nathanael praying beneath the fig-tree, when our eyes cannot. What more rugged or unpromising than the fishermen that cast their nets in an Eastern sea? Yet that same Sacred Heart said to them but once, "Follow Me! And leaving their nets they followed Him."

Overlooking many, there is one devotion so peculiarly the devotion of the Sacred Heart, and called into existence and all but universal observance by it, that it cannot be passed unmentioned—the devotion of the first Friday of every month, and the consequent devotion of the Nine Fridays. The devotion of the first Friday has gained already such a hold on the piety of the people, that were we by any chance restored to the ages of faith, it is likely that it would have been postulated for as a holiday. With the exception of Christmas Day and some feasts of our Blessed Lady, there is scarcely any other on which the faithful feel such an abundance of love and outpouring of the Holy

Ghost, the Comforter, as on the first Friday. Scarcely anything seems so hard to be borne by those who are in the habit of going to Holy Communion on the first Friday, as being disappointed on that day. The nine Fridays naturally follow from this. But then there is that extraordinary promise of our Blessed Lord—exceptional, indeed, in the whole history of the Christian Church—with regard] to the nine Fridays. It has not been recorded that any promise like the following was ever made :—

“I promise thee, in the excess of the mercy of My Heart, that its all-powerful love will grant to all those who receive communion on the first Friday of the month for nine consecutive months, *the grace of final repentance* ; and that they shall not die under My displeasure, nor without receiving the sacraments ; and that My heart shall be their secure refuge at that last hour.”

It is no wonder that there was a great outcry against this promise when it was first made public. All the teachings of mystic theology were against it, or seemed to be so. *Final perseverance* was not to be merited, but to be obtained by humble and constant prayer. Churchmen, with their habit of caution, looked suspicious. It was new ; it was startling ; it was previously unheard-of : but the love and the mercy of the Sacred Heart have no bounds. To-day, thank God, under the sanction of Holy Church, it is preached everywhere ; *in omnem terram exivit sonus ejus*.

The devotion of the first Friday, and the devotion of the nine Fridays, seem to culminate in “that day which the Lord hath made,” the first Friday after the Octave of Corpus Christi, the feast of the Sacred Heart. Let us recall its institution as told in the delightful pages of Père Charles Daniel, de la Compagnie de Jesus :—

“In the little chapel of the Visitation [at Paray-le-Monial] Father de la Colombiere was celebrating the holy mysteries with more than his usual fervour and devotion. About the time of Holy Communion, when blessed Margaret Mary was going to approach the altar, she saw two hearts, the priest's and her own, immersed in the Sacred Heart of Jesus, as if they were spots in a great furnace ; and she heard a voice, saying : ‘It is thus that My pure love unites three hearts for ever.’”

At the same time she understood that this union was

all for the glory of the Sacred Heart, and that she was to inform the holy priest of its treasures, in order that he might justly appreciate it, and value the spiritual gifts that were to be shared between them. . . . What was not the astonishment of Father de la Colombiere to find himself chosen by our divine Saviour to aid in obtaining glory for the Sacred Heart. He was so confounded, when she told him, and expressed himself in terms of such humiliation, that the holy nun says she was more edified by what she saw and heard than by the most eloquent and the most pious discourses of this true servant of God.

"To add a new feast to the feasts of the Church! this frightened her. But to add one more to that which had been added in the thirteenth century in honour of the adorable Body and Blood of our Lord; to the joy and exultation of the *Lauda Sion*, to add penance and reparation—this was the thought ever uppermost in her mind. Long time had she nursed it, but never would she have ventured to breathe it across her lips but for the express command of our divine Lord. While she lay prostrate before the altar, and while she was revolving what could she do to make the Sacred Heart better known and loved, she heard a voice, saying: 'You shall never do better than what I have so often asked of you;' and then: 'Behold this Heart that has loved men so much, that it has not even stopped at consuming and annihilating itself to testify its love for men; and from the most of them I receive nothing but ingratitude; for they do not cease to offend Me by their irreverences and by their sacrileges, as well as by the coldness and the contempt which they show to Me in this sacrament of love. But what is still more painful is, that there are hearts even consecrated to Me, who do this. It is for this reason that I ask of you to obtain that the first Friday after the octave of the holy sacrament be dedicated by particular devotion to the honour of My Heart, that the faithful receive Holy Communion on that day, and by a loving reparation to My Sacred Heart that they make amends for all the indignities it receives while exposed for the adoration of men. And I promise you that My divine Heart will shed in abundance the sacred influence of its love on all who pay it this honour, and who will procure it to be paid.' When she related all this to Father de la Colombiere, he did not hesitate for a moment. Too happy to be the first disciple of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, he made an entire sacrifice of himself, and on the next day he engaged by vow to devote the remainder of his life to the service of the Sacred Heart. That was the first Friday after the Octave of Corpus Christi, June 21, 1675."

In the year 1765 Clement XIII., to the great joy of the Christian world, solemnly approved of the devotion to the Sacred Heart; and in 1873, Pope Pius IX. of blessed memory, writing to the Irish bishops, cried: "May the Sacred Heart of Jesus inflame your hearts! Amen."

J. A. CULLEN, S.J.

HUMOURING THE VATICAN IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

"Dans la sphère sereine de la science, lorsque le temps a calmé les passions pourquoi ne pas avouer des torts qui ne sont plus que des faits historiques?"—(PIERLING, *Papes et Tsars*, avant propos, page 1.)

SCHLITTE! Who or what was Schlitte? Readers of the *Romans Nationaux* of Erckmann-Chatrion will find somewhere in *Madame Thérèse* much anxiety about a schlitte; but our Schlitte is not a thing, but a man. Schlitte was the man who humoured the Vatican in the sixteenth century; to whose character we hope, before we finish this article, to do full justice. We do not know if Schlitte was the great prototype of more recent adventurers, but he was unique. His interesting career will now be, for the first time, unfolded to English readers, as a warning to all his followers who feel inclined to play tricks with the Catholic Church, and to humour the Vicar of Christ, that the time comes when they will be duly gibbeted.

To grasp clearly the position of affairs in Europe at the time of which we speak, we must take a retrospective glance at the general drift of European politics. First of all the religious question was of supreme importance. The East was separated from the West by what was *prima facie* a schism, but at bottom a heresy. Greek and Latin were in hostile camps. The estrangement was fatal. The Greeks saw a sinister sign on their eastern horizon. The Turk was coming, and now the hour of Byzantium had come. While

the West was holding its great Councils of Lyons and Florence, Islam was sharpening its sword beyond the Bosphorus and casting its eye toward Constantinople. On one side the Turk, on another Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily; while the Ex-Emperor Baldwin II. menaced them from another point. The Greeks were in straits. Whither should they turn for help but to the Vatican? The Greeks were isolated in religion, and the enemy was knocking at the gates. What was to be done? Michael Paleologus sent to implore the help of the Latins, and the Pope immediately moved in the direction of religious unity; join Latin and Greek in the Church, and let them draw the sword together against the common enemy, Islam. In 1274 Gregory convoked the Council of Lyons—the questions between East and West were discussed—on the 6th of July. East and West were united; the Greeks swearing loyalty to the Pope in recognising Papal supremacy. The union, such as it was, lasted a very short time. When Michael Paleologus died the rupture was the same as had prevailed from Photius to the Council of Lyons.

The Turk was growing more powerful day by day, and the Greeks were asking for men and money. Once more the emperors of Byzantine are thrown into the arms of the Pope. Islamism was rampant; the Greek Empire trembling; nothing could save New Rome but the West; and the Pope was the West. We are now in the middle of the fifteenth century. The Emperor, John Paleologus stretches his hands to Rome, to implore help before the eastern rampart of Christianity would be blotted out in Christian blood, under the ever-increasing tide of Mohammedanism. Terms of union between East and West were again proposed: a Council was hastily summoned—first at Ferrara, then at Florence. Bessarion (the sight of whose Roman purple, as cardinal, on his return home, so nearly cost him his life), a theologian, an orator, and a patriot; and Isidore of Kief, a man of boundless energy, of solid judgment, one of those noble men whose wisdom comes from afar, represented the Greeks. At length Eugene IV., 1439, published the Decree of Union, and appealed to all Christian princes to fly to the rescue of the Catholic Church in the East. Nicholas V. did the same.

It was too late. The Crescent triumphed; Constantine was defeated, and Constantinople became the head-quarters of the Turks. From that day to this the Asiatic barbarian has held on to the Golden Horn, and blighted by his presence one of the fairest spots of Europe.

The Turks now became a danger to Europe. The Greek emperors and Constantinople were gone. The Dukes of Moscow—later on, the Tsars of Russia—remained. The Pope turned to Moscow for help against the Turks, and his object was this: On the disappearance of Constantinople with its patriarchate as a Christian city, the centre of Eastern influence was being rapidly transferred. Under Moslem power the Patriarch of Constantinople became a skeleton, and the Russians asked themselves, "How shall we obey a patriarch in the hands of the Moslems?" Constantinople was second Rome; Moscow was to be third Rome. Keeping in touch with Moscow was the only way to secure large armies against the Turk, and to prepare the way for another attempt to unite the East and West. Rome had not much to give Moscow. True, the Pope could make the Duke of Moscow Tsar (Cæsar) of the North—send him a royal crown, confer high-sounding titles which would please the Kremlin, and, above all, he could intervene with the Poles, in a sense favourable to Russia.

In those days, during the sixteenth century, when Schlitte makes his appearance, Poland was mighty. She stood there in the very heart of Europe, a bulwark of Christianity, when the Greek empire had gone, when Germany and England were simply rotting and festering in heresy, and when the Turk was still threatening, not Greek—for practical purpose it had disappeared—but Latin Christianity. She was a great Slavonic power, and from the earliest days of the Moscow Dukedom, when it began to assimilate the surrounding princedoms, such as Suzdal and Novogorod, she saw that the Tsar of the North was to be the great rival power which would eventually cross swords with her, and unite, if possible, under one crown the great Slav race. Would Poland conquer, and assert that the crown of the Jagellons be the symbol of the Mid-European unity of the Slavs, or would the candlestick

be removed to Moscow? In addition, during the great Mongolian invasion across the Ural chain, the Poles took Livonia, a province over which the Russians claimed suzerainty. Hence mistrust, suspicion, hatred, thinly disguised under the most formal diplomatic reserve.

Rome now comes on the scene, and diplomatic overtures were made to Russia to rally against the Turk, and to reunite East and West. It was not the first time that there were cordial relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin. Through the instrumentality of the Vatican, Zoe Paleologa, daughter of the last Emperor of Byzantium, a Catholic princess, was married to Ivan III. An Italian from Vicenza, Gian Battista della Volpe, represented Ivan (the marriage was in Rome by proxy), and escorted the fair bride through Italy to Moscow with all that courtesy and delicate finesse which the grandeur of the occasion evoked in the soul of the chivalrous Italian. Embassies came and went from Rome to Moscow and from Moscow to Rome, but always with the same result. The Tsar and the Turk were friends, and Russia was not in danger. Hungary was the objective of Soliman. During all these comings and goings between the Popes and Tsars, Poland was profoundly moved lest something prejudicial to her interests should be determined on. Thus, in the middle of the sixteenth century there was in the diplomatic world a triangular duel between the Pope and the Tsar and the King of Poland. At this point Schlitte appeared. From what we have said, it will be easy to infer what were the ideas and aims of the various courts concerned. Moscow aimed at being free from Rome religiously, but desired to take advantage of western civilization, which in all the arts, both useful and ornamental, found their focus in Rome and their sphere of influence in the western nations. Rome and the western nations saw more and more clearly the necessity of having religious unity to combat impending dangers. Moscow preferred autonomy in religion—independence from the Pope: two sets of ideas prevailed in the East and in the West, and Hans Schlitte knew how to utilize both.

A native of Goslar, an old town in the district of Liebenbourg, province of Hanover, Schlitte seeks his fortune among

the Russians. He was a man of active mind, and spoke Russian well—a rare acquirement in those days. He turns up at Moscow full of Moscovian ideas, gets introduced to the Tsar Ivan IV., and begins his interesting career. He is a Greek out and out at Moscow, though a Catholic generally outside the Russian frontier: geographical Christianity was obviously a strong point with him. He could feel equally at home in the Kremlin and at the Vatican. The Tsar gave him a commission to go to Germany, and recruit among the Germans an efficient body of men to teach the Russians *sciences, arts, and crafts*. He was granted letters patent to that effect, and turned his face westward, in April, 1547. The Russians wanted men of this class and none other. But a mere commission to recruit teachers of manual sciences would not be very imposing in the eyes of the Western Catholics, to whom a union of Churches was the only point of importance, both on its own account, and as a preliminary to an anti-Islamic league. Schlitte presents himself to Charles V. of Germany, whose dream was a great Catholic league. Charles V. had reason to see its importance, owing to the pressing troubles which Protestantism caused in Germany. In 1548, having been triumphant over all Protestant opposition, he was particularly disposed in that direction.

Under such circumstances Schlitte makes his appearance at the Diet of Augsburg, and announces himself at the German Court as the *Russian Ambassador*. He fills the brain of Charles V. with wonderful tales of Ivan IV's disposition towards the union of the Latin and Greek Churches; how he is desirous of following in the steps of the late Tsar, his father Vasili, and of submitting directly to the Latin Church. Charles V. was fired by this information, and readily accorded to Schlitte an instrument conferring full power on him to gather all the learned men he could find, and would want to take to Moscow. Charles also gives him a letter to the Tsar, praising the latter for his efforts towards a high civilization, &c., but never mentions a word about the union of the Churches. The result of Schlitte's enterprise was a mixed gathering of one hundred and twenty-three luminaries, who started out from their homes, true knight-errants of learning,

bent on making their lights shine across the wastes of Scythia. Among the gathering are four theologians—of what prowess we know not. The Tsar never asked for theologians—no mention of them in the letters patent containing Schlitte's commission, to which Schlitte appealed—no mention of them in Charles V.'s eulogistic letter to the Tsar. But their presence is readily explained. Schlitte had a game to play, and he was playing it. The four theologians were obviously necessary to give colour, not to the contents of the letters patent—but to the wonderful prospect of the union of East and West, about which Schlitte had so much to say. The long train of western brains trending towards Moscow, headed by Schlitte, with the four theologians in front, was a touching sight. But our best plans—such are the limitations of human genius—sometimes go askew, and Schlitte was no exception. Even the theologians were unable to secure that immunity which bards and minstrels of better days were able to enjoy. The contingent of learned men infringed on the Livonian frontier; and the Poles, respecting neither the pacific character of a body of men whose sole avocation was to spread the light and extend the frontier of the realm of thought, nor the passport of their leader, cast him into prison at Lübeck, where for two years he had time to think of the ingratitude of a generation which was wont to imprison its best benefactors, and how he was to extricate himself from the Polish dungeon. When he came forth and looked around, lo! the splendid galaxy of talent, which had set out with such high hopes, had vanished, and Schlitte found himself once more “on the bleak shore alone.” Whither his staff of professors went, we know not. Escaped from prison, by miracle, he assures us, and being pursued by the Poles, he is saved by a special intervention of Providence, as he again assures us. Without a penny in his pocket, or anything available for his daily wants but his ingenuity, he once more sets out to play off the East against the West. His first move was to create a chancellor. John Steinberg was an Austrian gentleman, whose purse was much heavier than his head. Schlitte wanted money; Steinberg, something to do. Perhaps the

latter had lurking ambition to be something important, and wished to turn a position of imposing grandeur to account. So Schlitte, fresh from jail, by a special instrument confers a hitherto unheard-of dignity on Steinberg, who forthwith becomes the "Latin and German Chancellor" and Plenipotentiary delegate of the Tsar to treat of all Russian affairs, but above all to negotiate the union of the Latin and Greek Churches between the Emperor and the Pope. Schlitte plans the movements of his chancellor. Steinberg is commissioned to go to Rome, and get a brief of union, "*sub annulo Piscatoris*," return with it to Breslau, where a passport to Moscow will be ready for him. Then he can go to Moscow, where he can for ever bask in the sunshine of the Tsar's favour, *and have his cash reimbursed*. Steinberg was paying his own expenses in this transaction, and there is very little doubt that the *soi-disant* ambassador was enjoying himself very comfortably out of Steinberg's purse as well.

This happy arrangement shows Schlitte's versatility. He broke new ground, and was able to make something solid, tangible, and practicable—to wit, cash—out of the very airiest speculations. Less ingenious men would have contented themselves with a more modest enterprise, and have picked up an agreeable living out of anti-camera intrigues; but Schlitte would have no such grovelling baseness—something dashing and brilliant for the intrepid Goslarian; something that would strike by its boldness, and silence wretched cavillers by its colossal grandeur. Of course, he knew that popes had laboured in vain for the same object; that councils had been held; that emperors had been wrecked on the same spot; that cardinals had retired broker hearted from discussing history and canons of ancient councils and abstruse questions on the nature of the hypostasⁱ and the operations *ad extra et ad intra*; that bishops prayed and laboured; that the whole ground which separated East and West had for whole generations of men been trodden as hard as a barracks-yard; but he was not craven-hearted. He still held that, properly exploited, the great question afforded ample material for further enterprise.

That all it required was a man of talent and resource to present to the human race a very rare spectacle. Schlitte was that man; and notice, that so far he proceeded on orthodox lines. Heroes have their poets; literary men their valets; knights their squires; and why should not Schlitte have his chancellor? So Steinberg appears in all his wild glory—created by Schlitte by a very formidable document bearing seals—not Russian ones—but the seals of some obscure Austrian officials, Weisberg and Raugen—doubtless good Catholics, who foresaw in Schlitte's noble enterprise the first step toward putting heavy Russian battalions on the flanks of the Turks.

Now we have arrived at a certain point. Steinberg and Schlitte separate. The former faces Romeward, while Schlitte hovers about to watch results. So far Schlitte was not compromised with the Tsar, in whose name these remarkable performances were being done. Schlitte's scheme was vague: Steinberg defines it, and the negotiations in Rome result in some startling developments. We can either follow Steinberg to Rome, or Schlitte. Let us for the present follow up his agent, promising to finish with Schlitte. Steinberg was for Schlitte a happy selection. He was a man of the wildest enthusiasm, practical in details, not given to abstract observations: neither dreamy in head nor vapoury in speech. He was well known in Vienna, and enjoyed the favour of the Papal Nuncio, Pietro Bertano, who was so captivated with Steinberg's enterprise, and so unsuspecting about the Chancellor's dignity that there was no time for anything beyond wishing God-speed, and preparing the Pope for Steinberg's arrival. Steinberg was now on the high road to eminence and success. That he was *bonâ fide*, is plain from the wonderful enthusiasm with which he begins and carries through his operations. He fires the imagination of Bertano, who writes to Rome a glowing account of the plan for the union of East and West. This settles Steinberg's reception in Rome. Bertano's influence in matters Russian was unequalled, and when once the illustrious Dominican bishop took sides with Steinberg, the success of the chancellor's

mission to Rome was certain, as far as human plans could make it.

To strengthen his back still more, and to make the scheme hang well together, Schlitte procured letters to the same purpose from Charles V. to the Pope. Orders were sent to the emperor's Imperial Ambassador at Rome, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, to advise him on the matter in hand, and to facilitate as far as possible the success of Steinberg's mission. Charles V. and Bertano informed the Pope that the Tsar was embarrassed at the religious differences which prevailed in Poland, where the Latin and Greek rites prevailed; and he was therefore obliged, in the interests of religious unity, the desire of which was burning out his soul, to speed his "Latin and German Chancellor" to Rome. When Steinberg arrived in Rome he was the most important man there. Certain ancient plenipotentiaries came long distances to Rome, and carried peace or war in the folds of their Carthaginian robes; but Schlitte's chancellor carried the Russian Church, the success of the Council of Trent, the fate of Islam, and many other consequential schemes big with the destiny of the future. Rome was then on the *qui vive*. The Reformation was a heavy blow; and at that moment it was in full swing. St. Ignatius of Loyola, with his magnificent Jesuits, were on the breach. St. Peter's barque was in the midst of the tempest and the boiling sea; but by the special providence of God the Jesuits were on deck. We have said by the providence of God, for if ever a *Deus ex machina* sprang up in the hour of need, when the knot demanded the power of a God to unravel it, you have it in the establishing of the Jesuit Order in the Abbey Church of Montmartre, 1533.

When Steinberg came to Rome, the idea gained ground that the losses should be made good elsewhere. The Russian chancellor turns in through the Porta del Popolo at the psychological moment, and sits down to business with the Roman diplomats. Bertano appears later on in the Roman purple. The idea gained ground that Russia was safe, and Steinberg was surrounded by a mysterious halo, nimbussed in the eyes of the diplomatic world of Rome. He formulated his plan, and counted largely on the credence and

want of information of the Russian Court. Nothing could be simpler. Moscow was throbbing for union—that, of course, came from Schlitte: Rome was equally anxious—that came from Bertano; and even if it did not it was notorious. Steinberg sketches a plan of adjustment on the *quid pro quo* principle. He was to get a brief of union as a *certificate delivered beforehand* to the Tsar that the Tsar and the Russian Church *would be received into the Catholic Church on equitable conditions*. This was clearly a remarkable way of doing business even there; but it seems not to have created any doubts in the souls of the Pope's advisers. They were dealing with Schlitte's chancellor, to whom Schlitte had given confidentially the most boundless authority, to which the powers of any ordinary diplomat of the day would have been narrow and cramped and frizzled up in the extreme. A plenipotentiary of that power was not to be met with every day, and Rome was too busy making the most of her opportunity to attend to little peculiarities of procedure which were relatively of no importance.

The bogus chancellor also wanted—(a) a royal crown for the Tsar, and (b) to make Moscow a Primatial See; and for this there was a vague hint of an anti-Islamic league and a new balance of power in Europe.

This scheme in itself had its *vraisemblance*. The Tsar was a prince, and was not crowned. The Greek Church wanted an archbishop outside the influence of the Turks. The Tsar and the Primate of Moscow would swear beforehand to labour for the re-union of the rank and file of the Russian people. The conversion of the Russians would not have been a great difficulty if Ivan IV. wanted it; but he neither wanted it nor the crown, which formed Schlitte's base-line of operations. The diplomatists, however, kept going on, not with lightning rapidity, but in the fine old traditional way of the Roman Curia—slowly and gently. A special commission was at length appointed, and the commission was not over precipitous in its action. Five cardinals—Cervini, Pacieco, du Puy, Maffei, and Pighini—were appointed to take charge of the “Latin and German Chancellor,” whose style of business now begins to be

more remarkable than ever. Steinberg began to put in a condition that *he himself* should be appointed Envoy Extraordinary of the Pope to go to Moscow, and to have ratified by Ivan the stipulations entered into between himself and the Papal Court. The fact was, that he wanted to play his own game out—a game well known in Italy—*altalena*—and the swing was to be from Rome to Moscow and from Moscow to Rome. We do not accuse him of duplicity—far from it: but he was wonderfully educated by Schlitte, and Schlitte's education put his pupil quite on a level with the keen prelates and cardinals who were *au courant* with the progress of business in the Russo-Roman negotiation. Thus far in mysterious secrecy.

At length (1552), by order of the Pope, Cardinal Maffei handed over copies of the official documents which Steinberg brought with him to Rome, under the same secrecy which had enveloped the proceedings from the beginning, to Konarski. Konarski was the Polish ambassador in Rome, and a Russo-phobe. Being invited to dine with Cardinal de Medicis, he was asked what he thought of the Russian Question. He replied by reading some pages of Herbertstein. Unfortunately for Steinberg, Herbertstein was the very man who was to accompany the chancellor to Moscow for the ratification of the Roman stipulations. He was a very shrewd Austrian diplomatist, and had great influence in all Mid-European affairs of state. Among other things he said was one that ruined Steinberg's career. He said that Vasili III. of Moscow hated the Pope more than he hated any other man. Steinberg built his great diplomatic structure on Vasili's benevolent dispositions. And here the great diplomatic bubble was pricked by the very man whom the chancellor has selected as his great colleague in the journey to Moscow, and the signing, sealing, and delivering of the conditions of union between East and West. The thrust went home. Steinberg was informed that his mission would conclude in three days. He packed his baggage, and was on the point of starting, when two cardinals advised him to hold on. Cardinal Maffei, Protector of Poland, died, and Steinberg, seeing in this a ray of hope, held on. Once more the

intrepid Steinberg is on the back stairs of the Vatican, and finds his way to the Pope's Confessor, who introduces him to Cardinal de Cuppis, Archbishop of Trani and Dean of the Sacred College. Discredited in Rome, repudiated by Charles V., who had patronized him, and Bertano being now dead, he is as imperturbable as ever. Despatch after despatch flows from his prolific pen; he writes up, not only his own side of the case, but does the answering as well, and litters his cabinet with copious instructions to be furnished to everybody concerned—to the Papal Ambassadors, to the Emperor Charles, to the King of Poland, to the Roman cardinals, and sketches out, with his daring pen, Papal letters to be sent by the Pope to the Tsar and the "Archbishop of Moscow." Ultimately Cardinal de Cuppis died (December 10th, 1553), and the Steinberg fraud was so completely shattered that quite suddenly the "German and Latin Chancellor" disappears from the suburbs of the Vatican; and disappears so suddenly and absolutely, that when Pius V., in 1570, was asked what had become of the Steinberg negotiations, he could only say that he did not know. The Vatican had been humoured, and explanations, at once painful and needless, would not have sufficed to dissipate the unsavoury remembrance of the buccaneering chancellor foisted on them by Schlitte's bold policy. Thus far Steinberg.

Turn we now to Schlitte. When Steinberg left for Rome, the "Russian Ambassador" (he never, even when his stomach was as empty as his purse, forgot his dignity) remained behind to register developments. Would Steinberg succeed? If so, of course Schlitte would head the triumphal procession to Moscow, where Ivan IV. would get the Royal Crown, prestige, strength against the Poles, with Moscow the headquarters of Slavism, and would give nothing. Would Steinberg fail? Then Steinberg's failure would not be Schlitte's failure,

Dolce è mirar dal lido
Chi sta per naufragar;

and he could return to Moscow without the danger of having

his head chopped off, or at least being knouted. What easier than to repudiate with indignation the indefatigable chancellor whom he created by his own fiat, and whose documents he sealed with Austrian seals. Whatever way this manœuvre ended, Schlitte was sure to come on his feet. He never compromised himself; he never went to Rome; he never left the frontier countries where he was sent to recruit the professors who came to grief at Lübeck. Whatever befel his chancellor, his fingers were not burned with the hot chestnuts. He made money out of it. And that is all the adventurer wanted. The best of our diplomatists look for political advantages when they send missions to Rome. That Schlitte made money of it, shows that he had the peculiarity of preferring cash, good Austrian florins, or Roman scudi, to the mere ephemeral and windy advantages which one political party gains over another. That this phase of the question had its attractions for Schlitte, is only too obvious: indeed the thinness of the whole business gives it such a transparency, that, in spite of the secrecy with which financial transactions of a shaky kind are usually conducted, a certain mercenary atmosphere surrounds the whole proceeding. For instance, Count Philip d'Eberstein offers Steinberg all the needful money, provided that when he would go to Rome he would secure for him possession of the old abbey of Würtenburg from the Pope. Such an offer would not be lost, if Schlitte had a free hand. Steinberg had money, Schlitte had none. The offer was to Schlitte's chancellor, and a man of genius like Schlitte would not be embarrassed for want of a principle to annex all the money the Count was willing to spend. *Qui facit per alium facit per se; partus sequitur ventrem*—something—whoever gives to Steinberg gives to Schlitte—and, of course, the money would be safe until they would all get back to Moscow.

But back to Schlitte. During the Steinberg negotiations he lay low; but he was not idle. He kept his ears open, and bided his time. He heard of Steinberg's doings—for Schlitte always moved in diplomatic society; he knew how Poland was alarmed lest Rome and Russia should enter a compact detrimental to their country; he knew the latest movement

of the Emperor Charles V., the final decision of Pope Julius III., and the final smash-down of his chancellor, and when this last information reached his ears he at length discovered that there was nothing more to be made out of the question; so, without creating any more chancellors, as he did not want them, or without condoling with the one he did create, he turned his eyes towards holy Russia (1554).

He now appears in a new character. We remember how enthusiastic he was about the conversion of Russia to the Catholic faith. Rome was everything to him then; he wrote fluently and touchingly about Rome and the Pope. Rome was the loadstone of his soul; and as it suited his purpose to say it, he said it. He was quite willing to undergo any suffering, any labour for the union of the East with Rome.

“Romains j’aime ta gloire, et ne veux point m’en taire,
Des travaux des hommes c’est le digne salaire
Ce n’est qu’en vous servant qu’il la faut acheter
Qui n’ose la vouloir, n’ose la meriter.”

He did both, but when he recovered he wanted his fare to Russia, and a safe conduct to recommend him to the policemen on the way. And this champion of Rome who was beslaving Rome with his fulsome adulation and his lying pretensions, and his hypocrisy, writes for a safe conduct to Christian III. at Copenhagen. His reminiscences of Lübeck were not of the kind that get embalmed in the memory, so he resolved to leave Lübeck far beyond the horizon and return to Moscow *via* Denmark. In Russia he was a Greek; in Germany, before Charles V., a pious Catholic; he is now a Protestant. He sends his courier, Barwert Berner, to Copenhagen, with a long letter to Christian. He recounts his royal munificence, the royal virtues, the royal protection afforded to the oppressed, and deplores the barbarism of the holy Empire, where he suffered so much for justice' sake; where nobody shielded him from persecution, because Christian was not there. He wisely abstains from any reference to the Steinberg enterprise. He knew Christian III. He was an active reformer. He protected bad Catholics wherever they were. Luther was an apostate, and Christian supplies him with pocket money; he gave Melancthon an

allowance; and allowed Bugenhagen his travelling expenses. Why not help another good Protestant like Schlitte? Why not give him a simple safe-conduct, and help him through to go back to his master Ivan IV., who was longing to see him at the Kremlin, where Christian's name for the aforesaid concession to an "ambassador" in distress would be cherished in grateful benediction for ever and ever? Still more: he assures Christian that Ivan was quite ready to become a Protestant. All he wanted was a few good learned Protestant doctors, like Dr. Luther, and the thing was done. But all was of no avail. Denmark and Russia were bad friends, and Christian politely informed him that, not knowing the intentions of his "very particular friend," the Tsar, he did not wish to interfere in his concerns. So he regretted that he could not befriend his poor weather-beaten ambassador.

Once more Schlitte was in difficulties. In 1555 he wrote to the Tsar for money, on the plea presumably that he was still busy hunting up the professors who had met such scant courtesy at the hands of the Lübeckians. The same year he applied for a remittance to the Diet of Augsburg; but he was well known there, and he met with a rebuff. He was at last fallen on evil days, his game was played out; but he played it in finished style while it lasted. Two years later he reached Moscow, and not unlikely under the greatest difficulties. To the traveller, Moscow was then as far as Kamschatka is now. When he reached home after all his adventures he set himself to work to exploit the Tsar in a quiet way. Our readers will remember that Charles V. wrote to Ivan in 1558 to compliment him on the great efforts he was making for the civilization of the fast-growing Slav kingdom, of which Moscow was the centre. Schlitte could not brook the idea of being idle, and leaving his master's correspondence in arrears. So he writes an answer himself in the name of Ivan IV. As his chancellor has written copious despatches and instructions to kings, cardinals, and the Pope, there could not be much incongruity in the master of that same chancellor writing an answer from the Tsar to the Emperor. The utmost

indifference with which Schlitte dashes off enormous items of information, and elaborates a go-ahead policy of magnificent dimensions, conveys the impression of doing business on a scale of unparalleled grandeur. He shapes his answer on the following lines:—The Tsar is quite ready to disburse large sums of money for the war against the Turks (Charles V.'s idea exactly); to send an ambassador to the Court of the Holy Empire (Charles V.'s idea again); to start a postal service between Moscow and Augsbourg; to create a German regiment and an order of knights; and to seal all this grand union of the Catholic Church by an exchange of hostages—the Tsar to send twenty-five youths of the best Russian families to Charles. As for the union of the Churches, it is a mere trifle, and the Tsar is thirsting for it. He need not go into *minutiae* in his letter; it is a matter of theological subtleties, which can be best left to the Doctors of Divinity, who will be able to adjust the matter to everybody's satisfaction straightaway. When the aforesaid *doctores graves* come to Moscow there will be no delay in settling the question; and in the meantime the grand old glorious idea of a universal Catholic Republic, girding Europe with its armies, is secured.

He once more fired the imagination of his earlier years—an effort fully worthy of the 1548 diplomacy; but it was his last. Charles V. never saw the letter, for it was never sent; and we need not say Ivan never saw it. It was Schlitte's last forgery and his last fraud. He disappears for evermore as quietly as his chancellor. History is silent as to when he died, and we need not concern ourselves about it.

Such is this man's history—daring, unscrupulous, a liar, a forger, at once a Catholic, a schismatic, a heretic; planning to-day a campaign against the Turks with an emperor, and an alliance with them with a king; converting Russia to Catholicism with Charles V., and to Protestantism with Christian III.; he was never at a loss for a plausible tale to give colour to the dignity which he assumed, and to the office which he conferred on his chancellor. He deceived everybody he wanted to deceive, whenever and wherever it suited

his purpose. Kings, emperors, popes, or cardinals—at Copenhagen or in the Holy Empire, in Vienna or in Rome, Schlitte was always Schlitte—always planning, plotting, scheming, and making provision for getting out of any given difficulty in half-a-dozen ways. It was nothing to Schlitte that he was betraying and stultifying the most sacred authority on earth, or that he was seeking paltry political advantages by daring forgeries, which would one day or another give him his proper place in history; and all that in the name of a man whose horrors and crimes are to this day remembered in Russia. Nothing seems so well calculated to give us an idea of the man's utter daring as to recall the master in whose name he planned his selfish schemes before the eyes of western Europe for six years. Ivan IV., son of Vasili, was born in 1530. He succeeded to the family tradition of autocracy in its most absolute sense. He claimed neither regal honours from the Pope nor royal status from the boiars (*optimates*). He was his father's son, and inherited his father's thoroughness both of mind and body.

“Russorum rex et Dominus sum; jure paterni
Sanguinis: imperii titulus a nemine, quavis
Mercatus prece, vel precio: nec legibus ullis
Subditus alterius, sed Christo credulus uni
Emendicatos aliis aspernor honores.”

So sang his father in questionable poetry, but unquestionable prose. Ivan Vasilievich, surnamed the Terrible, strained this absolutism to indulge in every crime. He was the Russian Nero, with a blend of Henry VIII. He had seven wives, and thus beat the English king's record. He instituted a body-guard (*oprichniks*), who were the blood-letters of their blood-thirsty master. During his reign blood flowed in Russia. He never spared an enemy, even a suspected one; and an act of clemency was not ever extended to friend or foe whenever Ivan was thirsting for more blood. He butchered members of his own family, and then prayed to the saints for forgiveness. He Russianized the Russian Church, tore it further away from the Catholic Church than any of his

predecessors ; and all this time Schlitte was representing him in the West as a mild lamb ruling his people with his own sweet authority, sighing for the reunion of Christendom, and, like another St. Ignatius in the North, living for nothing but the glory of God and the welfare of the Christian Commonwealth !

Schlitte's daring, however, was not far in excess of the absurdly ridiculous degree of credulity which at all times his dupes manifested. Steinberg's procedure was highly suspicious. That a bogus chancellor could be created by a penniless man just escaped from prison, at a time when the ways of Russian diplomacy were well-known, is very remarkable ; but that the Roman Commission should acquiesce in the aforesaid " chancellor's " remarkable methods and plans, argues an amount of sweet, childlike innocence and lovable blandness which well-read people hardly expect to find in that quarter. Three ranks of Russian diplomats were well known, and the Schlitte-cum-Steinberg combination fell into line with none of them ; and still Rome remained to the end full of confidence, until at length the bubble was pricked, and the humouring of the Vatican came to nought, as such schemes ever will.

Here we leave Hans Schlitte of Goslar. He was a man of talent and ingenuity, but not of that kind which history will applaud, although it will appreciate it. We are satisfied if we have placed his claims for remembrance before our readers, as one of the adventurers of the past, who, in an hour of trouble for the Church, sought vulgar gains at the expense of the Vicar of Christ.

JOSEPH TYNAN.

Theological Questions.

MAY A PRIEST WHO ASKS ANOTHER TO SAY MASS FOR WHICH
A HONORARIUM WAS GIVEN, RETAIN FOR HIMSELF A PART
OF THE HONORARIUM ?

“ REV. DEAR SIR,

“ Please inform me in the pages of the I. E. RECORD what I am bound to do under the following circumstances :—

“ For the past ten years I have been pastor of a church with two assistants. The fee for a solemn requiem mass in my parish is twenty-five dollars. When I celebrated I gave the deacon, sub-deacon, and organist (the choir is a voluntary one), two and a-half dollars each, and kept the balance, seventeen and one-half dollars, for myself. If, however, from any cause, I was unable to celebrate, one of my assistants celebrated, and the fee was divided as follows :—celebrant, ten dollars ; deacon, sub-deacon, and organist, two and one-half dollars each, leaving me a balance of seven and one-half dollars in case I did not officiate at all, and ten dollars when, as sometimes it happened, I acted either as deacon or sub-deacon.

“ The fee for a high mass of requiem, without deacon or sub-deacon, is fifteen dollars. Of this two and one-half dollars went to the organist. When I celebrated, I kept the balance. If one of my assistants celebrated, I gave him ten dollars, keeping two and one-half dollars for myself, even when I had nothing to do with the mass.

“ On All Souls' Day the faithful make an offering for a requiem mass, amounting sometimes to one hundred dollars. When I celebrated, I kept the whole amount, less two and one-half dollars each for deacon, sub-deacon, and organist. On one or two occasions I was unable to celebrate myself, but gave an assistant ten dollars for doing so.

“ Have I done wrong in any or all of these cases ? If so, am I bound to make restitution ? to whom ? and to what extent ?

“ PASTOR.”

1. Our correspondent's questions require us to examine one of the celebrated Declarations or Decrees *de celebratione Missarum* of the Sacred Congregation of the Council,

published in the year 1625, by order of Urban VIII., and republished and confirmed by Innocent XII., in the year 1697: "Omne damnabile lucrum ab Ecclesia remove volens [Pontifex] prohibet sacerdoti qui Missam suscepit celebrandam cum certa eleemosyna, ne eandem missam alteri, parte ejusdem eleemosynae sibi retenta, celebrandam committat." We shall now consider the extent of this prohibition in a general way; its bearing on masses both *perpetual* and *manual*; and in particular its application to the questions proposed by our correspondent.

2. We may say, generally, that it is not lawful for a priest who has got a *honorarium* for a mass, and who appoints another priest to say the mass, to retain for himself a part of the *honorarium*, unless there was at the beginning some extrinsic title for the acceptance of the *honorarium*—some title distinct from, and extrinsic to the celebration of mass itself. It is of importance, therefore, to consider when a *honorarium* is supposed to be given from other motives than the celebration of mass alone.

3. Masses are of two kinds—*perpetual* and *manual*, or *adventitious*: "Nemo ignorat perpetuas alias, alias vero adventitias Missas nuncupari. Primae quidem quotidie vel certis quibusdam diebus ratione Beneficii, aut Fundatoris instituto, vel Testatoris voluntate celebrantur. Adventitiae vocantur pro quibus stipendium a Fidelibus traditur, ita tamen ut nullus fundus, nullumque onus in futurum tempus constituatur." (Bened. XIV., *Inst. Eccl.*, L. vi., n. 10.) The Decree of the Sacred Congregation referred to does not affect *perpetual* masses, but only *manual* masses; because in the case of *perpetual* masses there is always some extrinsic title for the acceptance of the *honoraria*. Hence:

I. If a parish priest got a substitute to offer mass for his people on a Sunday, he is not bound to give him a *pro rata* of his whole income, though his income from the parish is his own *honorarium* for the *Missa pro populo*. The reason is, because a parish priest's income is not given exclusively as a *honorarium* for the mass which he offers for his parishioners on Sundays and holidays. *Habetur titulus, extrinsecus*, "1° quando agitur de Missis parochiali prae-

bendae, Beneficiis, aut Capellaniis inhaerentibus ; quia Parochi, beneficiati, Capellani non debent pro celebratione harum Missarum dare stipendium quod fructibus praebendae respondeat, sed manuale ; cum hos fructus non solo titulo celebrationis suos facient." (Varceno, vol. ii., page 82.)

II. The same is true of masses that are literally *perpetual*. *Habetur titulus extrinsecus*, "2^o quando agitur de Missis perpetuis alicui Sacerdoti demandatis. Nam hic aliud onus suscipit ab ipsa celebratione distinctum, quod . . . est pretio aestimabile." (*Idem*.)

4. We come now to consider *manual masses*. *Manual honoraria* may be taken in a strict sense to mean offerings given exclusively for the celebration of mass ; and when such a *honorarium* is received, it is not lawful when deputing another to say the mass, to retain any part of the *honorarium* ; except when the priest who is to say the mass, spontaneously and *unasked*, offers to say it for a smaller *honorarium*. "Ergo concluditur e contrario . . . 2. Si alter sacerdos, cui Missa dicenda committitur, *non rogatus* libere omnino partem aliquam cedit, si quidem id pro puro dono tum habetur." (Lehmkuhl, tom. ii., page 150, n. 204.)

5. Finally, there are *manual honoraria* which are not given exclusively for the celebration of masses ; but are given primarily as a legacy ; or *intuitu personae* ; or constitute an honorary part of the priest's income to whom they are given ; or belong to what are called *jura stolae*. In these cases a priest may appoint another to say the mass or masses required, and retain for himself a part of the *honorarium*.

I. *Habetur titulus extrinsecus*, "Quando legatum alicui relinquitur cum onere Missarum ; nam legatum habet rationem donationis et semper causam lucrativam continet," (Varceno, *ibid*.)

This, however, is true only when the legacy is primarily intended, and the obligation of having masses celebrated is attached to the legacy. But if the testator primarily intended to leave money for masses, and appointed an executor rather than a legatee strictly so called, the masses should be regarded as *manual masses in the strict sense*.

II. *Habetur titulus extrinsecus*, "Quando in Missis adventitiis sive lectis sive cantatis eleemosyna pinguior consueta conceditur *intuitu personae*, scil. propter ipsius dignitatem vel officium, &c." (*Ibid.*)

III. "Quando eleemosynae Missarum adventitiarum extraordinariae Parochi congruam efformant." (*Ibid.*) Hence in Ireland, wherever the custom exists of saying only one mass or a few masses for the *honoraria* received on the second of November, if a parish priest or a curate appointed a delegate to say these masses, he would not be bound to give him all the offerings, but only the usual manual stipend. Because these offerings partake of the nature of parochial dues; and, therefore, are not given exclusively for the celebration of masses.

IV. "Quando agitur de Missis adventitiis quae pertinent ad Parochum *ex juribus stolae*, quae sunt Missae nuptiales, et Missae exequiales, quarum celebratio de jure et consuetudine ad Parochos spectat." (*Ibid.*)

6. It is easy to apply these principles to the questions proposed by our correspondent. The masses to which he refers were not perpetual masses; neither were they what we have called *manual masses in the strict sense of the word*; the *honoraria* given for these masses were not given exclusively for the celebration of the masses; but were either a portion of the Pastor's income—as, for example, the November offerings—or belonged to what are called the *jura stolae*. Therefore, we conclude that our correspondent in appointing a substitute, was not bound to give him the whole of the stipend which he himself had received; that he was not wrong in any of the cases mentioned, unless there was some violation of local ecclesiastical law; and that he is not bound to make any restitution.

7. Finally, we would refer our readers for a full treatment of this question to Varceno, whom we have quoted at great length; Lehmkuhl, Konings, and the *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. viii. And we have in conclusion to express our sincere regret to our correspondent for having, through pressure of other duties, delayed for too long a time an answer to his questions.

D. COGHAN,

Liturgical Questions.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.—I.

In the beginning of our missals and breviaries we find several pages of elaborately constructed tables. Some of these tables are called *Paschal* or *Easter Tables*; the others, *Tables of the Movable Feasts*. The former are perpetual; that is, they give the date of Easter, and consequently of the feasts connected with Easter, for all past and future time. The latter tables are only temporary, and give the dates of the movable feasts, of course including Easter, for a longer or shorter period according to the size of the page and the quality of the type employed. But even a single glance at these two sets of tables will reveal a very marked difference between them. And if after a glance one were asked wherein this difference consists, he would, no doubt, reply, that one set appears intelligible, the other utterly unintelligible. The *Easter Tables* at first and for a considerable time present nothing but a perplexing puzzle apparently impossible of solution; while the *Tables of Movable Feasts*, so far as pointing out the dates of these feasts on the years included in the tables, present no kind of difficulty whatsoever. The real and objective difference, however, between the two sets of tables is, that the *Easter Tables* are the formulæ from which by a process of calculation the others are constructed: the former are the seed; the latter, the well-proportioned tree, reared from the seed by the skill and care of the gardener. And just as no one but a skilled botanist can tell what species of tree a particular seedling should produce, while anyone seeing the tree can at once tell to what species it belongs; so, while from the latter tables the most inexperienced can find the date of Easter, and of all its train of feasts, only experts can with absolute certainty use the former tables for this purpose.

Though so different, these two sets of tables have still something in common. But this something is not, unfortunately, a ray of light borrowed by the obscure set from its

more luminous neighbour: on the contrary, it is a dark cloud received from the former into the bosom of the latter, and requiring to be penetrated by him who would fully understand these latter, or the principle on which they are constructed. And this cloud is lined with triple darkness; or, to drop metaphor, there are three things, each involving considerable difficulty, which we must understand before we can fully understand even the easier set of tables, and an intimate knowledge of which is absolutely necessary to enable us to employ the more difficult set. These three things are the *Golden Number*, the *Dominical Letter*, and the *Epacts*—titles which we see at the head of as many parallel columns on the page devoted to the *Old Paschal Tables*, still printed in our missals and breviaries, as well as on the page or pages devoted to the *Tables of Movable Feasts*. In the *New Easter Tables*, compiled by Lilius and Clavius at the time of the reform of the calendar by Gregory XIII., the *Golden Number* is dispensed with, and only the *Dominical Letter* and the *Epacts* are employed. The omission of the *Golden Number* in the new tables is due, as we shall see, to the extension and to the extended use of the cycle of *Epacts*; but even in these tables it can still be usefully employed in conjunction with the other two elements. But more of this afterwards. At present let us pause for a moment, and look back over the ages that are past, that we may learn in what esteem for many centuries was held the now neglected, if not despised, knowledge of how to compile the calendar of movable feasts, or of the *computus ecclesiasticus*, as it was then called.

It sounds like exaggeration to say that this knowledge was once considered indispensable in candidates for the priesthood. And yet in reality this statement does not convey a fair idea of the vast importance of old attached to this knowledge. Without it priests were unworthy of their sacred title.¹ All aspirants to the priesthood were to be early and fully imbued with it, and bishops in testing the

¹ "Sacerdotes computum scire tenentur, alioquin vix eis nomen sacerdotis constabit." Durandus, *Rat. div. offici.*, l. viii., c. 9. Cf. *Decret. Gratiani*, c. v. dist. 38.

acquirements of their priests, and of young men presenting themselves for Holy Orders, were wont to insist as strongly on this knowledge as on a knowledge of the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed.¹ Even the Council of Trent mentions the *computus* as one of the subjects which should be diligently taught in ecclesiastical seminaries.² And still later, Benedict XIII., speaking of the education and training of ecclesiastical students, insists in the most solemn manner on the exact observance of this decree of the Council of Trent, the very words of which he makes his own.³

This knowledge, declared by popes and councils, by bishops and canonists, to be so essential for ecclesiastics, was almost equally necessary for laymen having any pretensions to a liberal education. As the ecclesiastical authorities required it in those who would attain to the dignity of the priesthood, so did the universities require it in all who sought degrees or distinctions in their halls.⁴

These facts, to which many others of a similar kind could easily be added, offer a sufficient apology for the present essay, especially as that knowledge, once so highly prized, is now possessed by very few even among ecclesiastics. But, apart altogether from the importance formerly attached to the computing of the calendar, the subject possesses an intrinsic interest, which must attract anyone who takes the trouble to look into it. So, at least, it has for a long time appeared to the present writer, who may say, with Cardinal Newman in one of the opening sentences of an essay on the *Ordo de Tempore*—a subject, by the way, closely related to ours—"I sometimes fancy I could interest a reader in it, and I will try."

It has been hinted already that the methods by which

¹ Ludovicus Cellotius vere dixit episcopos notitiam computi ecclesiastici presbyteris et cleris pene non minus necessariam censuisse quam orationem dominicam et symbolum. *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, tom 9, p. 17.

² Pueri in seminariis recepti, computi ecclesiastici aliarumque bonarum artium disciplinam discent. *Sess. 23, c. 17, de Refor.*

³ Constitut. *Credita nobis*. May 9, 1725.

⁴ Baccalarii nostrae facultatis disputent, legant gratis et propter Deum *computos* et alia mathematicalia praecepue tamen Ecclesiae Catholicae deservientia." *Old Statutes of the University of Vienna*, tit. xii.

the calendar of movable feasts is computed are at first somewhat difficult to understand. But if we dissect them, and examine the different parts separately and in order, the difficulties will disappear, or rather they will not appear at all. Following the natural order, we must begin by learning what the ecclesiastical calendar itself is; for obviously a knowledge of what it is should precede a knowledge of how it is computed. Now, this investigation opens up the whole question of the origin and history of the calendar; of the time at which it was first formed; and of the changes subsequently introduced. And as the ecclesiastical calendar is founded on the civil, and is, indeed, almost identical with it, we must begin our investigations with the latter.

The civil calendar is derived from the Romans, whose traditions point to Romulus, the founder of their city, as the founder of their calendar also. According to the best authorities,¹ the year of Romulus consisted of 304 days, divided into ten months. Of these months, four had thirty-one days each, the remaining six thirty each. The first month was March, which accounts for the now inappropriate and apparently meaningless names of the four last months of our year—*September, October, November, December*. The fifth and sixth months, our July and August, were named *Quintilis* and *Sextilis*, on the same principle.

But a period of three hundred and four days, not being in agreement with either the sun or the moon, could not long be retained as a fixed unit of time. Accordingly we find the first reform of the calendar attributed to Numa,² the successor of Romulus, who is said to have introduced the lunar year, consisting of twelve lunations or lunar months. And since a lunar month corresponds very nearly with twenty-nine and a-half days,³ the year of Numa should have had

¹ Petavius, *De Doct. Temporum*, l. ii., c. 74. Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, vol. i.; p. 275, English trans., London, 1847. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. Art. "Calendar." Niebuhr points out that the year of Romulus contained exactly thirty-eight Etruscan weeks of eight days, and that six such years are practically equal in length to five solar years of three hundred and sixty-five days, the ancient *lustrum*.

² *Ibidem*.

³ A lunation, or the interval from new moon to new moon, is exactly 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, 2·87 seconds.

only three hundred and fifty-four days. But three hundred and fifty-four is an even number, and even numbers were regarded by the superstitious Romans as in the last degree unlucky. In order, therefore, to propitiate the adverse Fates, one day was added, thus giving the year three hundred and fifty-five days. To the same superstition still another sacrifice was made. Six of the months, as we have seen, had thirty days each. From each of these was taken one day, so that the ten original months were all made up of an odd number of days, namely, thirty-one and twenty-nine. And the six days thus deducted being joined to the fifty-one already added to the year of Romulus, the whole was divided between two months, to one of which were given twenty-nine, to the other twenty-eight days. The new months were called *Januarius* and *Februarius*, the latter being placed at the end, the former at the beginning of the year, in which order they remained until 452 B.C., when, by a decree of the Decemvirs, February was made to follow January as the second month of the year.

But Numa's task was not yet complete. He had, it is true, brought the year into harmony with the moon. But as the seasons are regulated by the solar, and not by the lunar year, some scheme had to be devised whereby the latter might be made to coincide with the former. It would seem that even so early as the time of Numa, the Romans, afterwards so conspicuous for their ignorance of astronomy, were aware that their civil year of three hundred and fifty-five days was shorter by ten or eleven days than the natural or solar year. Accordingly it was ordered by Numa that a thirteenth month should be introduced into every second year. This month, called *Mercedonius*, was to consist alternately of twenty-two and twenty-three days, and was to be introduced between the 23rd and 24th of February. By this arrangement ninety intercalary days were added to each period of eight civil years, making in all two thousand nine hundred and thirty days. But eight solar years of three hundred and sixty-five and a-quarter days contain only two thousand nine hundred and twenty-two. Hence, neglecting the inaccuracy of making the solar year equal

to three hundred and sixty-five and a-quarter days, each year was now on an average one day too long. To remedy this it was determined that in every third period of eight years, instead of inserting four months having twenty-two and twenty-three days alternately, only three should be inserted, each consisting of no more than twenty-two days. This expedient restored complete harmony after each cycle of twenty-four years.

But devices so clumsy, as these undoubtedly were, could not be employed for any length of time without error and consequent confusion. To obviate this as far as possible, it was at length resolved to hand over the entire control of the calendar to the Pontiffs, who, it was thought, would concern themselves to have the various feasts of the year celebrated on the correct days according to the calendar. But the Pontiffs did nothing of the sort. Instead, they prostituted their power of intercalating to the most venal and most disgraceful of uses. They lengthened or shortened a year according as they wished to keep a friend in office or turn out an enemy, to ruin a creditor or crush a debtor. And so little care did they take even then to keep the civil and solar years in harmony, that at the time of Julius Cæsar the equinoxes were actually three months removed from their proper places.

This disgraceful disorder in so important an element of social, political, and religious life, as the calendar, Cæsar determined to remove. The problem to be solved was two-fold. The error which had been permitted to creep into the calendar was to be corrected, and some method was to be devised whereby the recurrence of a similar error should be effectually prevented. Cæsar's position as *Pontifex Maximus* empowered him to correct the error of the past by adding to any year as many days as would suffice to restore the equinoxes to the place they originally held in the time of Numa, namely, March 25. By the aid, chiefly of Sosigenes, a Greek astronomer, a scheme was devised by which it was hoped all future confusion would be avoided.

The year to which the necessary number of days was added was 46 B.C. (708 U.C.). It was found that the 1st of

January of that year occurred ninety entire days before the proper time; or, in other words, that the 1st of January, 46 B.C., was in reality the last day of September, 47 B.C.¹ The ordinary intercalary month of twenty-three days, which was due to this year was inserted as usual in February, thus reducing the difference between the civil and the natural calendar to sixty-seven days; and these days, divided into two extraordinary months of thirty-three and thirty-four days, were inserted between November and December. The year 46 B.C. consisted, therefore, of the extraordinary number of four hundred and forty-five days, and has been on this account called by many contemporary and subsequent writers "The year of Confusion." The title given to it by Macrobius, "The last year of Confusion," is much more just.

In this manner Cæsar succeeded in making the 25th of March, 45 B.C. (709 U.C.), coincide with the vernal equinox; and, consequently, in making the 1st of January of the civil year coincide with the first of January of the solar year. To preserve this coincidence he decreed that the common year in future should consist of three hundred and sixty-five days instead of three hundred and fifty-five, and that every fourth year an additional day should be added to the month of February. This day, like the intercalary month of the old calendar, was inserted between the 23rd and 24th of February. In the mode of reckoning the days of the month employed by the Romans, the 24th of February was called *sexto-calendas Martias*; and in order not to change the denomination of the succeeding days of February, on account of the intercalary day, it was decided to call this day by the same name as the 24th. Hence in every fourth year there were two *sexto-calendas Martias*; and these years were consequently called *bissextile years*.

The three hundred and sixty-five days of which the year was now composed were redistributed by Cæsar among the twelve months. The odd months, beginning with January, were to have thirty-one days each; the even months, thirty;

¹ Before the Julian reform, November and December had only twenty-nine days each.

except February, which in common years was to have only twenty-nine, and in bissextile years thirty. This sensible and easily remembered distribution was disturbed for a very frivolous reason. To commemorate Cæsar's action in reforming the calendar, the old title of the month *Quintilis* had been changed to *Julius*. The Emperor Augustus, unwilling that any honour should be paid to another that was not also accorded to himself, had the name of the month *Sextilis* changed into *Augustus*. But, according to the existing distribution of the days among the months, Cæsar's month had thirty-one days, while that to which the name of Augustus was given had only thirty. The pride of Augustus revolted at this; he insisted that his month should have as many days as his rival's; and to satisfy him one day was taken from February and added to August, thus leaving to February only twenty-eight days in common years, and twenty-nine in bissextile.

But the Julian calendar, though a great improvement on that of Numa, which preceded it, was not perfect. It was founded on the hypothesis that the solar year contains exactly three hundred and sixty-five and a-quarter days, or three hundred and sixty-five days six hours. But this hypothesis gives to the solar year a little over eleven minutes too much, the exact length of the year being three hundred and sixty-five days, five hours, forty-eight minutes, fifty seconds. Cæsar and his advisers seem to have been aware, if not of the exact amount of the excess of their year over the true solar year, at least that there was an excess. It is to be presumed, however, that they considered the excess so trifling that it might be altogether neglected. But even a very trifling error in each year, when allowed to accumulate for centuries, must make its presence felt. Eleven minutes a year is equivalent to an entire day in about one hundred and thirty years. Hence the Julian year being too long by about this amount, the equinoxes receded from the date on which they were fixed by Cæsar at the rate of one day in one hundred and thirty years. Thus it happened that the vernal equinox with which Cæsar made the 25th of March to coincide, fell on or about the 21st of March, at the time

of the Council of Nice, celebrated in 325 A.D. And although this council, in determining the date at which Easter should be celebrated, made the vernal equinox an essential factor, and fixed the 21st of March as the date at which this phenomenon then occurred, no notice whatever was taken of the error involved in the Julian calendar. In course of time the vernal equinox, which had before receded from the 25th to the 21st March, receded also from the 21st; and, consequently, the rule laid down by the Council of Nice for determining the date of Easter became more and more erroneous as the centuries went on. For it must be borne in mind that those who computed the Easter time were guided, not by the actual position of the sun in the heavens, but by the dates which were supposed to coincide with certain solar phenomena.

To this ever-increasing separation between the equinoxes and their dates, as defined by the Nicene Fathers, attention was frequently called from the eighth to the sixteenth century. In the thirteenth century Roger Bacon proposed a simple and practical method of removing the error and of preventing it afterwards, and urged Pope Clement IV. to use his influence to have it adopted. Sixtus IV., towards the end of the fifteenth century, moved by the representations made to himself and to several of his predecessors, invited Regiomontanus to Rome to undertake the work of bringing the calendar into harmony with the course of the sun. But the sudden and premature death of this celebrated astronomer put an end for a time to the hopes excited by the action of the Supreme Pontiff.

After the lapse of another century Pope Gregory XIII. definitely took in hand the work of reforming the calendar. Now, as when the Julian reform was introduced, two things had to be done. The accumulated error of past centuries had to be removed, and some effective means had to be found for preventing the recurrence of a similar error. At this time the civil calendar was ten whole days in advance of the sun. Consequently the vernal equinox, so important a factor in the ecclesiastical calendar, fell on the 11th instead of the 21st of March. The first problem, then, which had to

be solved was to drop ten days out of the year, so as to restore the vernal equinox to the day fixed by the Council of Nice. The second problem was to devise a simple and workable means of dropping three days out of every four centuries of the Julian calendar. For three days in four centuries is about equivalent to one day in one hundred and thirty years; and this, as we have seen, was about the excess of the Julian year over the true solar year.

Pope Gregory, by a circular addressed, in 1577, to Catholic princes, and to the Catholic universities throughout the world, asked the co-operation of the learned. Along with this letter he submitted a scheme for reforming the calendar drawn up by Aloysius Lilius, an Italian physician, celebrated for his knowledge of mathematics; and the Pontiff requested that whoever thought he could improve on this scheme should at once forward his alternative scheme, while those whom the scheme satisfied should signify their assent. The result was that the scheme proposed by Lilius was adopted. But Lilius had died even before his scheme was submitted to Gregory, and some one had, therefore, to be found to elaborate, explain, and defend the methods and tables required by the scheme. The choice fell on Father Clavius, a learned member of the Society of Jesus, whose work, *Kalendarium Gregorianum Perpetuum*, containing a full and clear exposition of all the changes introduced by the new calendar, was published towards the end of the year, in the beginning of which the calendar itself was published.

This year was 1582. On the 24th of February, Gregory XIII. issued the Bull, *Inter gravissimas*, in which the adoption of the new calendar was ordered, a general explanation of it given, and a fuller explanation promised to follow in a short time. This promise referred to the work of Clavius just mentioned. The Pope disposed of the ten days by which the calendar had outstripped the sun from the time of the first Council of Nice, by ordering ten nominal days to be dropped out of the month of October, 1582. The day after the Feast of St. Francis, which falls on the 4th of October, was in that year to be called, not the 5th, but the 15th.

Hence the 21st December, 1582, became the 31st December, 1582; and, consequently, the 22nd December, 1582, became the 1st January, 1583; and the 11th March, 1583, became the 21st March, 1583. Thus then was the date on which it fell at the time of the Council of Nice restored to the vernal equinox, and thus was solved the first of the two problems involved in the reformation of the calendar.

The remaining problem, as we have seen, was to permanently secure to the vernal equinox the possession of this date. And here is how this problem, too, was solved. The Julian calendar, as has been shown, made the year too long by something over eleven minutes, so that in about one hundred and thirty years the calendar would be an entire day in advance of the sun. Hence, had nothing been done by Gregory to correct this error the vernal equinox would have got back to the 20th of March about the year 1712, to the 19th about 1840, and to the 18th about 1970. To prevent this it was decreed that the years 1700, 1800, and 1900, though leap-years, according to the Julian calendar, should be only common years of three hundred and sixty-five days in the new calendar. By this means the four centuries from 1600 to 2000 are shorter by three days in the Gregorian than they would be in the Julian calendar, and three days in four centuries is, as we have seen, as nearly as possible the proportion in which the average Julian year exceeded the true solar year. Briefly, then, and in general, the method adopted in the Gregorian calendar to correct the error of the Julian, is to make the century years, or the last year of each century, which in the Julian calendar would have three hundred and sixty-six days, common years of only three hundred and sixty-five days, unless when they are divisible by four hundred. The century years, which are also leap-years, are, consequently, 1600, 2000, 2400, 2800, &c.

The new calendar at once became law in the states over which the temporal sovereignty of the Pope extended, as well as in Spain and Portugal. Hence, in these countries, the new style dates from October 4th, 1582, exclusive. In France the change was adopted and sanctioned

by law in the same year, and was introduced by calling the 10th December, 1582, the 20th. The Catholic States of Germany adopted it in 1584, Poland in 1586, and Hungary in 1587. But Protestant States for a long time refused to receive the new calendar because it came from the Pope. "We cannot"—to quote one of their writers—"We cannot receive anything from the Pope, who is Antichrist, without incurring the risk of falling under his yoke." But at length, in 1700, they did receive it, and as the error in the Julian calendar was then one day more than at the first introduction of the Gregorian reform, they dropped eleven nominal days out of the month of September. In England upwards of fifty years were still necessary to reconcile the descendants of the Covenanters and Roundheads to this invention of the "Scarlet Woman." "The anti-papal spirit," says an impartial writer, "being much more dominant in England than common sense or scientific authority, the reform was resisted for nearly two centuries, so that the real had fallen above eleven days behind the legal date of the equinox. In 1752, however, the force of things prevailed over this discreditable bigotry, and the reform was introduced into the calendar, by declaring the 3rd to be the 14th of September." In Russia the Julian calendar is still retained, and consequently Russian dates are now twelve days behind the corresponding dates in other Christian countries. Thus, for example, this day, which with us is October 7, is in Russia September 25.

The Gregorian calendar is called *New Style*, in contradistinction to the Julian, which is called *Old Style*. For some years after the introduction of the new style into England, it was customary to give in printed books the dates of events both in the new and the old style. Thus, for example, the day which was the 20th May, 1760, in the new style, being the 9th May, 1760, in the old, the date was printed thus, $\frac{9}{20}$ May, 1760. And when the change of style involved a change from one month to another, the date was printed in this manner $\frac{\text{May } 27}{\text{June } 7}$, 1760, the numerator of the

fraction giving always old style, and the denominator new style.

But new style, as understood in England, implies a further change besides that occasioned by dropping eleven days to bring the civil calendar into agreement with the sun. Up till 1752, the year in England began on Lady Day, otherwise called the Feast of the Annunciation, which falls on March 25; so that March 24, 1750, was the last day of the year 1750, and the day which immediately followed it was March 25, 1751, and the first day of that year. Parliament, in resolving to adopt the Gregorian reform, resolved, also, to date the beginning of the year from the 1st of January. Consequently the civil year, 1751, which began on March 25, was deprived of the entire months of January and February, and of 24 days of March, and made to end on December 31. Hence the new style changed dates not only from one month to another, but also from one year to another. For example, January 25th, 1753, old style, became February 5, 1754, new style, and was printed

January 25, 1753
February 5, 1754 ;

and January 1, 1753, old style, became January 12, 1754, new style, and was printed as the foregoing.

Traces of the change of style, and of the alterations in the date at which the year begins, are still to be found in various practices, and in the appellations of various days. Thus, among the people, the expression, "Old May-Day," "Old Hallows'-Day," or "Old Hallow-Day," as it is generally pronounced, are very commonly used to designate the 12th May and the 12th November, the dates in the new style corresponding with the 1st May and the 1st November, respectively, in the old. And these two dates (the 12th May and the 12th November), moreover, are in many localities, the "terms" or dates for entering into and dissolving contracts.

THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IN CONVENT CHAPELS DURING
THE "TRIDUUM" OF HOLY WEEK.

"I. Is it permissible to reserve the Blessed Sacrament in convent chapels which enjoy the privilege of reservation throughout the year, during the *Triduum* of Holy Week, whether mass be celebrated in the chapel on Holy Thursday or not? I have heard of a priest being required by the head priest of the church from which the convent was served to consume all particles remaining in the ciborium at mass on Holy Thursday. Of course, I exclude the case where it might be necessary to reserve for the sick, on account of great distance from a public church."

THE USE OF A FORM FOR IMPARTING A PLENARY
INDULGENCE.

"II. In our faculties in this country (England) we receive power, '*Indulgentiam plenariam concedendi primo conversis ab haeresi,*' but no mention is made of any formula to be used on such occasions.

"The late Dr. Grant in one of his instructions to the clergy suggests the use of the formula approved by Benedict XIV., for granting the Plenary Indulgence in the hour of death.

"Can you tell me if any formula is required; or is the Indulgence gained *ipso facto*, on admission to the Church, provided the priest has the faculty of granting it?—" Yours faithfully,

"W. J. B."

I. The difficulty raised by our esteemed correspondent in his first question is quite new to us, as it will be, we imagine, to most of our readers. The rubrics of the Missal with reference to those things which may or may not be done in churches, chapels, and oratories during the last three days of Holy Week are very explicit, and these rubrics have been confirmed, explained, and amplified by a large number of *resolutions* of the Congregation of Rites, and by Pontifical decrees as well; but, so far as we can make out, the liceity of preserving the Blessed Sacrament during those days in chapels or oratories where it is customary to preserve it at other times, has never been questioned. Private masses are forbidden, with certain exceptions, on Thursday and Saturday of Holy Week, and absolutely on Good Friday; the

ceremonies of this *Triduum* must be carried out either solemnly, or according to the method approved of by Benedict XIII. ; there are even certain chapels and oratories in which it is forbidden to employ this latter method ; and finally, it is unlawful to preserve the Blessed Sacrament during these days in chapels or oratories where it is not usually preserved. Yet, notwithstanding these minute details concerning the ceremonies and the custody of the Blessed Sacrament, which we find in liturgical works, not a word do we find from which it could be inferred that the Blessed Sacrament is to be removed on Holy Thursday from the church, chapel, or oratory in which the ceremonies of Holy Week cannot be, or are not carried out. We are, therefore, justified in inferring the contrary, and in stating generally that it is lawful to preserve the Blessed Sacrament during the *Triduum* of Holy Week in all places where it is lawfully preserved at other times.

II. Not having had an opportunity of seeing a copy of the faculties granted to priests in England, we experience some diffidence in replying to our correspondent's second question. We will, however, state what we think should hold generally in cases of this kind.

First, then, it would appear that some form must be used ; that, consequently, the *neo-conversus*, by the mere reception into the Church does not gain the indulgence. For if this were the case, reception or admission into the Church would be the *condition* for gaining the indulgence, and the indulgence would be attached to the fulfilment of this condition, as other indulgences are attached to the fulfilment of the conditions prescribed for gaining them. But in the case before us it appears that the indulgence is not attached to the performance of what is necessary for reception into the Church as to a condition ; but that, on the contrary, the priest who receives the person into the Church is empowered to grant the indulgence. And manifestly, in order to do this, he must signify in some intelligible manner his intention of doing it. In other words, he must use some form of words which will of themselves express the nature of the favour conferred.

What has just been said may be illustrated and confirmed from what is prescribed in the case of granting a dispensation in an impediment of marriage. When the dispensation is granted *in forma commissoria*—the usual form—the confessor of the person asking for the dispensation is generally made the channel through which the dispensation is conveyed. And the dispensation does not take effect until he has communicated it by some form of words to his penitent. He is free to use a Latin form, such as may be found in theological treatises, or he may express the same thing in the vernacular.¹ But express it he must in some form; otherwise the dispensation is not granted at all, in the formal sense.

Some form, therefore, must be used; and since there is no special form prescribed, we are of opinion that, apart from local legislation, no special form is necessary; and, therefore, that a priest, having the requisite faculties, can impart the indulgence in any form expressive of the act he performs; just as, in the example cited, the confessor can impart the dispensation in any intelligible form. But wherever the bishop of the place has directed the use of a certain form, respect for his authority requires that it, and it alone, should be employed; though, of course, he could not make the use of a given form a *sine qua non*, or an essential condition of the indulgence.

The formula mentioned by our correspondent would seem to do as well as any other, though there are certain words in it which suit only the case for which the formula was intended. If this formula be used, we think it will suffice to begin with the words, *Dominus noster Jesus Christus*.

From the Appendix to the Roman Ritual² we take the

¹ " . . . Quapropter tunc impedimentem aufertur quando confessarius id poenitenti aliquo modo indicat seu pronuntiat." Lehmkühl, v. 2, n. 818, iv.

² Page 207, ed. Pustet, 1881. This formula was used for granting a Plenary Indulgence to Franciscan Tertiaries. In 1882 another form was prescribed for this purpose, and for this purpose *must* be employed. Brief of Leo XIII., July 7, 1882.

following formula for granting a plenary indulgence, with its rubric :—

"In Sede Confessionali, Confessarius hanc breviorē formulam aut similem aliam adhibere potest.

"Auctoritate apostolica, mihi in hac parte commissā, absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis in quantum possum, et restituo te Sacramentis Ecclesiae, et consedo tibi Indulgentiam plenariam. In nomine Patris ✠ et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen."

This would be a very convenient form for the purpose about which our correspondent inquires, and we beg to call attention to the words of the rubric printed at the head of it. The words *aut similem aliam* bear out what has been said regarding the liberty of selecting any suitable form. A still shorter form is used for granting a plenary indulgence to the members of the third Order of St. Francis when circumstances render the use of the longer form inconvenient:

"Auctoritate a summis Pontificibus mihi concessa plenariam omnium peccatorum tuorum Indulgentiam tibi impertior. In nomine Patris et Filii ✠ et Spiritus Sancti, Amen."

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence.

THE PRYMER.

"SIR,—I am indebted to you for the able and generous review of my book, *The Prymer*, in your last issue.

"Will you permit me to add to that notice, the following rough collation of four MS. Prymers, when I think that, supposing my book to be altered to bring it into conformity with the results of this collation, we may possibly be in possession of the mediæval prayer-book. For such a purpose we must, however, omit all matter preceding the Hours, and all that following the Commendations.—I am, Sir, your obedient Servant,

"HENRY LITTLEHALES."

Em.—Emmanuel College Prymer, Cambridge.

C.U.—Cambridge University Library.

699. Rawlinson, C. 699.—Bodleian Library, Oxford.

S.J.—St. John's College, Cambridge.

¹ Beringer, S.J., tom. 2, page 420.

Page 17. 699 substitutes 'God make me safe,' in place of 'Praise ye the Lord.'

Page 20. C.U. omits the Hail Mary; but the omission is probably unintentional, for all the other thirteen MSS. give it.

Page 28. In place of 'Show to us Thy mercy, and give us Thy health,' C.U. and 699 have 'Lord God of virtue, convert us, and show to us Thy face, and we shall be safe.'

Page 30. C.U., Em., and 699 substitute the Lord's Prayer for the Hail Mary at the commencement of Prime.

Page 33. C.U., Em., and 699 omit 'Show to us, Lord, Thy mercy, and give us Thine health.'

Em. omits the Hail Mary, but C.U. substitutes for it the Lord's Prayer.

Page 34. Preceding the Memento, C.U. and Em. give the Veni Creator.

Page 35. C.U., Em., and 699 omit 'Show to us, Lord, Thy mercy, and give us Thine health.'

Page 36. Em. omits the Hail Mary, but for it C.U. substitutes the Lord's Prayer.

699 omits 'Praise ye the Lord.'

C.U., Em., and 699 give Veni Creator before the Memento.

Page 38. C.U., Em., and 699 omit 'Show to us, Lord, Thy mercy, and give us Thine health.'

Page 39. 699 omits the Hail Mary, but for it C.U. substitutes the Lord's Prayer.

C.U., Em. and 699 give Veni Creator before the Memento.

Page 41. C.U., Em. and 699 omit 'Show to us, Lord, Thy mercy, and give us Thine health.'

C.U., Em., and 699 omit all following 'joys of paradise,' to the end of page 42.

Page 43:

All three have the usual commencement, 'God, take heed,' &c.

All three 'Praise ye the Lord.'

All three 'Lætatus sum.'

Ad te levavi.'

Page 46. C.U., Em., and 699 omit 'Veni sancte spiritus,' and all following up to the conclusion of 'Deus a Quo,' on page 47.

Page 48. 699 has the Lord's Prayer preceding Compline, and omits 'Praise ye the Lord.'

Page 51. After 'joys of paradise,' 699 gives the Lord's Prayer.

C.U. and Em. omit all between 'passed hence' and 'Oro.'

After the concluding prayer, 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,' C.U., Em., and 699 give all from 'Ave Regina,' on page 41, to the end of the Lord's Prayer, on page 42, concluding with:—

'And lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil.
Everlasting rest, Lord, give to them,
And perpetual light shine to them.
From the gates of hell,
Lord deliver the souls of them.
I believe to see the goodes of the Lord
In the land of living men.'

C.U. 'Lord, hear my prayer, 699 and Em. 'Rest they in
and let my cry come to Thee.' peace.'

Em. and C.U. 'Fidelium 699 Lost.
Deus.' See page 74.

C.U. 'The souls of all faithful dead men, by the mercy of God, rest they in peace of Jesu Christ. So be it. Bless ye the Lord.'

Page 58. Em has at the conclusion of the Seven Psalms, 'Lord, have no mind of our guilts or of our kindred, neither take Thou vengeance of our sins for Thy name.'

Page 65. The Litany does not materially differ.

Page 69. 699 omits the prayer 'Omnipotens,' the omission being probably an error, for all other MSS. have it.

Page 73. The MSS., without exception, place 'Inclina Domine' before 'Deus Qui patrem.'

Page 74. 699 and C.U. omit 'Fidelium Deus.'

Page 77. C.U. and Em. omit the Hail Mary.

Page 86. C.U. and Em. omit the Hail Mary.

Page 88. Conclusion of the Matins not quite clear.

Page 91. 699 and C.U. omit 'Deus misereatur.'

Page 93. 699 and Em. omit 'Cantate Domino and Laudate Dominum.'

Page 94. C.U., Em., and 699 omit the Hail Mary.

Page 95. C.U. omits 'Rest they in peace. Amen,' probably in error; all MSS. give it. No Commendations in 699.

Page 103. C.U., and Em. omit the Hail Mary.

"CLOVELLY, BEXLEY HEATH,

"KENT, 9th September, 1891."

Documents.

THE S. CONGREGATION DE PROPAGANDE FIDE.

PRIVILEGES GRANTED TO THOSE WHO TAKE PART IN HELPING THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH.

Bñe Pater,

Praesides Consiliorum centralium Operis a propagatione Fidei, humiliter provoluti ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae, instantanter implorant, ut concedere in perpetuum dignetur privilegia et facultates sequentes Sacerdotibus addictis eidem Operi modis qui sequuntur, videlicet :—

I. Unicuique Sacerdoti, qui onus habeat in qualibet Paroecia aut in quolibet instituto, eleemosynas colligendi favore Operis a Propagatione Fidei, quaelibet aliunde sit vis pecuniae collectae, aut qui proprio aere exhibeat Operi vim pecuniae pro decem sociis :—

1. Altare privilegiatum ter in qualibet hebdomada :

2. Facultatem applicandi sequentes indulgentias : pro fidelibus in articulo mortis constitutis indulgentiam plenariam ; coronis precatoriis seu rosariis, crucibus, crucifixis, sacris imaginibus, statuis parvis et numismatibus indulgentias apostolicas, coronis precatoriis indulgentias s. Birgittae.

3. Facultatem adiungendi crucifixis indulgentias Viae-Crucis.

II. Culibet Sacerdoti, qui pertineat ad Consilium vel ad comitatum oneratum ad Operis negotia gerenda, etc.

Cullibet Sacerdoti, qui in anni circulum exhibuerit in capsam Operis summam pecuniae, quae saltem aequet vim pecuniae, quam mille offerrent socii, quaelibet, aliunde, esset origo huius pecuniae.

1. Eadem privilegia concessa sacerdotibus praecedentis ordinis :

2. Altara privilegiatum quinquies in hebdomada :

3. Privilegium benedicendi cruces cum indulgentia concedi solita exercitio viae-crucis ; et insuper facultatem imponendi chordas et scapularia s. Francisci cum indulgentiis et privilegiis concedi solitis per rr. Pontifices, huic impositioni :

4. Facultatem benedicendi et imponendi fidelibus sacra scapularia Montis Carmeli, Immaculatae Conceptionis et Passionis Iesu Christi Domini Nostri.

Casu autem quo summa pecuniae colligenda, haud esset, momento temporis, plena, dicti Praesides implorant a Sanctitate Vestra prorogationem facultatum favore Presbyteri illius qui exhibuerit integram summam praecedentis anni, usque ad exitum exercitii currentis.

III. Quilibet Sacerdos, qui una vice exhibuerit, de proprio aere, eam pecuniae vim quae aequet summam mille sociorum, ius habet, pro suae vitae tempore, ad privilegia concessa sacerdotibus, qui Consilii membra sunt.

Ex audientia SSⁿⁱ habita die 5 August, 1889.

SS^{us} Dominus Noster Leo divina Providentia PP. XIII., referente me infrascripto Archiepiscopo Tyren., S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, expetitas extensiones indulgentiarum concedere dignatus est, easque in perpetuum pio Operi tribuit, excepta facultate benedicendi coronas, quam non ultra quinquennium concessit.

Datum Romae ex aedibus dictae S. Congregationis die et anno ut supra.

Pro R. P. D., *Secretario*.

PHILLIPUS TORRONI, *substitutus*.

Notices of Books.

WHITHER GOEST THOU? OR, WAS FATHER MATHEW RIGHT? Notes on Intemperance, Scientific and Moral. By Rev. J. C. MacErlain. Dublin: Browne and Nolan. 1891.

THE author of this extremely able indictment of alcohol has been for years, both in this country and in the United States, one of the most active and devoted advocates of total abstinence. On the very threshold of his missionary life, he was brought face to face with the demon of intemperance, and his heart at first sank within him before the apparently hopeless task of casting him from the throne on which he had succeeded in seating

himself so securely. But the cruel degradation of mind and body to which this tyrant reduced his slaves, and still more the appalling spiritual calamities he inflicted on them, fired the young priest's heart and nerved his arm ; and, like another David, he went forth to meet his gigantic foe, trusting in God to give him the victory. And God did not desert him. The eye that guided, and the arm that strengthened the hand of David, gave direction and force to the efforts of the young temperance advocate. Drunkenness disappeared, the tyranny of intemperance ceased, and in its stead the mild sway of total abstinence was established. And no sooner had he succeeded in emancipating the people of one district from this degrading slavery, than that Providence who has numbered the hairs of our head, and without whose knowledge and will not even the tiniest flower blooms or dies, ordained that he should gird himself against his old foe on a new battle-field, and free another district from his ignominious yoke.

Having spent several years at home in this close and ceaseless conflict, under the banner of total abstinence, Father MacErlain transferred his services to the "children of the dispersion," among whom he was aware intemperance was creating havoc still more hideous than among those that remained in Ireland. In the United States, he pushed on with vigour the relentless war he had long before declared against intemperance and against all its works and pomps. From the pulpit, from the platform, and through the press, he denounced in burning words the folly, the madness, the blood-guiltiness, the soul-guiltiness of excessive indulgence in alcoholic drinks, and pictured, in moving language, the horrible and ghastly scenes hourly enacted under the iron rule of this most degrading of all vices.

With a view to bringing the results of an experience at once so extensive and so varied within the reach of the largest number possible, Father MacErlain has put together the "Notes" which make up the present volume. The book is divided into two parts. The first deals with the physiological and pathological aspects of intemperance ; the second, with the moral aspect. In the first part, the author establishes with terrible conclusiveness, the fearful power of alcohol, as an agent of mental and bodily disease. From the testimony of the best medical authorities, on both sides of the Atlantic, he proves that alcohol "kills men and women wholesale, sending some to the grave straightway, and some to the grave through that living grave—the asylum for the insane."

We specially recommend this first part, not because it is better treated than the second, but because we have for a long time believed that were the conclusions arrived at by medical science regarding the abuse of alcohol made thoroughly familiar to the public, this knowledge would prove a more effective obstacle to the spread of intemperance than anything that has yet been devised. For this reason, we could have wished that Father MacErlain had drawn somewhat more largely on the piles of statistics and medical reports, of which he has given us specimens. He has, however, given enough to convince any impartial mind of the frightful evils which the victims of intemperance must undergo even in this world.

It is in the second part, however, that the author shows to greatest advantage. Here the moral aspect of intemperance is placed under review; and we could wish, for the sake of God, and of the human race, that our author's arguments were less convincing and his facts less authenticated. But, unfortunately, we must admit the force of the one and the truth of the other; and when we have realized the awful conclusion towards which both converge, unless we are devoid of all piety and all pity, from our hearts, crushed with the weight of the crimes against God, and of our brother's woes caused by intemperance, will ascend to God an ardent prayer, that He will remove the hideous thing from amongst us; and in these same hearts will be formed a strong resolution to strive by word and example to save our brothers and sisters who perish eternally by this fatal soul-poison.

On page 103, are quoted some words from the Epistle to Titus, as follows:—"Speak thou the things that become sound doctrine; that the aged men be sober, . . . that they may teach the young women to be discreet, chaste, sober." Now, from the manner in which these words are here given, one would infer that St. Paul, contrary to his usual custom, appointed the aged men to be teachers of the young women; whereas, as a matter of fact, it was to the aged women that he much more appropriately allotted this task. We would suggest then, that in the next edition St. Paul's meaning should be made clear by some such arrangement of the words as this—"Speak thou the things that become sound doctrine; that the aged men be *sober*, chaste, prudent. . . . The aged women in like manner . . . that they may teach the young women . . . to be discreet, chaste, *sober*." Do we owe "behooves," which occurs on page 104, to the

new American spelling or to a careless type-setter? And lastly, is not the following metaphor (page 145) slightly mixed?—"The cities are simply *rum-ridden* by a *Niagara* of beer, ales, and liquors, that surpasses all imagination, even in her wildest flights." The italics are, of course, ours.

We are glad to see that the press of all shades of opinion, in this country as in America, advocates the spread of this book. We desire to join our feeble voice to this great concert of praise which it has evoked, and we heartily wish its mission as much success as the learning, ability, and zeal of its author deserve. We should add, that in this edition are printed several highly complimentary letters, written to the author by eminent American prelates in acknowledging the receipt of copies of the first edition.

SERMONS FOR SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS. By James Canon Griffin. London: R. Washbourne, 18 Paternoster-row.

THIS is a useful addition to our books of English sermons. They would, perhaps, be more properly styled plain homely lectures than sermons. Though short—few of them exceed six pages—they are very practical and instructive. The style is somewhat heavy, particularly in some of them, but the language is simple and intelligible for all; and there are no attempts at rhetorical effect, nor is there any waste of space on mere verbal eloquence. They would be valuable either for spiritual reading or would afford good matter for short homilies.

TWO SPIRITUAL RETREATS FOR SISTERS. By Rev. Ev. Trollner. Translated by Rev. A. Wirth, O.S.B. New York: Fr. Pustet.

It happens from time to time in a convent that a nun has to make a retreat for herself, and of course without the assistance of a preacher. Even sometimes a community is not able to secure a priest to conduct the exercises of the annual retreat, or of the retreat usual at the end of the year. In such cases the book mentioned above will be found to be a useful substitute for the preacher. The meditations are special to religious, and are models of order and clearness. Their vows and duties form the subjects of the considerations, and are treated in a solid and practical way.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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“ANIMA DEO UNITA.”

“*Creata est anima a Deo ; vita a Vita ; simplex a Simplici ; immortalis ab Immortali ; magna a Magno ; recta a Recto ; eo magna, quo capax aeternorum ; eo recta quo appetens supernorum ; eo beata, quo Deo unita*”—ST. AUGUSTIN.

THE smallest trivialities suffice to amuse and entertain a child, because its mind is too feeble and undeveloped to grasp the great questions that are ever agitating the world. A rattle or a penny trumpet will occupy its entire attention, and it will be quite content to while away its time, digging in the sand with a wooden spade, or erecting imaginary castles and palaces with packs of cards. One may speak to it of bloody encounters on land and sea ; one may apprise it of events entailing the ruin of a nation or the disgrace of a people ; one may describe the disintegration or total destruction of an empire ; but it signifies little. So long as one does not seize its playthings, nor shatter its toy-house, one will scarcely trouble the infant, or even chase away the smile of joy from its face. It will continue its play with undistracted glee. The grown-up man, on the contrary, can no longer find any pleasure or interest in the playthings of a child. His mind is too full of wider, deeper, and more momentous thoughts—perhaps involving the welfare of his country or the peace of the world.

Now, from a spiritual point of view, the great masses of mankind closely resemble children playing upon the sand. They, too, occupy themselves in trivialities. The present moment

absorbs their attention. All their thoughts, all their desires, are centred on the passing and unstable things of time. Some deliver themselves up, body and soul, to money-making, and are wholly preoccupied in adding field to field and house to house, much as the child collects shells, or throws up mounds of sand, to be scattered by the fast incoming tide. Others engage themselves in seeking honours, distinctions, and decorations, and will lend an ear to the praise and flattery of men, with the same self-satisfied contentment with which a child will allow itself to be beguiled by the sound of a rattle, or the hum of a top.

The world, the pleasures of the world, the riches of the world, the honour, the distinctions, the glory, and the approbation of the world—such things gain possession of the hearts of the multitude. Perishable goods, fleeting pleasures, transitory fame; the glitter and the glare, the gilt and the tinsel, the meteoric splendours and phosphorescent glory of the vain frivolous world engross them, occupy them, interest them, excite them, control them, tyrannize over them, provoke their passions, stimulate their greed, arouse their desires, and drive them to the very ends of the earth in hot eager pursuit of fleeting shadows and bursting bubbles!

Children, every one! Infants playing with their toys—foolish, unreflecting, unreasoning—ready to start off in pursuit of every painted butterfly that chance sends fluttering and flitting across their sunlit path—children who refuse to be distracted or disturbed by anything of true importance. The deepest problems of life, the momentous questions of a future state, the solemn and all-important facts of the eternal and invisible world, awake no interest. Speak in the most persuasive tones of the most sublime and awful truths that can occupy the heart of man; of crimes that will re-echo through endless ages; of wounds which eternity itself cannot heal; of millions upon millions of sensitive human beings descending into the inextinguishable lake of fire; of a heaven to be won, and a hell to be avoided—yes, speak on; “cry, cease not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet;” and behold, they play on with the gewgaws and trumperies of life, as

deaf and as unheeding as plays the unreasoning child when you tell him that cities burn and nations perish.

To a man of vivid faith there is nothing so extraordinary or so appalling as the apathy, indifference, and insensibility of worldly-minded men to all that is most vital and significant, most essential and paramount. The saints of God, though in many respects like to us, and moulded out of the same clay, seem to live and move in a wholly different world. They looked beyond the present into the far-away future. The riches and honours and glory of the world were, no doubt, spread out and flaunted before *them* as before us. These things they indeed beheld, as they beheld the crimson and golden clouds floating in the western sky—beautiful, if you will—yea, gorgeous beyond all comparison; but perishable and passing, and unworthy of more than a momentary glance. Such coveted objects came to tempt the saints as they came to tempt others, but without success. They heeded them not, but brushed them aside without a sigh. Their thoughts were too much taken up with more important matters to heed such puerile distractions—too much pre-occupied with the great and eternal truths; with heaven and its unfading glory, its never-ending delights, its enduring and ineffable peace; with hell and its quenchless fires, its undying worm of remorse, its ceaseless, changeless, pitiless woe and misery. How could a saint become captivated or ensnared by earthly joys, whose eyes were ever riveted on the joys of heaven? How could he be terrorized or coerced by thought of earthly pains or worldly shame, or in any way swayed by the scorn or hate of men, whose mind was ever contemplating the terrors of the lost, and the shame and torments and never-ending despair of the stygian pit? No. The earth beneath his feet must ever remain a poor and contemptible object to one whose innermost thoughts are habitually fixed on the everlasting throne of the infinite God. To one who has heard "the voice of the Beloved, leaping over the mountains, skipping over the hills," the praises and adulation of the crowds must ever sound empty as the murmurs of the idle wind, meaningless as the sighing of the restless sea; while the glory of the world, when

compared with the splendours of the heavenly palaces, can never seem more than the finery and pageantry of a village fair.

In a word, a saint lives and moves among realities, while other men live and move among shadows, phantoms, and empty shows. A man of God apprises all things at their just value. He scans the entire earth; his eagle glance sweeps from pole to pole, and his subtle and penetrating eye at once perceives that in the midst of such an overwhelming variety of objects but one is truly valuable; but one stands out peerless and without a rival. "On earth," he exclaims with the poet, "there is nothing great but man; in man there is nothing great but mind:" or, let us rather say, soul.

The soul! A single soul—the soul of the merest child, of a poor, ignorant, ragged, deformed, outcast child, the poorest and lowliest throughout all London—is, indeed, worth more than towns and cities, and all that they contain; worth more than thrones and dynasties, kingdoms and empires; yea, more than glowing sun and glistening moon, and the countless host of diamond stars glimmering and sparkling on the brow of night, and quiring to the cherubim! Of all created things on earth, the soul alone lives a charmed life. It alone is immortal and imperishable. All else must pass: all else must fall and fade and cease to be. The hardest rock, the toughest metal, the firmest wall of adamant, must crumble away. Weakness, frailty, change, dissolution, decay, and death! Ah! these are words clearly inscribed and engraved by the hand of Omnipotence on everything around us and about us. The soul is the only exception. It, and it alone, survives them all. It will endure; it will never pass away. Nations will come and go; dynasties will rise and fall; the mountains will be broken into pieces; the seas will evaporate and disappear; the earth itself will dissolve; the very stars shall fall from heaven; all creation will sway and totter to its ruin; the entire universe shall be gathered up like a scroll: but in the midst of the general destruction and universal change, the soul will retain its youth and beauty, and never, never know corruption.

The soul! Oh, who will endow us with power to under-

stand its worth and dignity ! Who will furnish us with the means of portraying, even in a limited degree, its exquisite grace and unrivalled loveliness ! Impossible in this life ! To understand the loveliness of the soul, we must understand the loveliness of God, for to His image and likeness it is made. All things, of course, babble in an inarticulate manner of Him who made them. The wide-stretching ocean fills our ears with distant murmurs of His immensity ; the soft-scented summer's breath discourses of His gentleness ; the scintillating stars emit subdued glimpses of His beauty ; and the tropical noon-day sun, as it sets the heavens in a blaze, seems to reflect something of His magnificence.

Nature in all its moods, and poetry and art, music and song, in all their varied forms and infinite expressions, seem to lisp His name ; while earth and sky utter His praises and show forth His wondrous perfections. True. Yet not one of these—no, nor even all these put together—can tell us as much of God as could a single human soul in grace, were we but able to contemplate it in itself, and to understand and see it in its very essence, as we may one day hope to do in our home of light above.

Put all the visible creation on one side. Add world to world, and universe to universe, till mind grows weary and senses fail ; place these accumulations of wealth and beauty on one side of the balance ; and on the other lay but a single soul, clothed with the garment of grace. It will outweigh them all. For, as theologians teach, "*Bonum gratiae unius, majus est quam bonum naturae totius universi.*"

God became incarnate for the sake of souls. The least soul has been purchased by the life-blood of an Infinite Being. There is nothing of such value. In fact, as compared with it, all else is worth just nothing at all. It is almost terrifying to think of the treasure we carry about in such fragile vessels. A shudder runs through our frame, and our heart's blood seems almost to cease flowing, as we contemplate the awful responsibility that is ours, and the irrevocable choice that awaits our decision, and on which an eternity, with all its fathomless heights and depths, lies balancing.

Every Catholic duly instructed knows and believes this. It is the teaching of the Church, The saints did more than merely know and believe. They likewise realized it. With them it was a practical truth, one that affected them, and exercised a most perceptible influence on their lives and actions.

They argued:—1. The earth harbours nothing half so precious as a human soul. 2. It is made to the image of God. 3. It is redeemed by the death of the Infinite. 4. It is destined to bask for ever in the sunshine of God's presence, &c. Such was their premise. The consequence was an easy one to draw, viz., since the soul is all this, and far more, then it must follow that the noblest, highest, and most blessed and privileged work is to help souls, to labour and toil for them, and to devote one's life, talents, wealth, strength, and means to their service. It was thus that all the saints argued, and it was upon this principle that they all acted, each according to the measure of his opportunities.

We have a notable example in St. Charles Borromeo. Being a great saint, he was, as a consequence, marvellously illuminated in spiritual things; and being thus illuminated from above, he was enabled to recognise beyond others, the incomparable beauty of a soul. He used often to enlarge on this topic, and to point out that it is worth more than all the treasures of the world, as the devil well knows, who is so eager for its damnation. "A single soul," he exclaimed, "is worth the continual care of a pastor." On one occasion when he was trying to prevail upon a bishop to reside more continuously in his diocese, the latter excused himself, urging as a plea, that his diocese was but small, and could easily be managed by others. The saint, who was extremely grieved to find a prelate with so little pastoral zeal, made answer:—"A single soul is worthy of the presence and guardianship of a bishop." (*Life*, p. 389.) He not only manifested this zeal himself in his most laborious and incessant efforts to bring about the salvation of souls; but he strove, by every means in his power to infuse a corresponding zeal into the hearts of all others, and especially into the hearts of

his priests. On one occasion, in the diocesan synod, he placed before the clergy the example of St. Catherine of Sienna, in whom this zeal was so ardent, that she offered herself to God to suffer the pains of hell, in order to save souls who were on their way thither. After mentioning this fact, he cried out with much fervour: "Oh, zeal, worthy of imitation by all Christians! If we could understand what it is to deliver a soul from hell, I doubt not but many of us would risk any danger in hope of saving at least one."¹ How beautiful are the feet of those who preach the gospel of peace! No wonder, added St. Charles, that holy virgin of Sienna knelt down and kissed the very ground that had been trodden on by preachers because they were fellow-labourers of Christ. "There is nothing more pleasing to God," he continues, "than to be helpers of His Son, and to be willing to undertake the charge of souls. Our holy Mother the Church rejoices in nothing more than in those who bring souls again to spiritual life, thereby despoiling hell, defeating the devil, casting out sin, opening heaven, rejoicing the angels, glorifying the Blessed Trinity, and preparing for themselves an unfading crown." (See *Life*, page 370.)

It would be impossible, within the narrow limits of a single paper, to narrate the many instances of the saint's untiring zeal for the salvation of the brethren. Let it suffice to say, that their spiritual welfare was his continual thought night and day; and that both by word and example he ever strove, with unflagging energy, to win men to God. No opportunity was allowed to pass, no occasion was suffered to go by without being turned to the profit and advantage of his people.

When travelling in the mountain, he was wont to stop and hold converse with any of the poor mountaineers he chanced to meet, and stir up their faith and fervour by exhortations on spiritual things. Or he would gather a number of poor children together, and teach them in simple words the Christian doctrines, and then present them with

¹ St. Teresa writes:—"To save even one, I would most willingly endure many deaths."

a little reward, to give them courage and to stimulate their zeal. Once, when he was visiting the Levantine valley on foot, seeing a ragged little urchin sitting near a wretched hovel, at some distance from the road, he went up to him ; and though he was but a poor little child, brought up among cattle and covered with dirt, he remained for some time with him, and taught him, with great charity and sweetness, to say the Our Father and the Hail Mary. His desire to assist souls for whom Christ died, was, indeed, coextensive with humanity. He seemed to include in his solicitude every inhabited part of the world. He strove to benefit every country, so far as it was possible ; and for that purpose he kept up a continuous correspondence with bishops and archbishops, even in distant sees.

The example of St. Charles is, in a greater or lesser measure, the example of every saint. Nor could this be otherwise, for the love of man is a test as well as a testimony of the love of God. And in proportion as our love of God gains strength and power, will our love of the men and women, for whom He was crucified, likewise increase and strengthen.

One of the saddest and most deplorable facts forced upon our attention at the present day, is the extraordinary little interest in man's salvation exhibited by people living in the world. We are not now referring to Anglicans, Wesleyans, Methodists, and others who are dwelling in the twilight of heresy. We refer to Catholics who live and bask in the full brilliancy of the light of divine truth, and who might, therefore, be expected to be more filled with apostolic charity, and more inflamed with zeal for the hundreds of thousands perishing in their very midst.

A man who is at no pains to learn the unspeakable value of his own soul, will not set a very high price upon the souls of his neighbours. One who is making no notable effort to ward off sin and defilement from himself, and to preserve himself from every stain, is not likely to put himself out to any great extent to rescue his neighbours from contagion. Nor will a lukewarm Catholic, who displays no ardent aspirations and longings after perfection and a greater union

with God, develop any marked zeal for the sanctification of his fellows.

No, we must commence with ourselves. "*Charitas, bene ordinata incipit a semetipso,*" as St. Thomas teaches. We must start with a strong sense of the exalted dignity and measureless greatness and beauty of our own soul when in a state of grace; we must grow familiar with the fact that it is veritably a child of heaven, an adopted son of God, a brother of Jesus Christ, and an heir to an everlasting throne; and a participator of the divine nature. Then, but not till then, shall we be in a condition to appreciate at the same time the dignity and value of the souls of our brethren, made, as our own, to the image and likeness of God; and, as our own, purchased by the blood of an infinite Victim. When once that startling truth is borne in upon us, we shall certainly be the first to admit that no work or employment is so grand and ennobling in itself, so pleasing and gratifying to God, so honourable to ourselves or so profitable to others, as that which may promote the eternal welfare of the race.

Some Catholic laymen seem to think that such reflections have no application except to bishops, priests, monks, and nuns, and to persons especially consecrated to God. What a mistake! Are not the multitudes of the human race their brethren as well as ours, and just as truly as themselves children of the one Eternal Father above? Are they not equally redeemed by the same saving Blood, and destined to the same sublime honours and rewards in the realms of fadeless glory in heaven? And have they not as much right to claim the interests and sympathy, and solicitude of Catholic laymen as of priests and monks? Or, are lay people to watch the ravages of sin, and to contemplate the sea of iniquity raging on all sides, and souls perishing before their eyes, and to extend no hand to help a drowning brother, and to make no effort to rescue the perishing? In the midst of this wild, tempest-tossed, wind-swept, storm-driven world, are lay people to sit idly by, and fold their arms unconcerned, and throw the entire responsibility and care upon the priests? No! To look upon the cross of Christ, and to witness what He suffered for man's redemption, is to feel the necessity of

co-operating with Him to the utmost of one's power. All good laymen feel the truth of this. What they want is that priests should point out to them *what* they might do, and the *value* of the least work undertaken for the spiritual welfare of their neighbours.

They often ask, in a very diffident tone: "Ah! yes; but what can *we* do? We cannot preach, absolve, nor offer sacrifice. We can effect so little." We might answer:—Because you can do but little, is that any reason why you should do nothing? But, in sober truth, there is nothing little in any act or word that contributes, however slightly, to a soul's salvation; nothing trivial, nothing insignificant; nay, on the contrary, the smallest act is of inestimable value. And this is what, it appears to me, we as priests should help them to realize. Is it a great thing to enrich the poor; to feed the multitudes; to cure diseases; to still tempests; to create worlds; or to build up a universe? If so, it is a far greater thing still to diminish sin; to draw souls to God; to extend the faith; and to engraft virtue and eradicate vice. How clearly the saints understood this! "To make one step in the propagation of the faith," says the generous-hearted St. Teresa, "and to give one ray of light to heretics, I would forfeit a thousand kingdoms!" (*Vide Life*, chap. xxi.) It is of faith that one deliberate venial fault is an immeasurably worse evil than all physical pains, and than all material loss that man can sustain in this life; and far more deserving of tears and lamentations. If this be absolutely certain, it must be at least equally certain that to labour to diminish sin, infidelity, religious indifference, and neglect of spiritual duties, is a work of the very highest value and importance. If by the end of our lives we have succeeded in reducing the sum total of sins against God but by one, we shall not have lived in vain. Yet, if in earnest, the least influential amongst us may do vastly more than that. And how? the earnest layman may inquire. Then let me answer.

First, by preaching. Not in words, not in rounded periods, and balanced sentences, and rich sonorous phrases,

but by the far more efficacious means of example. No words are half so eloquent or half so persuasive as facts. A good life is a continuous exhortation. No man can live among men as a true, fervent, practical, honest, and sober Catholic without doing incalculable good. It is impossible. The mere presence of a noble, upright, generous character, who would scorn to do a mean or unworthy action, is itself a spur and an incentive to virtue; such a man inspires respect, admiration, and reverence; and from admiration and reverence to imitation and emulation there is but a short and easy step. We instinctively seek to imitate what we admire, and to resemble those whom we esteem and honour.

Secondly, by showing, in a practical manner, some real interest and concern in the welfare of others, and desiring to be of use to them. Opportunities arise again and again of helping inquirers and assisting the spread of truth; explaining difficulties, dissipating doubts, answering objections, interpreting apparent contradictions; and, in a word, of giving a clear and intelligible account of the faith that they profess. If we encourage Catholic laymen to interest themselves more in studying the Apologetics, the *motiva credibilitatis*, the history of the Church, and of the Church's doctrine, and a score of kindred subjects, they might render invaluable service to souls.

Thirdly, by employing their special gifts and talents more generously in the service of the brethren. How much might be done by possessors of large fortunes to advance the reign of Christ upon earth. What real assistance they might render to struggling missions, poverty-stricken churches, and schools, and institutions at home; as well as to the important missionary enterprises in far distant and inhospitable lands. Much, no doubt, is lost by the injudicious application of charity; and much is spent to carry out a whim or a personal hobby, which might have been laid out to far greater advantage, so far as souls are concerned. But of this we will not now speak. Others, again, who are blessed with intellectual gifts—with learning, leisure, and ability—might, surely, find abundant scope and occupation for their talents in other directions. To show what we mean, we need but

to mention such names as Digby, Allies, W. G. Ward, E. H. Thompson, C. F. Allnatt, O. A. Brownson, F. Ozanam, De Renty, Bernieres de Lourvigny, Du Pont (the holy man of Tours), the Comte A. de Mun, the late Herr Windhorst; to which might be added very many others, and women as well as men.¹

Fourthly, by throwing themselves generously into every good movement that is started with the approbation of authority, and uniting their efforts with those of others to make it a success. How frequently it happens that some enterprise, excellent in itself, and admirably conceived and planned, nevertheless proves abortive and fails, because Catholics prefer to criticize than to co-operate, and to raise objections rather than to raise subscriptions. It would be impossible to enumerate the various useful works and ventures to which the past five-and-twenty or fifty years have given birth, and which require the zeal and generosity of the faithful if they are to continue to succeed; but, perhaps we may venture to mention one or two as specimens of the rest. There is, *e. g.*, the Catholic Truth Society. It does an admirable work. And it may be helped in such a variety of ways. The rich may aid it by donations; the learned and leisured by writing tracts, papers, and essays; the poor by buying the leaflets; which cost next to nothing, and scattering them among their friends and acquaintances; and all by speaking well of it and wishing it God speed. Then there are Catholic papers which need support; and from time to time series of instructive lectures or addresses are delivered which—(a) some might assist in giving; which (b) others might encourage by attending, and which (c) all could help by advertising and making known among their companions. In fact, to one who ardently desires to help his brethren, thousands of ways lie open.

Fifthly, by encouraging and fostering religious and priestly vocations among the young. When parents are true, fervent Christians themselves, and Catholics to their very heart's

¹ The zeal, and devotion even, of certain non-Catholics, such as the late Lord Shaftesbury, and the Quakeress Mrs. Fry, might bring a blush to many a Catholic.

core, they will certainly realize how great and unparalleled an honour and blessing it is for them to be able to reckon among their children, at least one or two consecrated and dedicated to God and the service of the altar. Such parents will strive by the simple force of word and example to infuse their own spirit into their offspring, and again and again their ardent and continued prayers will obtain for son or daughter the gift of a supernatural vocation. The extraordinary thing is—first, that even fathers and mothers who are supposed to estimate spiritual things with some degree of accuracy, should often be so little anxious to see their children raised to the sublimest of all dignities, viz., to the unapproachable dignity of the priesthood; and, secondly, that even among the better class of young men themselves so few should be stirred by this noblest form of ambition.

"The real misery of the Church [Cardinal Mermillod justly observes] is to see how young men of the upper classes seem to be incapable of anything better than driving four-in-hand, shooting a cover, or applauding an actress. The honour of taking and holding the Blood of Jesus Christ is not given to them. Whole generations pass away before a family gives one son to the Church. Christian women! [he exclaims] your mothers' hearts do not burn enough with divine love that their exhalations should bring forth the heart of a priest. Oh! ask of God that your families may give sons to the Church. . . . ask Him that you, in your turn, may have the courage of sacrifice, and that from you may be born an apostle: to speak to men about God, to enlighten the world, to serve Him at the altar. Is not this, after all, a grand and magnificent destiny." (*Vide Mermillod on The Supernatural Life.*)

The last, but by no means the least important, means of co-operating with Jesus Christ in the work of saving souls, is frequent and fervent prayer. "The continuous prayer of the just man availeth much." To assist one another in this way is, indeed, a sacred duty; it is a special exhortation of the apostle: "pray for one another, that you may be saved." It is, furthermore, suggested by our Lord Himself when He teaches us to say, not "deliver *me*," but "deliver *us* from evil," and not "lead *me*," but "lead *us* not into temptation," &c.

It appears to me that we do not take sufficient pains to impress upon the faithful the duty of labouring according to their opportunities for the salvation of souls: nor do we sufficiently encourage them by pointing out the real value of the least act performed with this end in view. Perhaps if we were more zealous ourselves we would be more careful and solicitous to secure the valuable co-operation of every good man and woman, and more anxious to instil into them an active and self-sacrificing charity. *Qui non ardet, non accendit.* If we are to lead others to exert and strain themselves in this divine and inestimably grand work, it is imperative that we first lead the way, and by vigorous action, rather than by speech. "Not the cry, but the flight of the wild duck," says a Chinese proverb, "leads the flock to fly and to follow."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

THE SACRIFICE OF IPHIGENIA.

THERE is a striking analogy between the story of the Grecian princess Iphigenia, such as it is represented to us in one of the master-pieces of Euripides, and that of a well-known heroine of the Old Testament, said to have been immolated by her father, Jephthe, in circumstances nearly similar. The resemblance has been noticed by many writers,¹ some of whom have gone so far as to assert that the Grecian legend is but a travesty of sacred history. The dates, they say, the names, and the principal characteristics of the story are the same. The events can be easily traced to a contemporary period; the originating motive of the sacrifice was in both cases a patriotic one; and the Greek word *Iphigenia*, when analyzed according to the rules of philology, can be resolved without difficulty into "Jephthe's daughter." Indeed the likeness becomes still more apparent when we remember that many important facts of sacred history are found disfigured in ancient mythology, and particularly in

¹ See Rosenmüller, *Das alte und neue Morgenland*, vol. iii., pages 41, 43.

the stories of the heroic ages, and that the poetry and dreams of Greece are often but the echoes of distant truths that grew weak as they spread, and, after they had passed through a long maze of corrupting popular traditions, were changed by the artifice of men of genius into harmonious fictions. Thus, Mr. Gladstone, in his interesting work, *Juventus Mundi*, draws attention to certain traditions traceable in Homer, which appear to be drawn from the same source as those of Holy Scripture. Amongst them he enumerates the idea of a deity which in one sense is three in one (Jupiter, Apollo, and Minerva); of a deliverer conceived under the double form of the "seed of the woman," a being at once human and divine; and, secondly, of the *Logos*, the word or wisdom of God; next of the woman whose seed this Redeemer was to be; and, finally, of a rainbow, considered as the means or sign of communication between heaven and earth. "If," he says, "in the progress of time, and with the mutations which the Olympian system gradually underwent, the marks of correspondence with the Hebrew records became more faint, the fact even raises some presumption, that were we enabled to go yet farther back, we should obtain further and clearer evidence of their identity of origin in certain respects."¹

From other sources we learn the existence in classical mythology of distinct and explicit traditions of many facts and doctrines of the Old Testament. Thus, Plato in the *Timæus*² records the popular belief in the flood, the history of which is also reproduced in the legend of Pyrrha and Deucalion. Æschylus³ and Pindar⁴ speak of a final judgment. Hesiod,⁵ in the legend of Epimetheus and Pandora, gives us a glimpse of the happy state of man in paradise; of the introduction of sin and misery into the world; of the original innocence of the woman by whom it was introduced; and of the hope that from her, or from her race,

¹ *Juventus Mundi*, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, pages 207, 208.

² "Ὅταν δ' αὖ οἱ θεοὶ τὴν γῆν ὤδασι καθαίροντες κατακλύζωσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι διασώζονται, &c., *Tim.*, page 5.

³ *Supplices*, 230.

⁴ *Olympia*, ii. 58.

⁵ *Opp. et Dies.*, 26, 58.

would one day proceed a deliverer.¹ The same author, in his description of the garden of the Hesperides, with its apples protected by a fiery dragon, gives us the mythological picture of that original garden in which man's destiny was decreed. Cicero and Propertius point forward to a day of doom, when the stars shall fall and the earth shall crumble; whilst Lucretius speaks of the utter end and destruction of the world:—

“Una dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos.”

“Sustentata ruet moles et machina mundi.”

We have likewise in the heroic legends a tradition of the longer life of primeval man; of the rebellion of a primitive race against the Creator; and of a God suffering for the faults of men. It is not difficult to recognise the prototypes of Gyges and of Ephialtes, and of Briareus cast down beneath Mount Ætna, for his part in the revolt against the gods. But, in addition to this, it is asserted that the Greeks took possession besides of many historical events in Jewish history, and transferred them in somewhat altered guise into their own heroics. So convinced of this was the learned G. Vossius,² in the seventeenth century, that he regarded the *Iliad* as nothing more nor less than a Greek version of the destruction of Jericho; whilst Bochart³ and his learned disciple Huet, Bishop of Avranches,⁴ were of opinion that all pagan theology was derived from Moses, and that most of the legends of the ancient world drew their origin from the acts and writings of the same great personage. Finally, we have translated into English, in six volumes,⁵ the work of the Abbé Banier, written early in the last century, in which he undertakes to prove that, “notwithstanding all the ornaments which accompany fables, it is no difficult matter to see that they contain part of the history of primitive times.”

We are naturally not concerned here to stretch these shadows of the original substance beyond their real propor-

¹ See Dr. Döllinger's *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, pages 263, 274.

² *De Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana*, pages 71, 77.

³ *Geographia Sacra*, lib. i.

⁴ *Demonstratio Evangelica*, cap. iii.: “Universa propemodum Ethnicorum theologia ex Mose, Mosive actis aut scriptis manavit.”

⁵ *The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients Explained from History*.

tions; for the connection, after all, is but dim and distant. Indeed, notwithstanding these gleams of primitive tradition, there is nothing in the higher life of Greece so unaccountable as the monstrous absurdities of its religious thought and worship. It has ever been, and is likely to remain, a problem, insoluble at least upon natural grounds, how this people, who had achieved so much in philosophy, in poetry, in art, in science, in politics: who had opened up almost every mine of thought that has since been worked by mankind: who invented and perfected almost every style of poetry and prose that has been cultivated by the greatest minds that have come after them: who laid the deep and lasting foundation of the principal arts and sciences, and in some of them achieved triumphs never since equalled: who had an instinctive and artistic aversion to everything excessive and monstrous: and who at the same time professed a belief, however changeable and wavering, in the crudities and absurdities of what is handed down to us as their religion.¹ When, therefore, we assert that in the ancient mythology, properly so called, and in the legendary tales of Greece, we find undoubted vestiges of primitive revelation, as well as fanciful reproductions of some of the most notable events of sacred history, we intend no more than that some faint shadows, some misty silhouettes of original truth are traceable in the outlines of that extraordinary fabric; and that in some special historical cases, such as the one which claims our attention here, analogies and resemblances apparently exist, which, if they are not sufficient to establish absolute identity, cannot fail, at least when examined and contrasted, to suggest the possibility of a common origin. The discoveries of Schliemann, and the critical efforts that have been made to establish the reality of the Trojan war, even were they conclusive, would prove no obstacle to the theory such as it is put forward; for Homer makes no mention whatever of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the account of which was, in all probability, gathered up from the legends of popular recital, and incorporated long after Homer as one of the events of the great journey. But, even should this

¹ See Max Müller, *The Mythology of the Greeks*.

theory of identity not commend itself to those who examine the general purport and details of the two stories, at least they shall find in them two examples of how these ancient peoples held it a duty of patriotism and of religion that no ties of domestic life however sacred—not even the bonds of paternal or filial love—should be allowed to stand between them and their devotion to the rightful cause of their native land. The manner in which this lesson is imparted, as well as the causes which have led us to notice the similitude of the stories, will best be brought out if we briefly relate them such as they have been transmitted to us—the one in the well-known tragedy of Euripides, the other in the inspired pages of the Book of Judges.

When the Grecian army was on its way to Troy it was detained by contrary winds at Aulis. This misadventure was attributed to the anger of Diana, whose favourite stag Agamemnon had slain. The leaders of the expedition are informed by a soothsayer that, in order to appease the goddess, they must sacrifice on her altar Iphigenia, Agamemnon's own daughter. The unhappy father is horror-stricken at this intelligence ; and his first resolve, rather than shed the blood of one whom he loved so tenderly, is to disperse the whole body of the Greeks and renounce the expedition. The other generals represent to him the shame and humiliation that would result to Greece from such a course of action. Murmurs are already heard in the camp that he is about to betray the cause of which he had been chosen leader and guide by the assembled chieftains. Agamemnon hesitates, consults, falters ; but at length the love of country prevails over kindred. The die is cast ; and the fatal decree is issued, that, in order to save Greece, Iphigenia must perish. She is at once brought on to Aulis, on the pretence of a marriage with Achilles. Then comes the pitiful scene in which this dreadful decision is communicated to Clytemnestra, the victim's mother, and to the innocent and beautiful Iphigenia herself, both of whom had come to Aulis with thoughts of nuptials and of victory, but not of death. The distraction of Clytemnestra is boundless, and her sorrow inconsolable. Iphigenia, too, in all the freshness and bloom of life, bewails her sad lot in accents of

condensed grief, and would have given way to unutterable despair, were it not for the calm, though sorrowful, reasoning of Agamemnon, who gradually brings her to see how noble a thing it is to die for the people and to save the country. When she comes at last to realize the heroism of the sacrifice, she is no longer heart-broken, but even offers consolation to others, and directs her attendants to prepare the final rites:—

“Lead me : mine the glorious fate
To overturn the Phrygian state
Ilium's towers, their heads shall bow.
With the garlands bind my brow,
Bring them, be these tresses crowned
Round the shrine, the altar round ;
Bear the lavers which you fill
From the pure, translucent rill ;
High your choral voices raise,
Tuned to hymn Diana's praise,
Blessed Diana, royal maid.
Since the fates demand my aid,
I fulfil their awful power
By my slaughter, by my gore.”

Encouraged by her handmaids, and holding firm in her purpose, whilst the last preparations are being made, she still continues :—

“Swell the notes, ye virgin train ;
To Diana swell the strain ;
Queen of Chalcis, adverse land ;
Queen of Aulis, on whose strand
Winding to a narrow bay,
Fierce to take its angry way,
Waits the war and calls on me
Its retarded force to free.
O my country, where these eyes
Open'd on Pelagic skies !
O ye virgins, once my pride,
In Mycenae who reside !
Me you reared a beam of light ;
Freely now I sink in night.
Ah ! thou beaming lamp of day !
Jove-born, bright, ethereal ray !
Other regions me await,
Other life and other fate !
Farewell, beauteous lamp of day !
Farewell, bright ethereal ray !”

The prophet Calchas then draws from its sheath the sharp-edged sword, and as he was going to strike the fatal blow, Iphigenia disappears, and a deer is left in her place for the sacrifice. This supernatural change reanimated the Greeks; the winds became suddenly favourable; and the combined fleet set sail from Aulis. Iphigenia's innocence had excited the compassion of the goddess; and she is carried away to the Tauric Chersonese, to take charge of Diana's temple. Here other adventures await her in connection with Pylades and Orestes: and these, too, have been celebrated by Euripides and many subsequent imitators; but further than this it is not necessary to follow. The passage in Euripides, in which Iphigenia pleads for her life with Agamemnon, is considered one of the most beautiful and effective in the Greek language:—

“Had I, my father, the persuasive voice
Of Orpheus, and his skill to charm the rocks
To follow me, and soothe whome'er I please
With winning words, I would make trial of it;
But I have nothing to present thee now
Save tears, my only eloquence; and those
I can present thee.
Ah! kill me not in youth's fresh prime.
Sweet is the light of heaven: compel me not
What is beneath to view. I was the first
To call thee father; me thou first did'st call
Thy child. I was the first that on my knees
Fondly caressed thee, and from thee received
The fond caress; this was my speech to thee:
Shall I then live for thee? Shall I receive
My father when grown old, and in my house
Cheer him with each fond office, to repay
The careful nurture which he gave my youth?
These words are on my memory deep impressed.
Thou hast forgot them, and wilt kill thy child.”

The perplexity and despair that rack the breast of Agamemnon under these reproaches are beautifully expressed in the modern tragedy of Racine:—

“Ma fille, il est trop vrai, j'ignore pour quel crime
La colère des dieux demande une victime

Mais ils vous ont nommé, un oracle cruel
 Vent qu'ici votre sang coule sur un autel
 Pour défendre vos jours de leurs lois meurtrières
 Mon amour n'avait pas attendu vos prières.
 Je ne vous dirai point combien j'ai résisté
 Croyez-en cet amour par vous même attesté

Ma fille il faut céder, votre heure est arrivée
 Songez bien dans quel rang vous êtes élevée
 Je vous donne un conseil qu'à peine je reçois
 Du coup qui vous attend vous mourrez moins que moi
 Montrez en expirant, de qui vous êtes née
 Faites rougir ces dieux qui vous ont condamnée
 Allez ; et que les Grecs qui vont vous immoles
 Reconnassent mon sang en le voyant couler."

The fate of Iphigenia has been ever a fruitful theme in literature, and there is scarcely any legend of Grecian story that has been treated by so many poets, both ancient and modern. Euripides follows his heroine to Taurica, and his drama on this portion of her history is, in many respects, superior to the other. The most notable attempt of the moderns to dramatize her Tauric adventures was that of Goethe ; but it turned out an almost absolute failure, and Professor Mahaffy but echoes the general opinion concerning it, when he says :—¹

"This play has been extolled far beyond its merits by the contemporaries of its great author ; but it is now generally allowed, even in Germany, to be a somewhat unfortunate mixture of Greek scenery and characters with modern romantic sentiment. It gives no idea whatever of a Greek play. . . . The whole diction and tone of it is full of idealistic dreaming and conscious analysis of motive which the Greeks would never have paraded on the stage."

A rather recent attempt was made in English poetry to celebrate that portion of the heroine's life which followed her return from Scythia ; but the success of Mr. Richard Garnett's effort, *Iphigenia in Delphi*, is not likely to encourage others. Indeed, the chief and lasting interest of Iphigenia is centred

in the sacrifice; and this it is that has gained for her such widespread acknowledgment.

Both Sophocles and Æschylus had written *Iphigenias*; but they were thrown into the shade by that of Euripides', published after its author's death. In the Latin classics, tragedies were composed, in imitation of the latter, by Naevius and Ennius. In the sixteenth century, an Italian version of it was written by Dolce, whilst his countryman Ruccellai dramatized *Iphigenia in Tauris*. In France, of many versions, the most remarkable was that of Racine; and in England, Potter's translation remains, we believe, the standard metrical version of this and all the other works of the same author.

We have only to remark, as a last word, that all the poets had not the same tradition respecting Iphigenia. Some of them represented her as having been actually immolated, without any device or escape, on the altar of Aulis. This is the version of the tradition which is given in the *Electra* of Sophocles; whilst in the Orestian trilogy of Æschylus, Clytemnestra says that Agamemnon, her husband, who had just expired, will meet, in Hades, Iphigenia, his daughter, whom he formerly immolated. This, too, is the version recorded by Lucretius in the commencement of his first book:—

“Aulide quo pacto Triviæ virginis aram
Iphianassæ turparunt sanguine foede
Ductores Danaum;”

and by Virgil, in the second book of *Aeneid*:—

“Sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa.”

There is a third opinion which is found in Stesichorus—one of the oldest lyric poets of Greece, and inventor of the epode—to the effect that at the last moment the priest of Diana discovered another Iphigenia, the illegitimate daughter of Helen and Theseus, who had been reared at Agamemnon's court, under the name of Eryphile, and who was plotting against Agamemnon's daughter for the hand of Achilles; that this was the Iphigenia who was really sacrificed; and

that the daughter of Agamemnon was accordingly saved. This is the theory which was adopted by Racine, who was glad to find some more artistic expedient than a miracle to save the life of so virtuous a princess; and he relies for his choice on the testimony of Pausanias, who says that this was the general belief in his own day through the whole country of Argos.

We now turn to one of the most singular episodes recorded in the Old Testament; and, whilst not committing ourselves by any means to the theory that this Grecian legend is but its mythical offshoot, we shall endeavour so to set it before our readers as to make plain the features in which the two stories coincide.

During that period of Jewish history which intervened between the last of the patriarchs and the accession of Saul, anointed and proclaimed king by the prophet Samuel, the country was governed by judges, who exercised supreme authority, much to the same extent as the *Suffetes* of Carthage, the *Archons* of Greece, or the *Dictators* of ancient Rome. Now, according to that visible providence, by which God dealt directly with His people, and through which He was pleased to give to mankind for ever, a glimpse of His inscrutable and eternal ways, the deeds of virtue or the crimes of this favoured nation were quickly followed by corresponding waves of prosperity or oppression. It is, indeed, an interesting study to trace how unerringly abundance or famine, peace or war, liberty or slavery, followed in their social and political life, according as they remained faithful to the God of their fathers, or turned to the ways of idolatry and wickedness.

It was in pursuance of this divine economy, almost mechanical in the certainty of its working, that Judaea was oppressed not long after the death of her champion Gedeon, by the bold and warlike race of Ammon, who dwelt to the east of the Jordan, between Arabia and Coelosyria. The disasters that overtook the Jews in the course of this warfare, were the result of their crimes; for as the sacred writer tells us:—"The children of Israel, adding new sins to their old ones, did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served idols,

Baalim and Astaroth, and the gods of Syria and of Sidon, and of Moab, and of the children of Ammon, and of the Philistines; and they left the Lord, and did not serve Him."¹

When the chastisement due to such ingratitude and infidelity was now falling heavily upon them, they had recourse, in their misery, to that clement God who had so often pardoned them, and who, in spite of so many delinquencies, still cherished them as His own; and when they had "cast out of their coasts the idols of the false gods," He allowed Himself to be touched once again by the sufferings of His people, and sent them a deliverer in the person of Jephthe.

Jephthe was the bravest man of his day, and was called by his countrymen "the able in war." His great reputation was due to his courage, and his courage was formed and tried in misfortune; a vice of birth stained his origin. His mother was a stranger, according to some; a spouse of the second order, according to others. The children of all such unions were regarded with disdain in Israel, and they did not inherit like the children of the legitimate wife. Jephthe was, therefore, driven from his home by his brothers, who said to him: "Thou canst not inherit in the house of our father, because thou art of a different mother."² Whether it was that he had no appeal from this hard exclusion, or that a formal decision was given against him, Jephthe fled to the southern part of the land of Galaad, and began the life of warlike adventure which soon made him famous in the neighbouring country. Some poor men, wanderers like himself, linked their fate with his, and elected him their chief, on account of his bravery. Under his command, frequent incursions were made into the territory of the enemies of Israel. He is believed to have inspired some sentiments of honour and patriotism into that strange kind of life, and some of the best commentators acquit him of the charge of having exercised regular rapine or brigandage, or of ever having abused his power in order to oppress the weak.

¹ Judges, x. 6.

Judges, xi. 2.

It was in the surroundings of such a life that the daughter was born, whose memory has survived with that of Jepthe himself. Nothing, however, is known of her existence till the occurrence of the sad event which made her celebrated in Jewish annals. Even her name is withheld from us by the inspired writer: perhaps as a lesson to those who are so ready to mark with the seal of their personality whatever meritorious actions they are able to accomplish.

As the Ammonites pressed hard upon the sons of Israel, we are told that the ancients of Galaad sought the assistance of Jepthe, whose fame had reached them. Amongst those who waited upon him with that object were some of his own brothers, or perhaps of the judges who had formerly decreed his exclusion; for his answer was: "Are not you the men that hated me, and cast me out of my father's house? and now you come to me, constrained by necessity."¹ It was only when they had promised to make honourable amends for their former harshness, by raising him, in the event of victory, to the position of Prince of Galaad, that Jepthe consented to undertake the command.

Jepthe, like all men who are conscious of their strength, and who shudder at the miseries of bloodshed and death, was moderate as he was brave. He at once opened negotiations with the enemies of Israel, and endeavoured by the peaceful methods of diplomacy to bring about a settlement of their quarrels. But the King of the Ammonites, elated by success, would not listen to his proposals, and there was no alternative but war. The new commander accordingly went in haste through the neighbouring country to get some troops together. In a few days he was ready for the march. It was then that he made to the Lord the memorable vow:—"If thou wilt deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, whosoever shall first come out of the doors of my house, and shall meet me when I return in peace, the same shall I offer a holocaust to thee."²

The Ammonites were soon vanquished: they lost a great number of men; their towns and villages were pillaged.

¹ Judges, xi. 7

Judges, xi. 31.

The victorious general smote them from Aroer to Mennith, and returned in triumph to his home at Maspha. His daughter, who was an only child, came forth to greet him, cheered by the sounds of music and the joyous choirs of her companions. When the quarrels of Israel ended in victory, the women and maidens went forth to receive the conqueror with all the accompaniments of gladness. Saul and David had received a triumph of the same kind after the defeat of the Philistines and the death of Goliath; and, long before the time of Saul, the passage of the Red Sea was similarly celebrated by Mary, the sister of Moses, and all the women of Israel.

But the brightness of the happiest days is sometimes darkened by events of extraordinary sadness. In the midst of the ovation, Jepthe perceived his daughter, and remembering his fatal vow, he rent his garments, and in grief and tears proceeded to inform her of the solemn promise he had made. The noble virgin submitted resolutely to her fate. There was no display of weakness here, or pleading for life. "Do unto me," she said, "whatsoever thou hast promised, since the victory hath been granted to thee and revenge of thy enemies." She had but one respite to ask—that she might be allowed to retire to the mountains for two months to bewail her virginity with her companions. It was no unusual thing for Jewish families whenever any disgrace or disaster befell them to retire to the mountains, where the grandeur and solitude of nature was calculated to nourish, but likewise to modify and charm, their sadness. There, besides, they could give outward expression to their sorrow without much restraint; differing in this from modern peoples, whose education teaches them to envelop mourning in a sort of ceremony which tempers the natural grief, and keeps it under the control of social customs.

Jepthe granted his daughter's request, and allowed her to retire for the time she had specified. The delay, no doubt, added to the pain of the sacrifice. It is a common thing enough to become electrified in the shock of events, and to give in the freshness of enthusiasm an example of heroic but instantaneous courage. It is more difficult and far more rare to

look the danger for a long time in the face, and to approach it with calm and manly courage. The interval, however, was not uneventful for Jephthe. Jealous of the conqueror of the Ammonites, the people of the tribe of Ephraim rose in rebellion against him, and gave as a pretext for their conduct, that they had not been called out against the common enemy. This plea was not justified, for Jephthe said to them: "When I and my people had a great strife with the Ammonites, I called you to assist me, and you would not. Nevertheless I put my life in my hands, and passed over against the children of Ammon, and the Lord delivered them into my hands. How then have I deserved that you should rise up and fight against me?"¹

This reasoning was of no avail, and Jephthe was obliged to have recourse to arms. Once again he gathered his dispersed troops, and attacked the Ephraimites, who had advanced over the Jordan. They were soon defeated, and driven back to the river, which they could not cross, as its banks were protected by the troops of Jephthe. Those who desired to cross were asked: "Art thou of Ephraim?"—for the military costume was the same. The fugitive, to save his life, answered that he was not. "Say then the word *Shibboleth*," retorted the soldiers of Galaad, with an accent and pronunciation peculiar to their country. The Ephraimite, pronouncing according to the manner of his tribe, said "*Sibboleth*;" and, when thus recognised as one of the enemy, was immediately put to death.¹ The campaign was perfectly decisive, and peace was again restored to the country. On his return from this expedition Jephthe found his daughter; and then, it is supposed, the vow was fulfilled.

It is difficult to say precisely in what the holocaust promised and offered by Jephthe consisted. The Scripture itself seems to veil the episode from us in the general terms which it employs, and we are left in doubt as to how the vow was actually executed. It is certain that up to the eleventh

¹ Judges, xii. 1-3.

² In modern times a similar device was resorted to. It was on the occasion of the famous massacre of the "Sicilian Vespers," when the French fugitives were asked to pronounce the word "Ciceri."

century the opinion of the Fathers, founded on Jewish tradition, as well as that of commentators and exegetes, understood it to be an immolation in blood of the tender and innocent victim, carried out by Jephthe himself; and the same was the opinion of St. Ambrose, and also of St. Thomas, who blames the father for his inconsiderate vow, and still more for its "impious execution."¹ It was on the authority of such learned interpreters that Dante based his reference when speaking of the binding force of vows in *Paradise* :—²

"Let mortals, then, no vows in jesting say;
 Be faithful nor to act so rashly stirred
 As Jephthah was his first chance vow to pay
 Who more becomingly had said 'I've erred,'
 Than to do worse in bondage to such ties.
 Nor less the blame the Greek's great duke incurred
 Whence wept Iphigenia her fair eyes,
 And made tears flow alike from fool and sage
 When they heard tell of such a sacrifice."

In modern times other interpretations sprang up and met with considerable favour. The chief one is that Jephthe meant only in the case of his daughter to consecrate her in a special manner to the ministrations of the temple, and to bind her to virginity. They rely for their proofs on the horror with which God regarded human sacrifices, and their express prohibition in the old law, as well as upon the sacred text, which says that immediately before Jephthe formulated his vow "the Spirit of the Lord came upon him;" that it was to bewail her virginity that his daughter retired to the mountains; and, finally, that when her father had done to her as he had vowed, "she knew no man." The word holocaust would thus be taken in a merely figurative sense.³ They also recall the words of St. Paul in his Epistles to the Hebrews,⁴ where he associates Jephthe with Gedeon, Samuel and David, as amongst those "Who by faith conquered

¹ *Summa* 2^a 2^{ae} quest. 88.

² Canto vi.

³ Some Hebrew scholars hold that the text should be translated: "Sit Jehovae aut offeram in holocaustam," but the best authorities support the translation of St. Jerome

⁴ Hebrews xi. 32, 33.

kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, recovered strength from weakness, became valiant in battle, and put to flight the armies of foreigners."

No doubt there are strong objections to this solution of the difficulty, arising both from the terms employed in Scripture and from the well-known habits and aspirations of the Jews. The word "holocaust" is never used figuratively elsewhere. Virginity was regarded with disfavour, on account of the hopes of the Messiah. The words of the text are very energetic, and seem to indicate by their force that a real immolation was intended. And yet, were it not for the undoubted weight of primitive tradition,¹ we should unquestionably plead a partiality for this opinion. The whole nation, as it appears to us, would have recoiled in horror from the slaughter, by her own father, of a person so innocent. Jepthe is not blamed for his act in the Old Testament. He is praised by St. Paul for his faith. The Spirit of God had come upon him, as we are told, when he formed his vow. And although there is no other record of a spouse consecrated to God in virginity before the Blessed Virgin, may it not have been that Jepthe's daughter, on account of her innocence and virtue, was privileged to resemble in that figurative time the chosen spouses of the New Law? May she not have foreshadowed, even at such a distance, her who by her interior beauty and the charm of the highest virtue was to become the mother of God, and have given an example amongst an earthly and sensual race of that virtue which Christ our Lord was to embellish and to consecrate, which has adorned His Church from the days of the Apostles and the martyrs, and which by the effective aid which it has lent in establishing the prestige of mind over matter, of right over violence, has contributed so largely to the supremacy in the world of European civilization, and to the progressive mansuetude of manners and customs in modern times?

Judaea solemnized by a public ceremony the sacrifice of the daughter of Jepthe. Every year the virgins of Israel assembled to weep the noble victim of patriotism and filial

obedience. This festival, which lasted for a long period, was corrupted in the course of time. In the fourth century of our era we find the still pagan cities of Sebasta and Naplouse, formerly Samaria and Sichem, giving idolatrous honours to the heroine of Maspha. A fame more worthy of her character has survived in Christian art.

In poetry one of the most touching of Lord Byron's Hebrew melodies commemorates her sacrifice, which he too regarded as a holocaust in blood.

In the illuminated Bibles, the stained glass and paintings of the middle ages, both father and daughter also find an honoured place.

J. F. HOGAN.

LEO XIII. AND THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.—II.

“CORRUPTIO” ET “SANATIO.”

AN interesting and instructive study, not unmixed with amusement, would be the work of collating and contrasting the various curious and contradictory readings which have been worked into the text and between the lines of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* by the ingenious prejudices of Protestant writers and journalists. One class represent the Pope's words as the utterance of a convert to democracy, or the tardy and compulsory confession of an “effete old-world power” that it is impotent to resist “the onward trend of humanity,” and would, therefore, desire to boil back to youth its aged vigour by an indiscriminate burning of past principles and records beneath the cauldron of progress. Another class declare that all this whining sympathy with the poor labourer was to be expected from “the Church of the beggar”—the Church which degrades the people by her doctrine and practice of charity; and that, after all, nothing new is taught, nothing but some commonplace maxims of morality spiced with much talk of the “Church,” and of certain empty impossible ideals.

The design of this paper is to deal with both these views of the Encyclical; but mainly with the first, which declares that the teaching of our Holy Father means a complete

change of front on the part of the Church ; that it is nothing more nor less than " the boldest bid for the labour vote ;" that its real significance, now that the Pope has committed himself and cannot withdraw, amounts to this—" instead of being the blackcoated gendarme of the oppressor, the Catholic Church is to become the tribunal of the oppressed." In order to make it quite clear how offensive is this false concoction of journalistic commentary, which is often administered to the public with an infusion of lavender-water sympathy and supposed appreciation, it will be well for us to compare the relative effect of Catholic and Protestant action and principles on the people during the past three hundred years, more particularly in England. Such a retrospect, while affording a refutation of certain would-be Popes of Printindom—self-constituted guides and infallible advisers of the " English-speaking folk"—will better enable us to understand the present, and to some extent may serve to warn and forearm us for the future.

" Quod si quis sanæ mentis [says our Holy Father in his very first Encyclical] ¹ hanc ipsam qua vivimus ætatem, Religioni et Ecclesiæ Christi intensissimam, cum iis temporibus auspiciatissimis conferat, quibus Ecclesia uti mater a gentibus colebatur, omnino comperiet ætatem hanc nostram perturbationibus et demolitionibus plenam, recta ac rapide in suam perniciem ruere ; ea vero tempora optimis institutis, vitæ tranquillitate, opibus et prosperitate eo magis floruisse, quo Ecclesiæ regiminis ac legum sese observantiores populi exhibuerunt."

The Catholic Church is the only life principle of society, he declares ; she made existing nations what they are by being to them a nurse, a gentle mistress, and a mother in the growing infancy of humanity. She it was who lifted the yoke of slavery from off the necks of the lowly toiler, and restored him to the dignity of his noble nature ; she unfurled the standard of redemption in every quarter of the globe, bringing in her train the arts and sciences, and shielding them by her protection ; she founded and maintained excellent institutions for the relief of all the misery, sickness, and poverty of life ; she rescued from squalor and

¹ *Inscrutabili Dei.*

degradation the poor and helpless ; she showed herself everywhere a power to save and civilize mankind. Then, after a masterly diagnosis of the malady afflicting society in our days, he proceeds, in the same Encyclical, to state his unalterable conviction that the cause of the evils of modern times lies above all in the rejection or contemptuous disregard of the authority of the Catholic Church ; and it is precisely because they are well aware that Catholicism is the bulwark of true progress, that the enemies of social order and social peace direct all their efforts towards tearing its principles and its influence, root and branch, out of the midst of humanity. But any contrivance which calls itself civilization, while discarding her aid, direction, and authority, is spurious and futile. “Declinare ab instituto *corruptio* est : ad institutum redire, sanatio est.”¹ There is no remedy for society without the Church and the Holy See ; without her the life-principle of civilization and progress is dead, and there is no healing, because there is no foundation for health.

It is strange, indeed, that the flippant journalists who pretend to have turned Rome inside out to discover the possibility of a “humanized papacy,” should not have made some reference to these persistent claims of Leo XIII., and of all his predecessors. Let us for this very reason bring these claims home by pursuing the parallel suggested by our Holy Father between the past and the present of society, with special reference to England.

There was a time, then, in England when men hearkened to the Church ; when the Blessed Sacrament restrained their earth-tending passions and raised their thoughts to the more real world that lies behind these material veils ;² when penance, public and private, brought the oppressor and defrauder to his knees ; when rich and poor associated as brothers in the house of their Father.³ Those were the days in which fraternity and equality were real existing facts, and not empty names for impossible ideals ; when the free

¹ *Rerum Novarum*.

² Fr. Bridgett, *Hist. of Holy Eucharist in Great Brit.*, vol. i., cap. ult.

³ *Ibid.*, and Dr. Döllinger, *The Church and the Churches* (Eng. trans.) page 153.

institutions Englishmen are so justly proud of were built up and consolidated by earnest prelates and sons of Holy Church. Out of barbarism, within a brief space, had grown a system of strong moral control by a spiritual power over the material works necessary for man, by reason of the original law of labouring in the sweat of his brow. Painfully, and with opposition, it is true, that system was established and maintained; but its influence was felt and acknowledged by the noble and the serf, by the lord and the villein, to their mutual benefit, as well spiritual as temporal, so long as England held the faith. And the mediatorial authority of the earthly representative of Christ, the organ of the highest spiritual power, intervened to stay the tyranny of the crowned violators of order, or of the wealthy oppressors of the poor, and to raise and protect the down-trodden and the helpless. "He [the Pope] was feared by delinquents of every class," says Archbishop Kenrick, "by the haughty baron and the proud emperor, as well as by the humble vassal; and when the thunder of his censure rolled, the prison doors flew open, the hand of avarice let fall the wages of injustice, and the knees of the oppressor beat together."

"Profecto Decessores Nostri [declares Leo XIII.]: *ut populum bono prospicerent, omnis generis certamina suscipere, graves exantlare labores, seque asperis difficultatibus obicere nunquam dubitarunt: et defixis in coelo oculis neque improborum minis submisere frontem, neque blanditiis aut pollicitationibus se ab officio abduci degeneri assensu passi sunt. Fuit haec Apostolica Sedes, quae dilapsae societatis veteris reliquias collegit et coagmentavit; haec eadem fax amica fuit, qua humanitas Christianorum temporum effulsit; fuit haec salutaris anchora inter saevissimas tempestates quae humana progenies jactata est; sacrum fuit concordiae vinculum quod nationes dissitas moribusque diversas inter se consociavit; centrum denique commune fuit, unde cum fidei et religionis doctrina, tum pacis et rerum gerendarum auspicia ac consilia petebantur.*"

"L' intérêt du genre humain [says Voltaire] demande un frein qui retienne les souverains" (capitalistes), "et qui met à couvert la vie des peuples; ce frein de la Religion aurait pu être, par une convention universelle, dans la main des Papes. Ces premiers pontifes, en ne se mêlant des querelles temporelles que pour les

¹ *Inscrutabili Dei.*

apaiser, en avertissant les rois et les peuples de leurs devoirs, en reprenant leurs crimes, en réservant les excommunications pour les grands attentats, auraient toujours été regardés comme des images de Dieu sur la terre. *Mais les hommes sont réduits à n'avoir pour leur défense que les lois et les mœurs de leurs pays : — lois souvent méprisées, mœurs souvent corrompues !*"

If now we go forth into the highways and byways of this great industrial nation, whose "industrial organization is the most highly developed organization known to industry,"¹ we shall find everywhere, side by side with wealth and liberty, poverty and oppression; everywhere, beneath the thin crust of habitual security, signs of a seething mass of volcanic matter, threatening a speedy and ruinous upheaval; everywhere men talking of social danger; everywhere a clang of alarm bells—the ground tone of which is "Darkest England"—sounding through the length and breadth of a land which our neighbours have long been bidden to look on as flowing with the milk and honey of unexampled prosperity. And the reason of all this turmoil will assuredly not be far to seek. In the lordly mansion of the millionaire and in the wretched hovel of the sweater's victim; in the broad, rich square or street and in the foul alleys and slums; in the palace and in the cottage, we shall read the selfsame tale and see the selfsame motive-power in operation. Greed of gain, living for this world and this world alone, has made Englishmen, in general, a race of money-hunters, or an enormous tribe of mere wealth-producing automatons. "If we would do anything towards the betterment of our countrymen," says J. S. Mill, "we must check and keep within bounds their excessive spirit of industrialism." There is no longer any higher enduring ideal, any more constant principle to guide and elevate, than the principle of self-interest, which in practice is too often synonymous with boundless selfishness. True, there is *esprit de corps*, "standard of respectability," and all the other constituents of "the Ethical ideas and feelings, which are evolved under the action of the Social and Political Sanctions." But are not these as fickle and incompetent for

¹ F. A. Walker, *Polit. Econ.*

good as the many-headed monster, human respect, from which they had their birth, and quite unable to cope with the lion of passion within the human heart? The purely material standard, which as a nation we make our main aim and guide, chokes all aspirations after a loftier existence than the life of sense; we are become, as a nation, essentially of the earth earthy.¹

This divorce of social and industrial life from religion and morality, and the consequent degradation, material and moral, into which as a nation we have fallen, is due to the ideas, the doctrine, and the practice of the Reformation. Rebellion against all authority, the spurning of all restraints, the levelling of all restrictions—such were the leading and essential ideas of that movement. Mutual support and subjection, mutual service and protection, which should, and did, underlie the whole constitution of Christian States, were thoroughly alien to the mind of the Reformation.

Protestantism, moreover, necessarily led to a lowering of the standard of national morality both by direct teaching and action, and by indirect influence.

The banishment of the sacraments from among the people took from the toilers their main solace in their hard lot, by depriving them of almost their only remedy against the paralysis of spirit caused by the wearisome monotony of their labours, while it removed the most effective restraint on injustice and oppression by freeing the consciences of employers from the dread of penance and of ecclesiastical censure; to say nothing of the sacramental grace, the great antidote against sin, of which they were simultaneously robbed.

Then, how could men continue to look upward to Heaven for guidance in conduct, or for true courage and strength in difficulties; how could they say, as they had said for so long, "Prevent, O Lord, our actions by Thy holy inspirations,"

¹ "One of the things," says Mr. Ruskin (*Sesame and Lilies*), "which a great nation does *not* do—it does not mock Heaven by pretending belief in a revelation which asserts the love of money to be the root of all evil, and declaring at the same time that it is actuated, and intends to be actuated, in all chief national deeds and measures by no other love."

when they were bidden "to trust in Christ, and sin boldly, for faith alone sufficed"? Who does not see the depravity of morals that would necessarily follow on the admission of principles like these? Men might become an aggregation of fighting animals, rending and tearing one another for money and wealth, yet have quiet consciences, "for the merits of Christ covered all transgressions!"

Protestantism rent humanity into as many fractions as there were individuals, by tearing men from the centre of unity, the visible head of Christ's mystic body, and by multiplying opinions—allowing each member of society to choose what doctrines he would; and, consequently, to follow what line of conduct suited his fancy. Private judgment means ultimate anarchy, as well in the practical working of governments and industrial systems as in faith and speculative science. For, be it observed, the method of private judgment—the testing of divine truths by the sole light of human reason—the refusing to accept divinely attested facts, save when proved to the satisfaction of human understanding—has led on by a natural and foreseen result to the total denial of Christianity, of revelation, of God; and has left men to toss, bewildered and blinded, without rudder or compass, amid the storm and spray of a pantheistic, materialistic, or agnostic atheism: "*ut jam ipsum rationalem naturam omnemque justæ rectique normam negantes, ima humanæ societatis fundamenta diruere conitantur.*"¹ "Phæton," to use the language of Cardinal Newman,² "has got into the chariot of the sun; we, alas!" he exclaims—while Hegel and Buddha and "Liberalism;" tear and rend the fragmentary faith still left to his beloved Oxford—"can only look on, and watch him down the steep of heaven. Meanwhile, the lands which he is passing over suffer from his driving."

Protestantism likewise destroyed the ideal of purity and virginity. Its hatred of devotion to our Lady shows this

¹ *Concil. Vatican.; Constitutio de Fide Cathol.* Cf. Card. Manning, *Four Great Evils of the Day*, Lecture I.; also Fr. Bridgett, *Sir Thomas More*, page 215.

² *Apologia.*

beyond dispute; and the contemptuous utterance we frequently hear from Protestant lips of the name of the "Virgin" is a striking indication of the lowering effect which the religion of a married clergy has had on the moral ideals of its adherents. "And here we are reminded of the confraternities, societies, and religious orders, which have arisen by the Church's authority, and the piety of the Christian people. The annals of every nation down to our own times testify to what they have done for the human race."¹ But the Reformers seemed to have little care or thought for the good of the human race! The monasteries and convents were ruthlessly swept from off the face of England, and thus the possibility of living up to the evangelical counsels—"the full liberty which *all* possess either to follow the counsel of Jesus Christ as to virginity, or to enter into the bonds of marriage,"² was taken away—the ideal and standard of highest Christian perfection was destroyed! And marriage itself, the great mystery representing the nuptials of the Word with our human nature and of Christ with His Church—"the sanctity of which," says Balmez,³ "is the first pledge for the good of the family, the foundation-stone of true civilization," has been dragged through the mire; first, by the conduct and teaching of the Reformers; and, lastly, by "the civil laws, which have been so much at fault in this respect for the last hundred years."⁴ And what of the teachings of Malthus, Mill, and the leading economists of this century hereon? Whatever may be the truth of their theory of population, they at least clearly perceived this glaring defect of our boasted modern civilization—that there exists no effectual barrier against the basest passions and lowest tendencies of humanity. For generations they have cried aloud for "checks," for remedies; but apparently all in vain. The bestial horrors of large overcrowded towns—the curse of our times—have gone on increasing rather than diminishing. What shall stay the disorder?

¹ Encyclical, *Rerum Novarum*.

² *Ibidem*.

³ *Protestantism and Catholicity*.

⁴ Encyclical, *Arcanum*, Feb. 10th, 1880.

The "checks" proposed by Malthus? They have already been weighed in the balance and are found wanting; *wanting*, because they are not informed by the principle of true religion; *wanting*, because they do not recall to the people the sacraments, which are the chief preservatives against moral corruption; *wanting*, because they rely on a cold, intellectual, and purely natural virtue.

Moreover, by the introduction of Protestantism, the lifeless forms of a spiritless worship succeeded a liturgy which had warmed and elevated the minds of the people; and in keeping with the soul of that worship were the white-washed dreary walls of such churches as were allowed to remain standing. The presence of the Life and Light of the world was withdrawn; the centre of Christian devotion, the sun that warmed and inflamed the breasts of men; what wonder if their souls were chilled and frozen, and their "tongues clove to their mouths," so that they could no longer utter songs of love and praise, or enter into the sublime worship paid by the Church to her Divine Spouse.

"Thus all things have combined [says Dr. Döllinger] to exclude the poor from the churches of England, or induce them voluntarily to keep away; the listless form of a service consisting almost wholly of readings; the space taken up by the pews of the rich; the feelings of the humbler as to the wretchedness of their attire by the side of the elegant costumes of the opulent, and then the widening separation and estrangement between these different classes The church is the house of the poor, in which, if it is anything more than a lecture-room, they feel themselves happy; for this reason, that they find there what is wanting in their confined and, mostly, cheerless homes—the adornment of pictures, symbols, ample space, the solemn influence of architectural beauty and proportion, tranquillity and silence inspiring devotion; an atmosphere and the example of prayer. Protestantism has not only robbed the churches it permitted to remain of every ornament, but it has locked and bolted them up, so that during the week no one can pay a visit to the church."¹

"It has been well said," writes Father Bridgett, "that throughout the Middle Ages works of art were to the people free as the light of heaven and loveliness of nature, to

¹ *The Church and the Churches.*

declare like them the glory of God, and excite the piety of His people."¹

Note also that "all the cheering and enlivening Church festivals that had been allowed to the people in Catholic times—processions, rustic fêtes, pilgrimages, dramatic representations and ceremonies—were, as a matter of course, abolished, and nothing remained but the sermon read out of a book, the liturgy[read out of a book]"—and with this the grim Calvinistic suppression of every social sport and every public amusement on the Sunday, "now transformed into a Jewish Sabbath." "Merry England" was dead!

Lastly, if there is one thing which the present incessant cries of distress and alarm prove beyond all dispute, it is this—that the poor law system of Protestant England is an egregious failure. Instead of that relief of Lazarus, which, as Father Gasquet well points out,² is prompted by the impulse of Catholic charity, is based on the commands of the Gospel, the examples of the Apostles, the teaching of the Christian Church, the instincts of humanity, and the universal practice of every civilized community—the English Dives has instituted a State-paid organization, with its awkward, blundering, imperfect, and expensive agencies "for executing a *portion* of those duties to society which flowed naturally and unobtrusively from the religious communities" that flourished in the land of Mary's dowry. "At the present day," says Leo XIII.,³ "there are many who, like the heathen of old, blame and condemn the Church—the common mother of rich and poor—for this beautiful charity"—"the heroism of charity, of religious orders, and other institutions which she has established for help and mercy." "They would substitute in its place," he continues, "a system of State-organized relief. But no human methods will ever supply for the devotion and self-sacrifice of Christian charity. Charity as a virtue belongs to the Church; for it is no virtue unless it is drawn from the Sacred

¹ *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*, vol. ii., pp. 107, 108.

² *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. ii., page 505.

³ *Rerum Novarum*,

Heart of Jesus Christ; and he who turns his back on the Church cannot be near to Christ."

The spoliation of the poor—*i.e.*, the violent or fraudulent robbery of "the patrimony which the Church has guarded with religious care as the inheritance of the poor"—was the necessary result of that first step towards the introduction of Protestantism into this country—the suppression of the monasteries. The transference of Church and monastic estates in wholesale parcels into the hands of laymen who cared more for the receipt of their rents, or else for the fattening of their beasts and the well-being of their horses, than for the old tenants of the abbey lands; the hurling of thousands of peasant proprietors and monastic dependents into helpless pauperism; the sudden stoppage of demand for the products of the trades and handicrafts nourished under the shadow of the monastery and the Church;¹ the conversion of large tracts of land, which hitherto had maintained a numerous agricultural population, into wild wastes of pasturage, so that at last "the sheep devoured men;" the appropriation by a grasping mushroom landlordism of the village commons and township lands, whereon the poor artisan might maintain his small live stock; the calling-in of all expenditure upon the poor—either by way of hospitality or relief—simultaneously with the marriage of the clergy and the enrichment of the nobility—such were the first beginnings of "Darkest England."

"But," says Father Gasquet,² "beyond this consumption by the 'classes' of the heritage of their poorer brethren at the time of the suppression, an additional and heavy wrong was done them by branding poverty with the mark of crime. To be poor was not before regarded as a reproach in itself, but rather upon every Christian principle poverty was held in honour." The Church has ever taught as Leo XIII. now teaches—and her action has been in accord with her teaching—"that in God's sight poverty is no disgrace, and that there is nothing to be ashamed of in seeking one's bread by labour."

¹ Father Bridgett, as above, vol. ii.

² *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, as above.

“Jesus Christ calls the poor blessed; He lovingly invites those in labour and grief to come to Him for solace; and He displays the tenderest charity to the lowly and the oppressed. . . . Thus the separation which pride would make tends to disappear, nor will it be difficult to make rich and poor join hands in friendly concord.” Such, however, were not the ideas realized by Protestantism either at its dawn or at any point in its course. “To Henry VIII.,” continues Fr. Gasquet, “belongs the singular distinction . . . of having invented literally, no less than figuratively, ‘the badge of poverty,’ and of being the first to dress a ‘pauper’ in a ‘pauper’s’ dress. It may fairly be doubted whether any single act of monarch or statesman ever did so much to vulgarize the character of an entire nation as Henry’s, when he bestowed ninepence a-week on each of thirteen poor men, hitherto supported by the monks of Gloucester, on condition that their caps and cloaks should bear a badge emblazoned with a token of the royal munificence.” What Henry initiated, Edward and Elizabeth continued and perfected. The very first steps taken by Edward’s Government to introduce Calvinism into the land was to establish by law (1548) a regular state of slavery. “Then those who had seized the inheritance proclaimed the poverty of those they had robbed a crime. Merciless and monstrous statutes enacted by the spoliators was the remedy by which it was sought to reduce the disease (*i. e.*, poverty and consequent degradation), and the rulers of the State did not shrink from introducing slavery, and inflicting even death for the *crime* of poverty, of which they had been the patent origin.” “Under Elizabeth,” writes Dr. Döllinger, “these laws were renewed, and even boys of fourteen or fifteen years old were to be branded if they begged for alms. If they were beyond eighteen, they might, on being arrested for a second time, be put to death. In the year 1597, severe whipping or condemnation to the galleys was substituted for branding.” “At the same time, the burden of the poor rates was first imposed, by which free Christian charity was degraded into a legal obligation, and a compulsory oppressive tax substituted for a willing gift.” And what is it we have set up, by means

of this enforced charity, to take the place of the monastic system? The workhouses! by which, as Dr. Döllinger remarked, this much is attained, that the working classes will endure the greatest privation, and live in the most disgusting filth, rather than go voluntarily into "the house!" Mr. Ruskin's words in this connection are scathing, indeed; and not less just, when we think of modern Anglicanism, which, by aping and by veering, tries to cover over its ugly breach of continuity with the past, and to escape from the consequences of the misdeeds of its founders. "The dramatic Christianity of the organ and the aisle, of dawn-service and twilight revival. . . . we are triumphant in, and draw back the hem of our robes from the touch of the heretics who dispute it. But to do a piece of common Christian righteousness in a plain English word or deed; *to make Christian law any rule of life, and found one national act or hope thereon*—we know too well what our faith comes to for that! You might sooner get lightning out of incense smoke than true action or passion out of your modern English religion. You had better get rid of the smoke and the organ-pipes both; leave them and the Gothic windows and the painted glass to the property man; give up your carburetted hydrogen ghost in one healthy expiration, and look after Lazarus at the door-step." "It is the Reformation, as it is now acknowledged," concludes Dr. Döllinger, "that has brought upon the English people, as its permanent consequence, a legally existing and officially established pauperism."

Where, then, is the change of front in the action of the Church? She has ever been, in heart and action, what she was when it was said of her children, "How these Christians love one another!" she has ever made it her aim to cement the brotherhood of man, and her very name connotes liberty, fraternity, and equality—yes, even the liberty, fraternity, and equality "of the sons of God and the co-heirs of Christ;" she has ever sought to sustain and elevate the poor and ignorant; she has ever relieved and consoled the suffering and oppressed; she has ever defended the rights and dignity of labour; she has ever jealously guarded and sanctified domestic happiness by preserving through persecution unto

blood the sacred character of marriage and the rights of the family; in short, she has ever aided and directed the struggling onward march of humanity; "and unto the poor the Gospel hath been preached." On the other hand, it was the Reformation, it was Protestantism, that created the present chasm between the "classes" and the "masses"; it was the Reformation that degraded the "masses," by trampling them under foot, and depriving them of all the elevating influences which tend to comfort and ennoble the fallen race of man. The conclusion, therefore, remains, that as the disease entered into the body of society by a departure from the principles and policy of Catholicism, the remedy must be sought by a return to the same: "if society is to be cured now, in no other way can it be cured, but by a return to the Christian life and the Christian institutions" of the Catholic Church. *Declinare ab instituto corruptio est: ad institutum redire sanatio.*¹

A. HINSLEY, B.A.

WHY AND HOW THE IRISH LANGUAGE IS TO BE PRESERVED.

AT the recent Catholic Congress at Malines, held to promote the interests of the Catholic religion, one of the subjects on which the delegates were addressed was the preservation, cultivation, and extension of the Flemish language. At a public meeting, held in connection with the congress, the people were addressed in Flemish by a cardinal archbishop, and by a number of distinguished ecclesiastics and laymen. Now, the position of the Flemish language at present is much the same as the position of the Irish. Neither of them is "the language of court or bar or business." As English has threatened to extinguish Irish, so French has threatened to extinguish Flemish. As a minority language, Flemish must be in a much worse position than Irish; while Irish, too, has a tremendous geographical advantage. If the Catholic clergy and laity of the Low

¹ Cf. *Rerum Novarum*.

Countries, in council assembled, adopt the cause of their mother-tongue on national and patriotic grounds, why should not the not less patriotic clergy of Ireland do likewise?

To one even partially conversant with the facts of the case, it must seem a truism to say that the future of the Irish language is almost wholly in the hands of the Irish clergy. To none can this fact be more evident than—if they consider it—to the clergy themselves. It is not only that the entire body of the clergy have the power of causing the Irish language to flourish or languish or perish all over Ireland, but each individual priest within the limits of his charge, if it includes a number of Irish-speaking people, has a large share of that power. There is no other body, and there are no other individuals, in possession of any such influence. Those who are placed in such a position of power with regard to any important intellectual and social element, such as a language and a literature must always be, must feel that upon them rests the responsibility of deciding what is the use to be made of their position. It is the privilege of the writer to place before the Irish clergy, through an exceptionally favourable medium, a few considerations embodying a portion of the views of a large number of thinking Irishmen, and concerning an object instinctively dear to the hearts of the whole people.

In considering the propriety of any course of public conduct, it will be of great use, and will furnish a criterion of unequalled justice and clearness, if we endeavour to realize how our action will appear in the light of history and in the eyes of posterity. Submitting the question of the Irish language to this test, we ask ourselves, if we permit the Irish language in this generation to be extinguished, or to be weakened beyond hope of recovery, what will the Irishmen who come after us think of us? Perhaps we may infer the answer from the spirit of Ireland beyond the seas. In America, Australia, and even England, we find Irishmen, under the impulse of something akin to the pain of loss, turning lovingly and earnestly to the cultivation of their mother-tongue; while those at home, who enjoy every opportunity, seem to lie under a spell of impenetrable apathy—the

better their opportunities, in fact, the greater their apathy. So, in America, our countrymen have societies, and classes, and periodicals devoted to the culture of Irish, whereas we in Ireland cannot decently support a quarterly journal devoted to the same purpose. Of the thousands upon thousands of Irish books published within the last generation, a fraction only remains in Ireland: the rest has been exported to satisfy the still unsatisfied demand of greater Ireland. It cannot then be deemed an exaggeration to say that if it were possible that any body of Irishmen, through their action or inaction, should cause the national speech to pass into the list of dead languages, they would forfeit the esteem and affection of posterity. We will not contemplate such a possibility. Let us prefer to believe that the cause of inaction is only a hope for better times, and that there is still the will to act, when an easier way is found. It is well to hope, but foolish to wait for realization, and it is not a prudent course to make the will subservient to the way.

The duty of the moment is, therefore, immediate action, energetic action, united action, individual action. I do not fear to call it a duty; nor do I deem it necessary to argue the grounds of its obligation, at least with Irishmen. Other nations do not stop to bandy dialectics over questions in which the national instinct points the way; and when I find Irishmen fencing over this question, it seems to me that their real reason is mere *ignavia*—a kind of selfish, courageless, apathetic, unsacrificing sloth. With such men, it is in vain to argue. On no social or mental question is it possible to reason to demonstration, and nothing short of a syllogism will suffice. The only really effective argument is action and example.

On the clergy, however, the Irish language has some special claims that appeal to them over the heads of ordinary Irishmen, and for this reason they are open to a special appeal, such as I am permitted to make.

First, as has been said, and must be admitted, they alone practically can carry out what the laity can only aspire to, or but weakly and partially effect. The laity who commonly speak Irish, are powerless to this end. The students of Irish

are usually men of little means and much work. The leisured classes do nothing, and nothing is expected of them. Once, then, that the duty of preserving and cultivating the language is recognised, its obligation must be seen to affect those most that have most power and best opportunities towards its fulfilment.

In the next place, the whole control of the education—primary, intermediate, and advanced—of Celtic Ireland is in the hands of the clergy. Hitherto, every opportunity to serve the Irish language by means of education has been neglected; while Welshmen, by the same means, have permanently established their national speech.

To the priesthood, as the moral guides of the people, apart from their position of ordinary influence, the Irish language can justly commend itself. The mass of Irish classical literature is the work of ecclesiastics. The first connection of the Church with Irish literature was, as antiquaries sadly realize, to free it, as far as possible, from everything that might link the people with their pagan past, and to make it the vehicle of Christian ideas. That literary revolution, once accomplished, was followed up with perseverance and success; so that writer and cleric became in Ireland convertible terms. Bishops, abbots, priests, and friars, were the poets, romancists, historians, and divines of Ireland, the authors, compilers, and transcribers of the “countless multitudes of the books of Eire,” from the times of Patrick and Fiac and Colum Cille to the times of the Four Masters, Keating, and O’Gallagher. Though a great part of the priesthood have allowed their tradition to lapse, the succession cannot yet be said to be broken. Hence it appears that between the Irish priesthood and the Irish language there exists an ancient *ξενία*, or perennial bond of friendship, a tie as sacred as any that can hold between men and things. It assorts ill with the spirit of that historic connection to allow the Irish language, now undoubtedly a strong link with the Christian past, to get rusty, and ultimately to break altogether.

The destiny of Ireland in the future, as in the past, seems to be that of a teaching nation. As the overflow of population

carried other races over the globe, so the overflow of national mental and moral advance has sent, and, we believe, will again send, a stream of teachers and preachers from Ireland across the seas. But to ensure this result, among many other desirable results, it will clearly be necessary to preserve the national character from any considerable fusion or admixture with the character of another less mentally active, less self-sacrificing, and less morally zealous race. Such fusion would naturally have the effect of causing the characteristics of the more numerous and powerful element of the mixture to prevail; and, as in our case, when the disposition of the one people is as diametrically opposed as it can be to the disposition of the other, the character that prevails must almost extinguish the character that succumbs. The history of Roman Gaul is in many ways parallel to the hypothetical future history of Ireland as we are contemplating it. One of the main aims of Roman policy was, we are told, to extinguish the national language of the Gauls; the Romans, with their keen political insight, plainly discerning the importance of language as a political factor. With the loss of their language, the Gauls lost their nationality; with the loss of their nationality, they lost their national spirit and their other splendid characteristics; so that at the break up of the empire they were left nerveless, inert, helpless, at the mercy of their barbarian neighbours. We Irish have resisted fusion for seven centuries, with the result that we are still a living, energetic, self-reliant nation, and as capable of doing a nation's work as on the day that Strongbow first landed in Ireland. Fusion was prevented first by the difference of language and by physical resistance; afterwards by difference of language and religion; latterly by religion alone. Were this last difference removed, as it may yet be, most probably by our own influence, it is a mere illusion to hope that the national character could, without some other defence, withstand the forces of assimilation. Politics will not form such a defence, for politics follow the forces of the time. Physical hostility is not to be dreamt of. Clearly, unless the national character remains to attract the national aspirations and leaven the national life, Ireland must become a

mere geographical expression. To extinguish the Irish language is no longer, as it once was, an object of *positive* policy, and the advocacy or opposal of its claims is no longer an affair of politics. Nevertheless, it does not behove the Irish priesthood, by any attitude, active or passive, to be the effective instruments of a policy now, at least ostensibly, relegated with the penal laws to the barbarous past.

The moral tone in which Irish classical literature excels all literatures constitutes another claim of the Irish language on the Irish clergy. As the literature of Ireland must long remain in their hands, it will be in their power to keep it free from the irreligion and immorality and folly that pervade other modern literatures; and not least among them English literature. Men rarely take up a newspaper or a periodical now-a-days in which there is not something that they would shrink from placing before the eyes of their families. Three-fourths of the books that issue from printing-presses are either dangerous to faith or morals, or at least calculated to develop a heated and diseased imagination at the expense of the will and understanding; for the average books of fiction, which the publishers' advertisements show to be in excess of all other publications, are of that character. The craving for these is becoming daily a more common disease, and daily creeping more among the lower and wider strata of society. For all this, the advocate of the Irish language has to offer a literature healthy as mountain air in the past, and capable of being preserved so in the future.

Should the Irish language be wholly supplanted by English, it has not been shown that any advantages, material or otherwise, would accrue to those who now speak it; for the simple reason that none can accrue. All they want with English at present is, either to seem what they have come falsely to regard as educated, or to be able to emigrate. Ask them, and they will tell you so. It is not to enable themselves to buy or sell, or perform their daily callings, that they desire to know English. Were they even a little instructed in their own tongue, they would never know the loss of English, and I go on the supposition that they should be and shall yet be so instructed. This unreasoning fear

about material prosperity is, perhaps, one of the strongest allies—stronger because not hitherto firmly faced—of this last century's mournful apathy.

But it is daily becoming more unjust to complain of apathy on this head, especially as regards the clergy. While the priesthood of America, of France, of Germany, and of other countries, are yearly developing stronger national proclivities, recognising that duty does not forbid them to identify themselves with their peoples, the priesthood of Ireland are not likely to be behindhand. So, they are coming to recognise that the Irish language plays no small part in the Irishman's reveries, and they are in ever-increasing numbers endeavouring to make of those dreams a reality. The day of cosmopolitanism, as opposed to patriotism, is gone; for it is seen to be as unnatural to peoples as communism is to individuals. That sentiment was never at home among Irish priests. Their patriotism is undoubted. And of all the phases of patriotism, they can perceive that the advocacy of the national language is the purest and most remote from any possibility of misdirection. Since the movement in favour of the Irish language first took shape, the names of bishops and priests have been at the head of it. At the present time, the most earnest workers in the movement are ecclesiastics. Numbers of the clergy who are engaged in the work of education are now turning their attention for the first time to Irish. This is especially the case in Dublin. The poet's prediction—

“ Beidh an Ghaedhealg fá mheas mhór
I n-Atholiath na bh-fleasg bh-fíonól ”—

is nearing its fulfilment.

It is remarkable that, in general, those who have known Irish from infancy are less enthusiastic in the cause than those who have had to labour for its attainment. The reason probably is, that in their infancy Irish was a thing despised. “You see,” said a good speaker of Irish to the writer, “we find it hard to feel any enthusiasm about the language that the little children talk.” This would be a very good reason why all Englishmen should cultivate

Dutch, or all Frenchmen German, to the exclusion of their native tongue. Such a ridiculous idea is unworthy of intelligent men. Let us hope that the West will no longer allow the East to take the lead in this movement.

Among many omens of good fortune for the Irish language, the clearest is the restoration of the Chair of Celtic in Maynooth. Father O'Growney has a great work before him. Fortified with an ample knowledge of Gaelic, new and old, and acquainted with the wide range of Irish speech and literature, availing himself of the fruits of the labours of native and foreign genius, and able to demonstrate the high value as a mental exercise of Celtic studies, he will be in a position to undo, in a great degree, the evils of the past, and to inspire the future guardians of the Irish tongue with a worthy purpose and ideal. And when the diocesan colleges fall into line, and send up their *alumni* already primed with Irish lore to Maynooth, the importance of the Irish professorship there will be immensely increased. It is but natural to hope that this step will be followed by the institution of Irish classes in those Catholic colleges where at present unhappily there are none.

Should these hopes be fulfilled, there can be no fear for the future of Irish. The people, even those who have lost the use of Irish generations ago, have a strong natural love for their native tongue, and the influence of the cultivation of Irish by those in higher station is certain to have as great an effect for good with them, as the past neglect on the part of the same class has had for evil.

The scarcity of really good Irish educational books—texts, grammars, phrase-books, dictionaries, and “methods”—affords good ground at present for complaint. But it is well-known that now-a-days, both in quantity and quality, the supply of educational works follows almost immediately the demand. Another great drawback at present is that in the schools, high and low, Irish is not a “paying subject.” For this the educationalists who do not teach Irish, and the parents who do not demand for their children instruction in Irish, are themselves to blame. Before a proper demand, backed up by the living facts, the most reactionary Board or Senate

could not refuse for a single year to place the Irish language on a "paying" footing. These are questions that should recommend themselves to the Catholic headmasters, and to the Irish public in general.

There is one other direction in which it is easy to strike a good blow for Irish. Every society of young Irishmen should be induced to establish an Irish class for its members ; and the young men's clubs in Gaelic-speaking parts should be induced to conduct their deliberations in the native vernacular. If the "young men of Ireland" could be got to take these steps, they would have done something to show that they are more than mere lip-Irishmen. It will not do for those of us who unhappily have not been born to the use of our mother-tongue to excuse ourselves from all share in the work of preserving and cultivating it. If we have the opportunity, we should avail of it to learn Irish ; for, as Father Donlevy quaintly but truly wrote, "Irishmen without Irish is an incongruity and a great bull." If we cannot learn Irish, we can at least stand up for it.

Two extremes the student and the teacher of Irish should avoid—submersion in the depths of philology and stranding on the muddy shallows of colloquialism. Some students of Irish tend to undervalue the modern idiom, because, forsooth, it is not so "Indo-European" as the Old Irish. Others again, through ignorance, substitute colloquial usage for the correct historical principles of grammar ; and not a few are fond of setting up the usage and pronunciation of their own locality against reason, grammar, authority, and general observance. It is such men that have made the cheaply-earned name of "Irish scholar" a title without honour, and a distinction almost to be avoided.

The time is critical. The language may reach a certain stage of decay that may cut it off from all its past, or may suffer a diminution in the numbers of those who speak it that may make restoration almost impossible. If there is cause for congratulation, there is also cause for apprehension. Politics are now all-absorbing, and there is no greater enemy of the Irish language than the Irish politician, of whatever section. Every piece of special legislation

affecting the Irish-speaking districts of Ireland is like a fall of rain on a badly-roofed dwelling. If the house be put in order there will be nothing to fear from the rain. Those who have already been workers in the movement should exert themselves still more, and the apathetic should at last bestir themselves. The advantages of the time should be availed of, and its dangers guarded against. If the Irish clergy step into their rightful place, they will assure the success of the Gaelic movement, and add one more to their claims on the affection of their countrymen.¹

J. MCNEILL.

A CHAPTER TOWARDS A LIFE OF THE LATE REV. JOSEPH MULLOOLY, O.P.²

ON Tuesday, the 11th day of February, 1890, the sale of the extensive and valuable library of the late Right Rev. Monsignor Neville, Dean of Cork, was commenced at the right rev. gentleman's late residence, 32, South Terrace, Cork. As might have been anticipated from Monsignor Neville's exalted position, high scholastic attainments, extensive knowledge, and close connection with the highest educational institutions in the country, his library embraced a fine collection of works on various subjects, many of the volumes being of great rarity.

¹ On consideration, it has occurred to the writer that possibly the forms of expression adopted by him in some instances might justly give ground for complaint on the part of readers. He wishes to disclaim any intention of being censorious, or of lecturing any of those to whom he addresses himself. He recognises that he has no title to act as censor or adviser, and therefore desires the views he puts forward to be considered on their own merits. When he speaks of responsibility, duty, apathy, of "should" and "should not," the force of the words but represents the force of the convictions which he shares with many respected Irishmen, both clergy and laity.

² By "A. H.," Priest of the Diocese of Dromore, with some Notes and Observations, and interesting information collected, relative to both rev. gentlemen

Among a number of books that I purchased at the sale, there was one of more than passing interest. It was a copy of Father Mullooly's great work, *Saint Clement, Pope and Martyr, and his Basilica in Rome*. The first edition of this work was published by Benedict Guerra, Plaza del Oratorio di S. Marcella 50, Rome, 1869; and the second edition, enlarged and improved, was printed in Rome, by G. Barbèra, in 1873. It is much to be regretted that no edition of this rare and interesting work—valuable alike to the artist and theologian, the archæologist and historian—has yet been brought out in Ireland. The copy that I was so fortunate in obtaining is of the second edition, and, besides the general additions by the author, it is largely interspersed with notes in manuscript, carefully written, and marked to correspond with the various subjects to which they relate. It contains, also, a number of plates and woodcuts, evidently not available when the volume was being prepared for the press; and, therefore, not to be found in any other copy of the work. From the careful manner in which the notes are arranged, and the plates inserted, I am of opinion that the volume was specially prepared with a view to bringing out a new edition.

But above and before all the additions that have been made to it, there is one that is deserving of notice, and will be the more interesting as it has never appeared in print. Bound into the volume, towards the end, are some half-dozen pages of manuscript—a sketch of the life of Father Mullooly; at the top of which, on the first page, is a very good photograph of the rev. gentleman, underneath which is written, "Rev. Joseph Mullooly, 14th August, 1878." This sketch I consider too valuable a contribution towards the life of this talented, devoted, and eminent priest, to be put away unnoticed, or, perhaps, to be lost; especially as the priestly hand that penned it, is now, as well as poor Father Mullooly, mouldering into dust. Here, then, is a faithful transcript of the sketch, which some biographer may yet find useful towards compiling a life of the humble friar who has done so much to develop and illustrate our early Catholic ecclesiology; and who, though labouring, living,

and dying, far from his native land, brought credit alike to his creed and country :—

“ Joseph Mullooly was the son of a small farmer in Ireland, whose white head a priest told me was always in his place at church.

“ He sent his son to Rome with half-a-crown in his pocket. It was my good fortune to know this Dominican from 1852, and to witness his discoveries at St. Clemente from the first down to the Mithræum. Once he told me he should like to revisit Ireland, to see his father's grave. In 1879 he wrote to me that the Feast of Our Lady's Nativity was dear to him ; on that day, thirty-eight years, he took the habit, and a year after, solemn vows ; and for many years he had the care of St. Clemente, and St. Domenico and Sisto.

“ He was most assiduous in preserving the monuments of both churches ; and what I consider an unknown, almost, and very remarkable part of his character, was the patient personal toil with which he gathered up the poor conventual resources, husbanded them, and cultivated the vineyards mentioned in the Introduction.¹ On the round sepulchral tower there the Piedmontese brigands planted their cannon, and two children were killed opposite St. Clemente.

Patient, humble, laborious, sagacious, and very persevering he was the most disinterested, generous, and forgiving man I ever knew. I never saw him angry. His favourite maxim was that of imitation, ‘Of two evils we must choose the least.’ Pius IX. said : ‘Here is our prior, we must do what we can for him, for he knows how to take a rough word from the Vicar of Christ.’ And well did he deserve the words of Leo XIII., which filled him with confusion : ‘This is that friar of St. Clemente of whom we have heard so much good, so many encomiums’ He and St. Clemente had not been absent from the Pope's escape to Gaeta. He knew the Italians well ; their bloodthirsty passions ; the defects of police, the absurd lenity of the government ; but he also knew the pacific virtues of the good and religious-minded. He had a Catholic soul, full of reverence for the Sovereign Pontiff, full of submission in trials to the will of God. When a Roman paper attributed the discovery of the old Basilica to an Italian archæological prelate, and refused to correct the mis-statement, he felt hurt certainly, but showed no spleen. For he was only a friar, minding the things committed to his charge, desirous of the glory of Holy Church. To me it was wonderful and providential how such a quiet retiring man, when the archæological commission ceased the excava-

¹ The Introduction to *St. Clement, Pope and Martyr, and his Basilica in Rome*, is here meant.—C. G. D.

tions, had the courage to appeal to all Europe for subscriptions, and carried on the work himself alone.

"I think it was in 1856, the prior showed me in the convent cellar an antique Corinthian capital resting on the floor, the arch springing from it to support the roof. 'Do you think there is a column under it?' Old fragments were so commonly used in Rome, who could tell. Soon afterwards he told me there was a column, and in 1857 he took me down, and showed me, through a hole in the wall, a rude fresco of St. Catherine (page 187), and several pillars erect, about two-thirds buried in the earth.

"This discovery he communicated to De Rossi and other members of Pio Nono's archæological commission. In consequence, they undertook excavations, for the prior had no funds. I presume De Rossi alludes to this when he says (*Bullettino di Archæologia Christiana*, No. iv., 1870):—'In the year 1858 I opened by superior order an excavation behind the apse of the present Basilica of St. Clemente.' From whatever cause these excavations at the public cost ceased; and the prior, by begging, continued his own plans, ending with the finding of the MITHRÆUM. That also I saw before I left Rome, in 1870, when it was yet filled up almost to the roof; and the natural question was, 'Is this St. Clement's own oratory?' In *Bullettino* No. iii., 1870, De Rossi says:—'P. Mullooly has made a discovery quite unexpected and of the greatest value, by the ancient Basilica of St. Clemente, whose foundations and vaults in the lowest bowels of the earth, under the heavy mass of two buildings set upon them, he is exploring and excavating with an alacrity and firmness of wise purpose equal to the arduous undertaking.' In the next number (iv., 1870) De Rossi says again:—'In what other place of Rome or of Europe can the archæologist admire and study such a succession of architectonic monumental strata, which from our age go up in order of time, and in the depths of the earth go down by steps through more than twenty centuries? Setting aside the East and Egypt, I do not remember another group of ancient edifices, constructed one upon the other, to be compared with that which in the ravine between the Esquiline and Cælian is being revealed to us; thanks to the fifteen years' unwearied work of the well-deserving Irish Dominican.'

"And I, humble witness to truth, know from years of conversation with him, that not only this, but much more in that region would have been unearthed had he the power. For it must be remembered that one of the greatest difficulties was that the garden ground at St. Clemente was very confined, and it was necessary to burrow under the neighbouring lands. At page 135 De Rossi says:—'What almost goes beyond all our imagination is, that the whole of such a grand Basilica should have wholly disappeared under heaps of rubbish and ruins, so that the learned in Roman antiquity had neither sniff nor suspicion of its existence.'

All this reminds me of Columbus and the egg. The above-ground Basilica, as it came into Father Mullooly's hands, was puffed up as the ancient one.

"De Rossi says, indeed (page 142), that 'Pauvinus, who never had a suspicion of a Basilica buried in the foundations of the present one, yet knew that this was not the ancient church of the age of Constantine, but a work entirely re-made in the twelfth century by Cardinal Anastasius, of whom he wrote; his sepulchre is still extant in the Basilica of St. Clement, which he restored from its foundations—a *fundamentis refecit*.'

"To me it does not seem that Pauvinus even hints at an older church, because a thorough restoration from bottom to top may well take place in any pre-existing building. The jealous arrogance of Roman antiquaries is notorious.

"But the fact still remains that with all the old marbles and inscriptions of St. Clemente before their eyes, not one of them had a 'sniff or suspicion' of the existence of another Basilica till Joseph Mullooly, 'the well-deserving Irish Dominican,' enabled them to see.

"Methinks I find an explanation at page 152. 'Mistress of useful teaching is such a stupendous monumental strata in our classic soil. If the archæologists had studied the levels of the Roman monuments in the Cælimontan region they would have, *a priori*, and before any excavation, guessed that the present Church of St. Clemente is not, and could not be, one of the oldest in Rome, and that beneath it must be buried at least the vestiges of the primitive Basilica.' But the olden archæologists were too busy rubbing their noses against dug up coins and bits of pagan epitaphs, and rare statues of their classic soil. They seemed to fancy that none but a Roman could read Latin. And if by chance one or two, like Ciampini, wished to trace church forms in stone, it is quite certain that he engraved the Ambones and other *memorabilia* of this very recent Church of St. Clemente without an idea that they were not primitive uses in their primitive place. Why archæologists did not take levels *chi lo sa!* But I rather think that De Rossi himself, until he was shown the half-buried pillars and the fresco of St. Catherine, knew no more than they. What I do know is, that the unpretending Joseph Mullooly rose neither to the level of an archæologist nor man of letters, nor antiquary, nor finder of relics, nor connoisseur and dealer in Roman antiquities. Plenty such there were, and by no means small their profit and public praise. When he did discover, and when he went on discovering after others had abandoned the lead, certainly there was some vexation of spirit. He did not hold forth at any *accademia*. Only he went on digging, and 'the fifteen years' work of the well-deserving Irish Dominican' he illustrated by the book in which I am writing.

"Generally speaking, archæologists had their libraries and leisure. He had to grow the convent greens, to pay the vineyard, sell the best of its wines, and keep out fever by the worst left. He had to learn, and read up, and write, when and as best he could. And if he had done nothing else, but only printed his book on the labours of others, liable as a self-taught man must be to make mistakes, it would be a worthy work. But, to my mind, in this age of Rénans, Max Müllers, Huxleys, prattles about St. Paul's rheumatics, jade and stone, rubbed-off monkey tails, ice-scratched rocks, it is as while noble lords travesty breviaries and note 'legends,' by the industry of a simple friar Providence has chosen to show Catholics where all this patter began, and where it ends.

"The strata of faith and discipline rise hard by the dens of vicious superstition.

"Still they rise, and if for a time they are buried by the wrecks of war and revolution, at an opportune time they are seen again. 'Mistress of useful teaching,' truly Rome still teaches the chosen Christian nation and royal priesthood—teaches and warns by over twenty centuries.

"A. H., Priest of the Diocese of Dromore.

"P.S.—The Piedmontese thieves and assassins deprived Father Mullooly of the Convent of St. Domenico e Sisto. In the church he had preserved many gravestones of Irish worthies. The chapter-house was painted by Père Besson, O.P.; chiefly miracles of St. Dominick connected with the building; among them that of Napoleon, Cardinal Stefano's nephew. He had to buy in the vineyard of St. Clemente. He had added to the attractions of Rome one of the most interesting and popular monuments of Christian history, eagerly visited by people of every nation. In spite of the disastrous spoliation of Rome, he took care every year to celebrate St. Clement's Feast with pious pomp, and illuminated the subterranean antiquities. What help had he? Not a lira from the brigands, who, egged on by the English Government, usurped Rome, and robbed the Catholic world. They new-entitled, for their own ends, the Commission of Christian archæology instituted by Pius IX., 'another Damasus,' as the flatterer styled him, and Roman archæologists did not blush to serve under them.

"On the 20th of June, 1880, Father Mullooly said his last mass in the novitiate chapel. He had suffered from pleurisy, but was supposed well enough to leave Rome for the summer. A true monk, he hated leaving his convent even for a night. After mass his strength failed; he never left his bed again, and died at the Ave Maria (Vespers of St. John and Paul), the General F. Larroca reciting the prayers for the agonizing. Like Pius IX.,

whom he loved so well, he is buried in the public cemetery of St. Lorenzo outside the walls. R.I.P.

"PP.S.—Joseph Mullooly, died Friday, 25th June, 1880, ten years after Rome was desecrated by the Piedmontese, Victor Emmanuel, and the intrusion of the English ambassador. Friendship may apply to a friar so known and so esteemed the *Magnificat* antiphon of the first vespers (26th the Feast) of the Martyrs, SS. John and Paul in their house, now the Passionist Church hard by :—

"Astiterunt justi ante Dominum et ab invicem non sunt separati; calicem Domini biberunt et amici Dei appellati sunt."

Curious to learn who the writer of this interesting sketch could be, I made inquiries among people most likely to be well informed in such matters, but with little result towards obtaining the desired information. "A. H., Priest of the Diocese of Dromore," was totally unknown to them, under this designation.

It then occurred to me, that the writer, who showed such an intimate knowledge of the Rev. Father Mullooly, and so tersely described those prominent incidents of his life and labours, should be almost a permanent resident in the Eternal City, if not a constant companion of the estimable friar himself. But this opened up a new difficulty. I was not sufficiently acquainted with any individual in Rome, to trouble him to make the inquiry for me; yet I thought that the value of the sketch would be greatly enhanced by the discovery of its author. Looking through the *Irish Catholic Directory*, in the hope of alighting upon some name which the initials (A. H.) might even temporarily fit, I paused before the name of the Most Rev. T. A. O'Callaghan, D.D., Lord Bishop of Cork. Here, I said, is the source from which I may expect to obtain a thorough solution of the mystery. His Lordship, who has been for many years resident in Rome, and a close student of character and events connected with ecclesiastical matters in that city, is the most likely authority in the world on such a subject. Nor was I disappointed, as the sequel will show. I wrote to his Lordship, briefly detailing the circumstances which urged me to communicate with him, and requesting him to kindly give me any information that he could, respecting the signature,

“A. H., Priest of the Diocese of Dromore”—a copy of which I enclosed. His Lordship vouchsafed me this prompt, kind, and exceedingly valuable reply:—

“The initials, A. H., are evidently those of the Rev. Alexander Henry, an intimate friend of Father Mullooly for nearly forty years. His brother, Mitchell Henry, was at one time known in Irish politics. He was received into the Catholic Church early in life, and on the death of his wife was ordained priest, and accepted by the Most Rev. Dr. Leahy, Bishop of Dromore. He died more than a year ago,¹ at St. Leonards-on-Sea. . . . The Church of St. Clement is one of the most interesting monuments of Christianity, and I am delighted that you have come to know it.”

Here, then, is a flood of light thrown upon the subject, for which future biographers, as well as present readers, will feel deeply grateful to his Lordship. The Rev. Father Alexander Henry is the author of the sketch of Father Mullooly, and is also the author of the manuscript notes (which are in the same handwriting), and compiler of the extra plates and woodcuts inserted in the copy of that exceedingly interesting work of “the well-deserving Irish Dominican,” noticed at the beginning of this paper. Little wonder, indeed, that the “intimate friend for nearly forty years” of the dear departed friar should endeavour to snatch from the teeth of time those interesting events that he has so carefully and sympathetically recorded, in the life of a man, whose sanctity, labours, and name, are so little known to his countrymen at the present day. His Lordship most aptly designates the Church of St. Clement “one of the most interesting monuments of Christianity.” This it really is, if it is not absolutely *the most* interesting; for it opens to us the earliest plan, arrangement, and artistic treatment of Christian subjects of any Christian Church in the whole world. The labours of Father Mullooly, together with the history and illustrations contained in his book, I think, conclusively prove this.

But to turn to the Rev. Father Henry. I was anxious to learn a few additional facts about him—as from his

¹ His Lordship's letter bears date, 1st May, 1891.

writings I concluded that he was a man of talent, firmness, and fine feeling. I wrote to a revered friend of mine, a P.P. in the West of Ireland, on the subject; but the only information the rev. gentleman could give me was, that Father Henry was a gentleman of comparatively independent means. Another letter addressed, to an estimable clergyman in Dublin, brought me a reply, from which I take the following extract:—"Father Mullooly was born near Longford; went to Rome very young to join the Dominican Order; and never came to Ireland. Years ago he got votes for the Diocese of Ardagh. Father Henry was never a Dominican. The only person I know who could give you any information about him, is the Rev. Father H. O'N." To the Rev. H. O'N. I then wrote, explaining my object and introduction, and the rev. gentleman most kindly replied to my query, and I gratefully quote from his exceedingly valuable and interesting letter:—

"I fear I cannot give you much information regarding the matter in which you are interested. I knew Father Henry only through his acquaintanceship with our late¹ revered Bishop, Dr. Leahy. I know nothing at all about him which would connect him with Father Mullooly. His family, as I understand, originally came from the neighbourhood of Loughbrickland, a village some eight miles from Newry. But whether he was born there or not, I do not know.

"Dr. Leahy met him, I think, for the first time in the spring of 1864, in Rome—possibly through the introduction of Father Mullooly. He gave him one of the Holy Orders—sub-deaconship, I think. It was at that time he was accepted as a priest of the diocese of Dromore. This arrangement was merely one of convenience under the circumstances of his residence at that time in Rome. Ever after in his letters to Dr. Leahy he always subscribed himself 'your obedient subject.' He paid a visit to the bishop in Violet Hill in the summer of 1870, the year in which the Vatican Council opened. This reminds me of a little incident which illustrates a very marked feature in Father Henry's character. The bishop being a bad sailor would not go by way of Marseilles and Civita Vecchia, and proposed to go overland. Father Henry, on the other hand, with all his regard for the bishop, and all his desire to be his travelling companion, would not recognise the usurpation of Victor Emmanuel, even so far as to pass through

¹ The letter is dated, September 24th, 1891.

the country of which he had robbed the Holy Father. Each, therefore, took his own course, and arrived in Rome by different routes. The bishop, however, did not travel alone. The late Father Thomas Burke was his companion.

"After the Italian occupation of Rome, Father Henry settled down in England. He may have come sometimes to Ireland, to his brother's place at Kylemore; but he never, to my knowledge, revisited Violet Hill. He wrote, however, occasionally to the bishop. He was always certain to write for Christmas, Easter, and the bishop's feast day. His letters have not been preserved. I don't think, however, they were of any special value, containing merely little details of his life in St. Leonard's, or congratulations suited to the season and time they were written. He took a very warm interest in the Convent of the Poor Clares, Newry. While he was in Rome he made them a present of a magnificent shrine containing the relics of St. Leontie. Some years ago, when passing by Kylemore, his brother's residence, I heard a good deal about his kindness in many ways to the people of the district. His conversion, I believe, displeased his father very much, but did not seem, however, to have lessened the friendship of his brother Mitchell, or his sister, with whom he always continued on most affectionate terms. Like many other converts, he was very eager and zealous in the way of trying to bring others into the Church. Personally he was a man of genuine piety. I have just jotted down these odds and ends from memory. If they serve your purpose in any way, you are at liberty to use them."

Well, I have accepted the permission and used them; and I believe that I am correct in stating that everyone who reads them will feel grateful to the "memory" that preserved within its cells "odds and ends" that give so concisely the salient points in the life of this estimable clergyman.

But I have not done with Father Henry yet. I think that I can connect him with the authorship of *The Sceptic's Dream*, a most remarkable document, published in the second edition of Father Mullooly's work only in Rome. It has never been published in Ireland. In this document the sceptic gives a minute account of the almost miraculous circumstance that led to his conversion; and the whole associations, and particularly the pointed reference to St. Clement, taken together with the fact that typographical errors in the copy of the "Dream" that I possess are corrected by Father Henry, goes far to fix upon that rev.

gentleman the authorship. Even the heading composed by the Rev. Father Mullooly strongly supports this assumption. The extraordinary circumstance related in the document is so full of interest, and the document itself never having been submitted to Irish readers, will plead its apology for being reproduced here. Father Mullooly heads it thus:—

“An anonymous friend has sent us the following lines, which’ presuming on the writer’s permission, we insert here:—

“THE SCEPTIC’S DREAM.

“It was the festival of St. Clement. I was in Rome, and wandering with a friend among the stately ruins of the Colosseum. The gentle autumnal breeze brought to our ears the sound of distant church bells. ‘It is time to go to St. Clement’s,’ said my friend; ‘are you not coming with me?’ ‘No, thank you,’ I replied, ‘the church itself is interesting, I grant you, from its ancient architecture and frescoes; but as a work of art alone, at least to me, the legendary meanings of the paintings on its walls, are as mythical as the history of Romulus and Remus. No, I leave such puerilities to women and children.’ ‘I will not attempt to argue with you,’ was the answer; ‘but,’ opening his English prayer-book, ‘having seen you at the English service last Sunday, I fancied you might venerate a church in which the remains repose of a saint commemorated by our communion,’ and he pointed to a line in the Kalender, marked “November 23rd, St. Clement, Bp. and Martyr.” ‘My dear fellow,’ I answered, ‘all communions are much the same to me. I went to Church last Sunday, because the rest of my party did so; but you must not take for granted, in consequence, that such is my habit. Christianity may have effected much; I do not say it has not; but civilization has done more, and we of the nineteenth century, the age of free thought, cannot again put ourselves in leading strings. Look at these piers; was this gigantic pile erected by Christians? After all, we are a set of pigmies compared to those whom you would term our less enlightened progenitors. The very stones of Rome have a voice.’ ‘Yes,’ he answered, ‘but, like the writing on Balthassar’s wall, there is only one true interpretation.’ So saying he left me, and sitting down upon a stone half worn away by the knees of pilgrims, I lazily watched the daws, and listened to their cawing, as they flew in and out the upper arches, until, overcome with drowsiness, I fell asleep, and dreamt.

“And this was my dream:—I dreamt that I was alone, pacing up and down one of the aisles in the Church of Clement, when suddenly I felt, without at first seeing anything, that some one was near me. I turned my head, and saw that close beside

stood a shadowy figure, whose features I could not distinctly discern, the whole form being enveloped in a kind of mist ; but a voice, different from any I had ever known, fell on my ear. ' Even the stones of Rome speak,' it said ; ' come with me, and I will tell you what they say.' An unseen power seemed to constrain me to follow my conductor, and I hastened after the shadowy form down the flights of steps which led to the subterranean church. ' You reject as false all you cannot see with your bodily eyes,' it said : ' is it not so ? All unwritten tradition is the same to you—a collection of idle tales ; and much even that you see you declare to be interpolated, if it does not exactly agree with your own ideas of what is reasonable. Am I not right ? ' I bowed my head in assent.

" You consider Romulus and Remus as mythical personages ; you doubt whether such a patriot as Horatius Cocles ever existed, except in the poet's brain ; but you believe, do you not, that there were such monarchs as Nero and Trajan ? " I bowed again. ' Why do you believe in them ? Perhaps they—perhaps none of the so-called Cæsars, ever really lived.' I murmured something about the testimony which not one but several histories gave to their existence, recording their deeds, entering into minute descriptions of their very character ; also, that even the buildings in Rome added further confirmation. ' Yet you have allowed the doubt to enter into your mind whether Christianity itself is of divine origin, and you actually sneer at those who venerate with reverential affection the martyrs who won their crown by embracing death in its most terrible shapes rather than apostatize.' ' I never sneered at a martyr himself, in whatever cause,' I hastily answered ; ' truth, self-devotion, self-denial, must always command respect.' ' Look on this then,' the figure replied ; ' but first cast from your mind scepticism and frivolity, which, as poisonous exhalations, interpose between you and the truth. Here you see the installation of St. Clement, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, as Bishop of Rome ; here again he is celebrating the Holy Eucharist ; see the altar, paten, chalice, the very words in the open book, the same as those used daily in the service of the Church. Will not what has been accepted *always* and *everywhere* have a little weight with you in helping to prove the truth of Christianity ? You have seen these before ; you have admired the depth of expression in the faces, the freshness of colouring, the grace of the drapery ; but those they represented were to you as myths. Yet not in one, but in many books, these acts of the martyrs are recorded ; and now these walls, decorated by the art of more than a thousand years ago, corroborate their testimony. You admire self-denial in the abstract ; here you find it in reality. Here St. Alexis, leaving his bride and parents and affluence, goes forth to lead a life of self-abnegation, and putting his hand to the plough, until death, looks not back. Here

again you have the apostolic words fulfilled, and the unbelieving husband converted by the believing wife.

"Look down below into the chambers, turned by St. Clement into a retreat for prayer; he, the noble Roman, forsaking the gorgeousness of an imperial court, to labour with Paul the aged, one who wrought with his own hands for his living, and a prisoner. Is not that self-devotion? Walk round and round this ancient Basilica; you will find the same story on each fresco; all unite in silently but effectually preaching the same doctrine—death to the world, in order to attain to life in that which shall never pass away. Above us, but beneath the high altar, repose all that is mortal of St. Clement and St. Ignatius. Why were they martyrs? Because they loved the truth better than their lives. Because the ancient Romans, the conquerors of the world, delighted to see an aged man against whom not a whisper of slander could be breathed, torn to pieces by wild beasts, or as he himself expressed it, 'I am the wheat of Christ. I must, therefore, be ground and broken by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may become his pure and spotless bread.' A few years ago, and those blessed relics were borne in triumph through the arena, once flowing with his blood, and the stones which echoed to 'Death to the Christians!' resounded to the glorious *Te Deum*. What has effected this change from bloodshed to peace, from the cry of the heathen persecutor to the triumphant song of the Christian? Has civilization? No, a thousand times no. A fisherman of Galilee, a Jew of Tarsus, a few disciples, some of them weak women and striplings, have won a grander victory than ever did Alexander or Augustus. Rome conquered the world, but they conquered Rome. And your boasted reason, what does it say? Does it not bow to the Almighty power which alone could effect this marvellous change? Is not Christianity divine? Do not the very stones of Rome attest it? Do not the walls of San Clemente and of the Colosseum suffice alone, without any other proofs, to bear requisite testimony to the truth which the Church, watered by the blood of martyrs, teaches?

"Oh! wretched, miserable doubter, be sceptical no longer. You admire him who dies for a principle, however faulty; venerate those who looked for no applause of man, but an unfading wreath in heaven. You profess to love truth; think of those who sealed their testimony to it with their blood, sooner than throw a few grains of incense before an imperial image. You feel your heart glow within you while listening to the histories of Clement, and Cyril, and Alexis, and their patient self-denial. Waver then no more, unstable mortal. Learn from these old walls and decayed paintings the eternal truths they eloquently, though silently, proclaim: and years hence, may be, in your distant home, far away from this city of martyrs, you

will remember with thankfulness, as the feast of St. Clement comes round in the Church's year, the lesson they taught you. Yes, these very walls, hidden for centuries, have now, as it were, been brought to light to add yet a testimony to the awful fact, in this age of inconsistency and incredulity, fast gliding from the mind of man, that this sphere is not to revolve for ever; that a pagan morality is not sufficient to cleanse its corruption; that the most virtuous heathen that ever lived lacked that consoling faith in a communion of saints which sheds a soft benignant light on the dreariest path trod by a Christian, and so died as he lived, without that peace which the highest honours of earth fail to bestow.'

"The voice ceased, and I awoke. The sky was still a cloudless azure: the daws were still cawing above me; all around appeared the same. I alone was different, and as I walked from the great amphitheatre, I turned once more for a last look at the central cross, that holy symbol so dearly loved by the early Christians, that even on their very tiles they engraved it: and I felt that I too had been conquered by its power, on the spot where the martyrs won their crown."

C. G. DORAN.

AMERICAN LITERATURE.

1. "LIBRARY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE." In eleven vols.
Edited by E. C. Stedman and E. M'Kay Hutchinson:
Chatto & Windus.
2. "AMERICAN LITERATURE." By John Nichol.
3. "POETS OF AMERICA." By E. C. Stedman.

THE passengers of *The Mayflower* made their new homes in a land without memories. Time had hallowed no mound by the Hudson or the Potomac; the shores of Erie or Ontario were not haunted by the gray legends of the old world; no dim traditions of great names, or mighty deeds, or dark tragedies clung to glen or hill. As they wandered over the vast spaces of the new continent, the Pilgrims' tread was on no empire's dust—no vision of buried greatness rose up before them—no voices called to them from storied urn or desecrated shrine—no gloomy fortress frowned upon

them, or whispered from its ivied desolation the stormy history of its ruin. They felt nothing of that indefinable charm that ever lingers where saintly men lived, or wise men taught, or brave men suffered. They saw none of those mouldering relics that kindle thought and waken far-reaching associations. Imagination wanted its enchanted atmosphere. There was no Marathon, no Camelot, no Iona. The inspiration of nature was, indeed, round them everywhere—the colour of Autumn woods—the purple of rolling prairies—the crimson of evening on the lakes—thundering cataracts—murmuring pines—moaning hemlocks; but, Puritanism had narrowed their sympathies, and the struggle for daily bread was unfavourable to the contemplative eye. Hence the growth of American literature was slow.

During the colonial period, John Smith, William Strachey, John Josselyn, William Wood, and John Mason, wrote some interesting and graphic prose sketches. One of Strachey's sketches, *The Wrack and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates*, is particularly noteworthy, as some eminent critics believe that from it Shakespeare borrowed the plot of his magic creation, *The Tempest*. But the bombastic verse of the Broadsheets, the Foglers, the Thomsons, and other whining bards, is long ago wisely forgotten.

Between the period we have spoken of and the period of the Revolution, Benjamin Franklin is the connecting link. Franklin was born at Boston, in 1706. In youth he was a candlemonger. About the age of twenty he became apprentice to a printer. But after a short time untiring industry made things brighter for him. In 1747 he commenced his *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Between the years 1747 and 1754 he wrote a series of letters on electricity. In 1779 he published his political and philosophical works. His countryman, Bancroft, well sums up his literary merits:¹ "He had not the imagination which inspires the bard or kindles the orator, but an exquisite propriety gave ease of expression and graceful simplicity to his most careless writings."

¹ See Bancroft, *History of America*, page 628.

The *Poor Richard's Almanac* is the American book of proverbs. It abounds in terse and wise sayings. "One to-day is worth two to-morrows." "If you would know *the value of money*, go and borrow some." "Industry need not wish, and he who lives upon hopes will die fasting." "Virtue is the best preservative of health." "If your desires are to things of this world, they are never to be satisfied." "Ambition has its disappointments to sour us, but never the good fortune to satisfy us."

A few of the leaders of the Revolution were men of considerable literary taste. Hamilton's *Historical Sketches* are pure in style and often original in thought; the speeches of Fisher Ames are looked upon by the Americans themselves as almost equal to Burke's; Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* contains not a few graphic passages.

The revolutionary poetry is very muddy stuff. Trumbull wrote a long epic, which, it is said, helped on the war; Dwight, a poetical prophecy on the coming greatness of his country; and Joseph Hopkinson, the now National Anthem *Hail Columbia*. Freneau is the only poet of the time whose verses are still read: his *Wild Honey Suckle*, has the freshness of one of Herrick's poems. From this poet Campbell¹ borrowed one of the most beautiful stanzas in *O'Connor's Child*, and the last lines of *Gertrude of Wyoming*. There is also an echo of him in some lines of *Marmion*.

Passing to free America the novelists first claim our attention. Charles Brockden Brown was the earliest fiction writer of note in the New World. In 1798 Brown published *Wieland*, which was soon followed by *Ormond*, *Arthur Merwyn*, and *Edgar Huntley*. These strange tales remind one of Godwin and Shelley; however, they contain many brilliant passages, and are, beyond doubt, the works of a man of high ability. Diana's *Tom Thornton* and Paul Filton are of the same class; and also Hoffman's *Ben Blower's Story*.

In the order of time the next American fiction writer is Washington Irving. Irving's style is highly finished and

¹ See Nichol, page 95.

graceful. His phrases are often graphic and generally rhythmical. He has neither the originality nor the colloquial ease of his model, Addison. But he has the rare art of combining humour and pathos. There are few sketches more pathetic than *The Broken Heart*, *The Widow's Son*, and *Rural Funerals*; while Knickerbocker's *History of New York* is a masterpiece of this author's genial humour. And whether his tale of *Rip Van Winkle* had been suggested by the story of *Thomas the Rhymer*, or the legend of *Peter Klaus*, or *The Sleep of Ossian*, the humour and local colouring are Irving's own. Nor will his name be forgotten among the maples and purple asters that clothe the sides of the Katerskill till Byron's is forgotten by misty Lochnavar. Yet a greater force in American literature than Irving was his contemporary, Fenimore Cooper.

Cooper transports us from the scenes of civilized life to the gloomy lakes and wild hunting-grounds of the savage. He makes us feel the deep stillness of the forest and the unbounded extent of the prairie. His descriptions of Indian life and scenery are unsurpassed; his sea pictures have the vastness and freshness of the sea. Like his great model, Scott, he seldom analyzes character, but gives us a man's portrait by his words and actions. Cooper's style has never the grace and harmony of Irving's. It is sometimes crude and slovenly, and often diffuse. Some of his plots, also, are loosely constructed and deficient in interest. His one great gift which time will not destroy, is "the power of breathing into his creations the breath of life, and turning the phantoms of his brain into seeming realities."¹

Passing from Cooper to Edgar Poe, is like leaving the fragrance of woods and meadows, and wandering among tombs and sunless ruins.

Poe was born at Boston, on 13th January, 1809. According to some of his biographers, the original name was Le Poer. The Le Poers were descended from a Norman knight, Roger Le Poer, to whom Henry II. granted the territory round Waterford. In Mr. Ingram's opinion, the author of *The*

¹ See Parkman's Essays, selected from *North American Review*.

Raven was descended from the Poes of Riverstown, Co. Tipperary. Be this as it may, at least we are certain that his great-grandfather left Ireland for America about 1760 ; that his grandfather rose to distinction in the United States army ; and that his father became an actor. Two years after Edgar's birth, both his parents died. The orphan was adopted by John Allen, of Richmond ; hence the name Edgar Allen Poe. In 1816, Mr. Allen visited England, and placed his adopted child at a school near London. " My earliest recollections of school life," says Edgar, " are connected with a large rambling Elizabethan house in a misty village of England, where were a vast number of gigantic and gnarled trees." To this earliest recollection of a hoary house and " deeply shadowed avenues " may be traced much of the gloom in Poe's writings. In 1821, he sailed for his native land, and the following year was sent to a classical school in Richmond, Virginia. Reminiscences of him during this period have been handed down by four or five of his fellow-pupils. He was slight in form, but well-made, sinewy and graceful, a swift runner, a wonderful leaper, a strong swimmer. His manners was courteous, his disposition amiable, his impulses generous though capricious ; he was a fair French scholar, and very fond of the *Odes* of Horace. In 1826, he entered the University of Virginia. Here he took high honours in modern languages and the ancient classics. Here, too, unfortunately, he commenced his career of vice. Heavily in debt, he soon left the university, and the following year wandered, no one knows where. Some say he offered his services to the Greeks against the Turks ; according to his own story, he spent the greater part of his time in France, where he wrote a novel. After eighteen months' absence, the prodigal returned. In 1830, he entered a military academy ; but scarcely a year went by when he was brought before a court-martial, and dismissed the service of the United States. Homeless now and friendless, he turned to literature as a means of obtaining a livelihood. In 1833, he won two prizes, offered by the editor of a Richmond paper, for the best poem and the best story. This brought him under the notice of a Mr. Kennedy, who secured for him the editorship of *The Southern Literary*

Messenger. In the pages of this monthly, Poe began to publish his wonderful tales. There appeared:—*Bernice Moreello*, *Hans Pfaale*, and the bitter criticisms which made so many enemies for their author. *Arthur Gordon Pim*, *Ligeia*, *William Wilson*, and *The Fall of the House of Usher*, were published in 1837. Four years later, Poe became editor of *Graham's Magazine*, and wrote for it *The Murder in the Rue Morgue*, *The Descent into the Maelstrom*, and a review of *Barnaby Rudge*, and of Longfellow's *Ballads*. In 1844 he obtained a prize of one hundred dollars for *The Golden Bug*; and on 29th January, 1845, appeared in *The Evening Mirror* his far-famed *Raven*. It has often been asked what suggested to Poe the composition of this very remarkable poem. Mr. Ingram thinks (and, in my opinion, thinks rightly) that the source of its inspiration is to be found in a poem of Albert Pike's, called *Isidore*, and published in 1843. In *The Raven*, too, are, doubtless, echoes of Mrs. Browning's *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*. But when all suggested sources have been "scrutinized,"¹ what a wealth of imagination and a power of words remain the unalienable property of Poe." The year before his death, this unhappy author lectured through the United States, and wrote *Annabel Lee* and *The Bells*. He died on 7th October, 1849.

Though not ungrateful and treacherous, as described by Griswold, Poe was, undoubtedly, a drunkard. This vice made his home cheerless, and left those dearest to him without bread. By it a rare and radiant intellect was darkened, and eyes that once glowed with expression sadly dimmed. Fortunately, there is no trace of his irregular life in his works. In his most degraded moments he was never tempted "to paint the mortal shame of nature with the living hues of art."

Another remarkable circumstance connected with one whose career was so unhappy—who sold *The Raven* for ten dollars, and offered *The Bells* for the price of a dinner and a pair of boots—is the extreme care he bestowed on his literary compositions. "Nothing that he put before the public," says

See Ingram's *Raven*, page 15.

Mr. Ingram,¹ "save some of his earliest work, was published until he had given it the most elaborate polish it was capable of receiving. Word after word, sentence after sentence, was carefully considered, and its import weighed before it was placed in position." Hence, Poe is, beyond doubt, a great literary artist—except Hawthorne, the greatest America has produced. Perhaps he has not what Mr. Arnold calls a genius and instinct for style, as the author of *The Scarlet Letter* certainly had; but, as Lowell remarks, "his style is highly finished, graceful, and truly classical." He has force, clearness, and "a wealth of jewel-like words."² These qualities alone would long save his tales from the mildew and the canker-worm. Yet, these are not all: in *The Purloined Letter*, and *The Golden Bug*, we have an analytical power surpassed only by Balzac—in *Ligeia* and *The Fall of the House of Usher* we have the "grace and natural magic of the Celt;" in *Eleonore* and *Hans Pfaale*, the brilliancy of De Quincey. Nor are there in *The Confessions of an Opium Eater* any passages that surpass in sublime terror the second and twenty-first chapters of *Arthur Gordon Pym*; while the concluding chapter of the same tale is one of the most ghastly graphic bits of writing in all literature. On the other hand, what a vision of abiding loveliness the necromancer of the weird and the terrible calls up in *The Domain of Arnheim*. "Meanwhile, the whole paradise of Arnheim bursts upon the view. There is a gush of entrancing melody; there is an oppressive sense of strange sweet odour; there is a dream-like intermingling to the eye of tall slender Eastern trees, bosky shrubberies, flocks of golden and crimson birds, lily-fringed lakes; meadows of violets, tulips, poppies, hyacinths and tuberoses; long intertangled lines of silver streamlets; and, uprising confusedly from amid all, a mass of semi-Gothic, semi-Saracenic architecture, sustaining itself, as if by a miracle, in mid-air, glittering in the red sunlight with a hundred oriels, minarets, and pinnacles; and seeming the phantom handiwork conjointly of the sylphs, of the fairies, of the genii, and of the gnomes."

¹ See preface to Poe's Tales in Tauchnitz edition.

² See Lang's *Letters to Dead Authors*, page 149.

As a poet, Poe's range is very narrow. "He has no humour, no general sympathies, no dramatic power." His verse never palpitates with emotion, never rings with sounds of laughter and sunny life. Old-world memories are not woven into it, nor has he put into it the yearnings and throbbings of his own day. It is simply a wail of enchanted melody above a tomb; yet a wail, once heard, that ever haunts the memory. And, think as we may otherwise of such poems as *The Haunted Palace*, *The City in the Sea*, *The Sleeper*, *To Helen*—their delicate rhythm, their matchless music, their magic words, will ever secure for their author one of the highest places in the list of American poets.

T. LEE.

(*To be continued.*)

Liturgical Questions.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CALENDAR.—II.

THE GOLDEN NUMBER.

The Greeks, like the Romans, at first employed the lunar phases as their measure of time. The length of a lunation they had with considerable accuracy calculated to be on an average twenty-nine and a-half days, and their year consisted of twelve such lunations, or three hundred and fifty-four days. But Nature soon compelled the Greeks, as she did the Romans, to bring their year into some kind of harmony with the sun, and the system of intercalation adopted by them was substantially the same as that which we have seen employed by the Romans. Indeed, it is strongly suspected that the Romans, whose ignorance of astronomy was notorious, borrowed from the more civilized and more highly-gifted Greeks whatever scientific

accuracy their early calendar could boast of. The moon; however, still remained an important factor in the calendar of the Greeks. For from a very early period her various phases marked the dates of some of the chief festivals of the Grecian deities. And as these phases did not, as the year went round, fall on the same days of the months making up the solar year, it became a matter of great moment to find out beforehand, and to publish to the people, the precise days in each month on which these phases and their annexed festivals would fall. But for years priests and astronomers laboured in vain at this problem.

At length Meton, an Athenian astronomer, succeeded in solving it. He discovered that nineteen solar years are so nearly equal in length to a certain number of lunations—two hundred and thirty-five—that at the end of this period the new moons, and, consequently, all the lunar phases, occur on the same days on which they had occurred nineteen years previously. In other words, he discovered that in every nineteenth year the different lunar phases happen on the same days of the month. Hence it was only necessary to mark the dates of the new moons for one period of nineteen years in order to have a calendar that would serve for every succeeding period of the same number of years. Meton published his discovery at the Olympic games, celebrated at the beginning of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, or in the year 432 B.C., and was rewarded with the Olympic crown. And not satisfied with conferring this honour upon him, his fellow-citizens had the numbers expressing the dates of the new moons during an entire cycle engraved in golden letters on marble slabs, and laid up in the temples of the gods. From this circumstance the cycle of nineteen years came to be called the “Cycle of the Golden Number;” and the numbers one, two, three, . . . nineteen, were called the “Golden Numbers.” Hence the golden number of a particular year is that one of these numbers which indicates the order of the given year in the cycle of nineteen years. Thus the year having one as its golden number is the first of a cycle; that having two, is the second; and so on to the year whose golden number is nineteen, which is the last of the cycle.

The next year will then be the first of a new cycle, and have one for its golden number.

This cycle of golden numbers, or Metonic cycle, was first employed in determining the date of Easter by Anatolius, Bishop of Laodicea, in Syria, towards the close of the third century. And when the Council of Nice committed to the Patriarch of Alexandria the task of calculating the time for celebrating Easter each year, it was this cycle that was recommended and used for that purpose by the mathematicians of Alexandria. Meton, as we have seen, published his discovery in the year 432 B.C., and made this the first year of the cycle. Continuing a series of cycles from that date, we find that the year 1 A.D. should have been the fifteenth year of the current cycle; which, consequently, should have begun with the year 14 B.C. But in adopting the discovery of Meton for the purpose of determining the date of the Paschal celebrations, the Christian scientists did not adopt his point of departure, but selected instead the year immediately preceding the commencement of the Christian era. This year was selected for two reasons; first, because it was the year in which Christ was born—for the Christian era does not pretend to begin with the year of the Nativity, but with the year which begun on the 1st January, just one week after the day of the Nativity. The second and more scientific reason was, that in that year the new moon fell on the 1st January. Knowing now the year from which our present series of cycles of golden numbers begins, it is easy to find the golden number of any given year in the Christian era, past, present, or future. For since the year immediately preceding the year 1 A.D. was the first of a cycle, it follows that the year 1 A.D. itself was the second, the year 2 A.D. the third, and the year 18 A.D. the nineteenth, or last year of the first cycle. The first year of the second cycle was, therefore, 19 A.D.; the second year, 20 A.D.; and so on. Hence the general rule for finding the golden number of any year since the birth of Christ is to add one to the date of the particular year, and divide the sum by nineteen. The remainder is the golden number; and if there is no remainder the golden number is nineteen, or the year is the last of the

cycle. Thus we find that eleven is the golden number for the present year, 1891. For—

$$\frac{1891 + 1}{19} = 99 \frac{11}{19}$$

Therefore, the year 1891 is the eleventh year of the hundredth Metonic cycle, as this cycle has been employed in Christian times. The golden number for 1892 will, of course, be twelve; that for 1893, will be thirteen; and 1899 will be the last year of the current cycle.

The Metonic Cycle, as we have seen, was founded on the hypothesis that nineteen solar years and two hundred and thirty-five average lunations cover exactly the same interval of time. This hypothesis, though not absolutely correct, was still wonderfully near the truth, and gives evidence of the surprising accuracy to which astronomical science had attained even so early as the time of Meton. The length of the average year is 365 d. 5 h. 48' 48". In nineteen years, therefore, there are

$$19 \times 365 \text{ d. } 5 \text{ h. } 48' 48'' = 6939 \text{ d. } 14 \text{ h. } 27' 12''.$$

The average lunation, or lunar month, contains 29 d. 12 h. 44' 3"; consequently, two hundred and thirty-five such lunations will contain :—

$$235 \times 29 \text{ d. } 12 \text{ h. } 44' 3'' = 6939 \text{ d. } 16 \text{ h. } 31' 45''.$$

It appears, therefore, that two hundred and thirty-five lunations are longer than nineteen years by just 2 h. 4' 33"; so that Meton was right in saying that, after nineteen years the lunar phases would again occur on the same days of the months; but, for complete accuracy, he should have added that they would occur 2 h. 4' 33" later in the day. If, for example, the first new moon of 432 B.C. fell on the 1st January, at 10 a.m., in the year 413 B.C. the new moon would have fallen on the 1st January; but at four and a-half minutes past noon, and at two hours and nine minutes past noon in 394 B.C., and so on. Thus it will be seen that after the lapse of twelve cycles, the lunar phases would not occur for an entire day after the dates indicated by the Cycle of Golden Numbers.

But we must bear in mind, that up to the time of the Gregorian reform of the calendar the average year was reckoned as consisting of exactly three hundred and sixty-five days six hours. Therefore, a cycle of nineteen years contained :—

$$19 \times 365 \text{ d. } 6 \text{ h.} = 6939 \text{ d. } 18 \text{ h.};$$

so that two hundred and thirty-five lunations, amounting, as we have just seen to 6939 d. 16 h. 31' 45" was 1 h. 28' 15" shorter than nineteen years.¹ It might seem that so small a discrepancy, repeated only after the lapse of nineteen years, might be entirely neglected. But, small though it is, when allowed to accumulate it amounts to a day in about three hundred and ten years. And it was allowed to accumulate

¹ It should, however, be remarked that the manner in which the lunations of the calendar have always been reckoned makes two hundred and thirty-five lunations, exactly equal in duration to nineteen Julian years of three hundred and sixty-five and a-quarter days each. It is not so easy to make this clear. However, the following attempt should be fairly intelligible:—In reckoning the time of a lunation, the calendar neglects entirely the minutes and seconds, and makes twenty-nine and a-half days the average time. But, to avoid fractions, thirty and twenty-nine days are given to alternate lunations, those which terminate in the odd months of the year, namely, January, March, May, &c., getting thirty; and those which terminate in the even months, twenty-nine. In leap-years the lunation terminating in March gets an additional day, and in these years, therefore, has thirty-one days. Hence in the common lunar year, consisting of six months of thirty days, and six of twenty-nine days each, there are just three hundred and fifty-four days. And nineteen such lunar years will therefore contain

$$354 \text{ d.} \times 19 = 6726 \text{ d.}$$

But the common solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days has eleven days more than the lunar year; and nineteen common solar years, neglecting leap-years for the present, have $19 \times 11 = 209$ days more than nineteen lunar years of twelve months each. These two hundred and nine days are distributed in the following manner:—As often as the excess of the solar over the lunar year accumulates to thirty days or upwards, a lunar month of thirty days is intercalated. This intercalation takes place seven times in the cycle of nineteen years, as may easily be shown, and the years of the cycle in which it takes place are the third, sixth, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth. For after three years the excess of the solar over the lunar year amounts to $3 \times 11 = 33$ days. When the intercalary month of thirty days is taken from this accumulated excess three days remain, which are carried forward. At the end of the sixth year the excess amounts to $3 \times 11 + 3 = 36$ days; and when thirty days are dropped six remain. These six, together with the constant excess of eleven days in each year, will produce an excess of thirty-nine days at the

during the one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven years that elapsed between the Council of Nice and the reformation of the calendar by Gregory XIII.; so that at the latter date the lunar phases happened four entire days before the dates indicated by the Golden Numbers. This, then, was another error which Pope Gregory had to correct. The removal of the accumulated error of four days was a very simple process, as it was only necessary to raise the Golden Numbers four lines in the new calendar. This was all the more easy, because these numbers had to be disturbed at any rate; for, owing to the omission of the ten nominal days, it was necessary to lower the Golden Numbers ten lines. But it was not quite so easy to find a means by which the Golden Numbers might be permanently availed of for the purpose

end of the ninth year. From this a remainder of nine days is left after the intercalary month has been deducted. At the end of the tenth year, therefore, the excess is $9+11=20$, and at the end of the eleventh it is $20+11=31$. Consequently, the third intercalation takes place in the eleventh year of the cycle, and leaves one to be carried forward. In the same way it may be shown that the intercalation takes place in the fourteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth years; but the intercalary month in the nineteenth year must have only twenty-nine instead of thirty days. Of the seven intercalary months occurring in nineteen years, therefore, six have thirty days each, and the seventh twenty-nine. Adding these together we have

$$6 \times 30 + 29 = 209 \text{ days.}$$

For the duration of two hundred and thirty-five lunations we have now reckoned

$$6726 + 209 = 6935 \text{ days.}$$

But nineteen Julian years, as we have seen, have six thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine days eighteen hours; we still, therefore, require four days eighteen hours, or four and three-quarter days to make the time of two hundred and thirty-five lunations correspond with nineteen Julian years. These days we can easily find. It has been stated in this note that the lunation terminating in March has thirty-one days in a leap-year. Now, in nineteen years there are sometimes five and sometimes four leap-years. Hence two hundred and thirty-five lunations have sometimes $6935+5=6940$ days, and sometimes $6935+4=6939$ days. When the first, second, or third year of the cycle is a leap-year, there are five such years in the cycle, and when the fourth is a leap-year there are but four. In a period, then, of four cycles, five days will be added three times on account of the leap-years, and four days only once; or in the entire four cycles there will be $3 \times 5 + 4 = 19$ days added on account of the leap-years. This gives for each cycle an average of four and three-quarter days, or four days eighteen hours, which, being added to the six thousand nine hundred and thirty-five days already obtained, makes

$$6935 + 4\frac{1}{4} = 6939\frac{1}{4} \text{ days, or } 6939 \text{ days } 18 \text{ hours.}$$

for which they were first intended, namely, for indicating the lunar phases. For, as we have seen, in a period of about three hundred and ten years these phases would occur a full day earlier than the Golden Numbers indicated. On this account, therefore, it would be necessary to raise the Golden Numbers one line in every three hundred and ten years. Moreover, the Cycle of Golden Numbers was constructed to suit the Julian calendar; and, as the new calendar omitted in every four hundred years three days which the Julian calendar retained, another change in the Golden Numbers would have been required. For after each century year, not a leap-year, it would be necessary to lower the Golden Numbers one line. Having taken these complicated and irregular changes into consideration, Clavius, in compiling the new calendar, dropped the Cycle of Golden Numbers altogether, and invented and introduced in its stead the Cycle of Epacts.

(To be continued.)

1. SHOULD THE "LAUS TIBI CHRISTE," BE SUNG BY THE CHOIR IN A SOLEMN MASS?
2. THE PRAYER TO BE SAID IN BLESSING THE GRAVE.
3. THE DAYS ON WHICH SOLEMN REQUIEM MASS "PRAESENTE CADAVERE" IS FORBIDDEN.
4. ORDER OF LIGHTING AND EXTINGUISHING THE CANDLES ON THE ALTAR.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly state in the pages of the I. E. RECORD what should be done in the following cases, and greatly oblige,
"SACERDOS."

"1. In a 'Missa Solemni vel Cantata,' should the choir answer 'Laus Tibi Christe,' at the end of the Gospel chanted by the deacon or celebrant, or should the acolyte answer as at a low mass?

"2. In 'exsequiis parvulorum,' when the grave is not already blessed, what prayer should be said in blessing it? Must we use the 'Deus cujus miseratione,' &c.?

"3. Enumerate the days on which the 'Missa solemnis vel cantata de Requie,' the body being present in the church, cannot be celebrated. Rubricists do not seem to agree on these days.

“4. On which side of the altar should the acolyte begin to light the candles? Some rubricists say on the Gospel side, while others say the contrary.

1. The words, *Laus tibi Christe*, should not be sung by the choir either in a solemn mass or in a *missa cantata* : they may be said by the assistants as in an ordinary mass, but in a low tone.

2. The prayer *Deus cujus miseratione* is to be used in blessing the grave when the corpse to be interred is that of an infant, as well as when it is of an adult.

3. The reason why rubricists differ in their enumeration of the days on which a solemn requiem mass *praesente cadavere* cannot be said, is, that the rubricists did not all live or write at the same time, and that the Congregation of Rites has from time to time added another to the list of days already included. Thus, in comparatively recent times, the feasts of the Immaculate Conception, of St. Joseph, and of dedication of a church, have been added. The list complete up to the present is as follows :—

(a) The last three days of Holy Week.

(b) The feasts of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi, the Assumption, the Immaculate Conception, St. John the Baptist, St. Joseph, SS. Peter and Paul, All Saints, the chief patron of a place or of a diocese, the titular or patron of a church, and the anniversary of the dedication of a church.

(c) In countries where any of the feasts just mentioned are transferred to the Sundays following, requiem masses are forbidden on these Sundays.

(d) In a church in which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for the Devotion of the Forty Hours, or for any other public cause.

4. When the candles on the altar are lighted by one acolyte, he begins with the candle on the Gospel side ; and if more than two candles are to be lighted, he lights first that candle on the Gospel side which is nearest to the centre of the altar ; and having lighted all the candles on the Gospel side, he lights those on the Epistle side, beginning in this case also with the candle next the centre of the altar. He

extinguishes the candle in the opposite order; that is, he begins with the candle on the Epistle side farthest from the centre. We have already given in the I. E. RECORD our reasons for considering this the correct order of lighting and extinguishing the candles.

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence.

THE TEXT "THE JUST MAN FALLS SEVEN TIMES A DAY."

"REV. DEAR SIR,—'The just man falls seven times a day.' This statement is found in many Catholic books—*v.g.*, *Remembrance for the Living to Pray for the Dead* (Rev. J. Mumford, S.J.), chap. iii. What authority is there for seven times a day? In Proverbs xxiv. 16, it is said, 'Shall fall seven times, and shall rise again;' but a day is not in the text."

In reply to our respected correspondent, we have no hesitation in saying that the words "a day" ought not to stand in the text.

The words, "a just man shall fall seven times," &c., occur in no other part of the Bible than Prov. xxiv. 16; and in that passage the words "a day" should not be read. They are wanting in the Hebrew, in the Vulgate, in the Septuagint, in the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, and in the early fathers who quote the text.

How, then, it will be asked, have the words crept into the text, so as to be quoted, as they undoubtedly are, in not a few pious books? I believe the explanation is to be found in the fact that they are read in the text as quoted by the celebrated Cassian in the thirteenth chapter of his twenty-second Conference. Cassian's work, written in the beginning of the fifth century, has been largely read and used by spiritual writers ever since his time, and so the text as quoted by him may have easily passed into other authors. Be this as it may, the only other authorities for the words "a day" are the author of the Greek *Catena*, and a few manuscripts which are not of much critical value.

J. M. R.

Documents.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. ON THE EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE VATICAN OBSERVATORY.

MOTU PROPRIO SANCTISSIMI D. N. LEONIS XIII.; DE VATICANA
SPECULA ASTRONOMICA RESTITUENDA ET AMPLIFICANDA.

Ut mysticam Sponsam Christi, qui lux vera est, in contemptum et invidiam vocarent, tenebrarum filii consuevere in vulgus eam vecordi calumnia impetere, et, conversa rerum nominumque ratione et vi, compellare obscuritatis amicam, altricem ignorantiae, scientiarum lumini et progressui infensam. At quae primis ab exordiis Ecclesiae gessit et docuit homines, ea satis refellunt et coarguunt turpis mendacii impudentiam. Nam praeter notitiam rerum divinarum, in qua veritatis sola magistra fuit, praestantiores etiam philosophiae partes, quae summa statuunt principia et fundamenta scientiarum omnium, quaeve rationem veritatis detegendae, recteque ac subtiliter disserendi tradunt, vel animi vim ac facultates explicant, aut in vitam hominum moresque inquirunt, ita per Doctores suos excoluit et illustravit, ut difficile sit novum aliquid memoria dignum iis adiciere, periculosum sit ab iis discedere.

Summa praeterea laus est Ecclesiae, quod iuris prudentiam perfecit atque expolierit, nec ulla delebit oblivio quantum ipsa contulit doctrinis, exemplis et institutis suis ad implexas quaestiones expediendas, in quibus scriptores haerent scientiarum, quae *oeconomicae* et *sociales* audiunt. Interim vero ne illas quidem neglexit disciplinas quae in naturae eiusque virium exploratione versantur. Scholas namque condidit et musea instruxit, quo penitus illas iuventus addisceret, suosque inter filios et administratos egregios habuit earum cultores, quos ope sua adiutos et ornatos honore ad ea studia impensius colenda excitavit.

Eminet in hoc scientiarum numero *astronomia*, quippe cui ea proposita sunt vestiganda, quae prae ceteris inanimis rebus enarrant gloriam Dei; ac virorum omnium sapientissimum mirifice delectabant, qui lumine divinitus indito nosse se laetabatur imprimis "*anni cursus et stellarum dispositiones*" (Sap. vii. 19.)

Porro ad curanda huius scientiae incrementa et fovendos cultores eius illud quoque incitamento fuit Ecclesiae Pastoribus, quod huius unius ope certo possint constitui dies, quibus celebrari oporteat ea quae maxima et religiosissima sunt mysteriorum Christi solennia. Quo factum est, ut Tridentini Patres qui probe noverant perturbatam esse rationem temporum, quae non satis commode, Iulio Caesare auctore, fuerat emendata, rogarunt enixe Romanum Pontificem ut, viris doctissimis in consilium adhibitis, novam ac perfectiorem conficeret annorum dierumque ordinationem.

Quanta fuerit in ea re gerenda Gregorii XIII. Praedecessoris Nostri diligentia, constantia et liberalitas satis compertum est ex indubiis historiae monumentis. Scilicet in ea quae aptissima videbatur parte Vaticanarum aedium speculatoriam turrim excitari iussit, quam instrumentis ornavit, quae ferebat aetas illa maxima et accuratissima, ibique conventus habuit doctorum hominum quos Kalendario restituendo praefecerat. Manet adhuc ea turris munifici auctoris sui illustria praeseferens indicia, extatque in ea linea meridiana constructa ab Egnatio Danti Perusino, eique marmorea tabula rotunda interiecta, cuius signa scienter exarata demissis ex alto radiis icta solis, necessitatem emendandae veteris rationis temporum et consentientem rerum naturae restitutionem peractam demonstrant.

Haec turris, monumentum nobile Pontificis de scientiis ac litteris optime meriti, ad pristinum caelestium observationum usum post diutinam intermissionem revocata est imperio et auspicio Pii VI., flectente ad exitum saeculo superiore. Tum cura et studio Philippi Gilli, urbani Antistitis aliae etiam adiectae sunt explorationes, quae vim magneticam, tempestates aeris vitamque plantarum spectarent. Ast eo demortuo docto et industrio viro, anno huius saeculi vicesimo primo, templum hoc scientiae astronomicae neglectum desertumque fuit; nam brevi postea Pii VII. mors est insecuta, Leonis autem XII. curas ad se convertit grandius inceptum scientiarum omnium complectens incrementum et decus, nova nimirum instauratio rationis studiorum in Pontificia ditione universa. Hanc ab immortali Decessore suo cogitatam perfecit ille feliciter, datis Litteris Apostolicis quarum initium: "*Quod divina sapientia.*" Ibi nonnulla graviter constituit de speculis astronomicis, de observationibus assidue peragendis, de descriptione ephemeridum, quae explorata referrent, deque studio adhibendo, ut quae ab exteris detecta forent, nostratibus innotescerent.

Si Vaticana turris posthabita est quum aliae in Urbe instructae suppeterent, id ex eo profectum videtur, quod qui tunc rerum huiusmodi peritia praestabant, huic turri obesse censerent vicinas aedes, maximeque obiectum tholi praecelsi qui Vaticanum templum coronat. Hinc illae potiores speculae videbantur quae caelum ex aliis editis locis circumspectant. Postquam vero ea loca cum reliqua Urbe in alienam potestatem devenere, agentibus Nobis quinquagesimum primum sacerdotii Nostri natalem diem, plura cum aliis muneribus oblata sunt instrumenta, affabre facta, quae cultoribus physices caelestis, aeriae et terrestres usui sunt; atqui nullam illis aptiorem sedem tribui posse viri physicae scientiae peritissimi putaverunt prae ea, quam Gregorius XIII. iis quodammodo paravisse in Vaticana turri videbatur. Quum ea sententia Nobis probata esset; ipsa aedificii natura, veteris gloriae eius memoria, et collecta suppellex, non secus ac vota virorum prudentia et doctrina praestantium, Nobis suasere, ut iuberemus eam speculam restitui, rebusque omnibus ornari et instrui, per quae non modo astronomiae studiis esset profutura, sed etiam pervestigationibus physicae terrestres, et pernoscendis phaenomenis quae in aerea regione contingunt. Quod porro amplitudini prospectus deesse videbatur ut quoquoersus pateret latissime ad sidera eorumque motus explorandos, id commode praestitit vicinitas *Leoniani propugnaculi* veteri soliditate nobilis, cuius turris editissima in vertice collis vaticani assurgens maximas praebet opportunitates, ut inde astrorum observatio plenissima sit et numeris omnibus absoluta. Hanc itaque adiutricem addidimus Gregoriana speculae, eoque deferri iussimus ingens optices instrumentum quod *aequatoriale* dicunt, ad photographicas siderum imagines excipiendas comparatum.

Ad haec gnaros sollertesque viros selegimus, quorum ministerio ea omnia praestarentur quae suscepti operis natura flagitat, iisque praefecimus virum rei astronomicae et physicae scientissimum, *P. Franciscum Denza* ex Clericis Regularibus S. Pauli Barnabitis nuncupatis. Horum industria freti libenter annuimus Vaticanam speculam in societatem partemque operis vocari cum aliis praeclarissimis Institutis rei astronomicae provehendae addictis, quibus ~~propositum est~~ tabulas photographicas conficere quae totius caeli, prout nitet, frequentibus stellis conspersum, accurate imaginem referant. Quum autem susceptum a Nobis opus in hac specula restituenda non brevi interire, sed perpetuum fieri optemus, legem ei dedimus quae regulas praescribit, quas in

rebus ibi gerendis ac ministeriis obeundis servari volumus. Consilium praeterea constituimus virorum lectissimorum penes quod summa sit totius rei moderatio, et maxima post Nostram potestas in iis quae spectant internum eius ordinem decernendis.

Iamvero hanc legem et hoc Consilium, non secus ac delationem variorum munerum et reliqua quae hucusque iussu vel consensu Nostro circa Vaticanam speculam acta sunt, per hasce Litteras solemniter confirmamus, eamque in eodem ordine haberi volumus cum aliis Pontificiis Institutis quae scientiarum colendarum causa condita sunt. Imo quo firmitus operis stabilitati consulamus, pecuniae vii eidem attribuimus cuius redditus sumptus eidem servando tuendoque decenter necesarios suppetet. Tametsi magis quam humanis praesidiis, illud tectum iri florensque fore confidimus favore et ope omnipotentis Dei; namque in eo aggrediendo non modo incrementis studuimus scientiae praenobilis, quae mortalium animos praeceteris humanis disciplinis ad rerum caelestium contemplationem erigit, sed illud praecipue animo intendimus quod ab ipsis Nostri Pontificatus exordiis constanter, ubi data est occasio, verbis, scriptis rebusque gestis praestare adnisi sumus, curare scilicet, ut omnibus persuasum sit, Ecclesiam eiusque Pastores, prout initio diximus, non odisse veram solidamque scientiam cum divinarum tum humanarum rerum, sed eam complecti et fovere, et qua valent ope studiose provehere.

Omnia igitur quae Litteris hisce Nostris statuimus et declaravimus, rata et firma, uti sunt, ita in posterum esse volumus ac iubemus, irritumque et inane futurum decernimus, siquid super his a quoquam contigerit attentari, contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xiv. Martii anno mdcccxcl, Pontificatus Nostri decimo quarto.

LEO PP., XIII.

Notices of Books.


SHORT INSTRUCTIONS IN THE ART OF SINGING PLAIN-CHANT, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING ALL VESPER PSALMS AND THE MAGNIFICAT, THE RESPONSES FOR VESPERS, THE ANTIPHONS OF THE B.V.M., AND VARIOUS HYMNS FOR BENEDICTION. Designed for the use of Catholic Choirs and Schools. By T. Singenberger. Third Revised and Enlarged Edition, 1888. New York and Cincinatti. Fr. Pustet & Co. Price 25 cents.

THIS little booklet shows the practical American. Having set about writing short instructions on Plain-Chant, for the use of Catholic choirs and schools, he confines himself well to his purpose, and comprises, within thirty-seven pages, such information on the subject, as will prove useful for the readers it is intended for. The author has largely drawn upon Haberl's *Magister Choralis* far more than his occasional reference to that book would make the reader suppose. This, however, does not, of course, interfere with the usefulness of the booklet. Speaking generally, we cannot but approve fully of the manner in which the subject is dealt with. But, starting from the principle that in a school-book, above all things, everything should be clear and correct, we have to make a few objections.

§ 5 deals with the *notes*; § 6 with the *tones* and *scales*. This order should be inverted. For, as in the order of nature, the *thing* precedes the *sign*, so it should also in the order of treatment. The quotation on page 5 is not from St. Benedict, but from Pope Benedict XIV.

The names of the notes are given in the following order: *c, d, e, f, g, a, b, c*. We think it would be more reasonable to give them thus: *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, a*. The pupil would then at once see that these names are the first seven letters of the Alphabet, and would have no difficulty in remembering them. The method of beginning with *c* is the result of an over-estimation of the modern major scale, which is too common indeed in our days, but from which a writer on Gregorian chant should be free. The distinction between singing *false* and *incorrectly*, given in § 11, will probably seem to an Englishman just as unwarranted as to a German Haberl's distinction of the German words of which those are the translation

We cannot recommend the exercises given for striking the intervals. It were better had they been omitted. The rule for pronouncing the diphthongs, given in § 12, 2, is neither clear nor correct. That *E*, in Latin, before consonants in general is pronounced as *e* in *met* (§ 13, 1), and that *Ui* is a diphthong in *huic* and *cui*, is a new teaching, as far as we know. For the consonants, the general rule is given: *pronounce them as they are written*. It would be difficult to pronounce an *l*, for instance, straight, or a *c* round, or a *g* crooked. The writer meant, of course, that they should be pronounced as in English.

In § 15 the author gives the following form of the Podatus: . It must be mentioned that, since 1883, at least, this form is not used in the official editions. As to the execution of the neumes, the author would, in a future edition, better adopt the rules given by Haberl in the ninth edition of his *Magister Choralis*. On page 27 the author says that "the authentic modes generally go one tone below their final, and the plagals one tone above." Above the final? In § 17, after explaining that monosyllables and Hebrew words sometimes cause a change in the mediation of a Psalm-tone, the author enumerates amongst "such words" also *usquequo*. As this is not a monosyllable, it is, in all probability, a Hebrew word! The expression in § 20, "a *proximate* or *remote*, *anterior* or *posterior* celebration," will not convey to the reader the idea the author had evidently before his mind. The explanation of the distinction between *feriae majores* and *minores* will surprise liturgists. At page 34 we read: "the special *Alleluja* is repeated in the *neuma*." Probably it should be "with the *neuma*."

In the appendix we have, what the liturgical books call the *Communio Vespertalis*, the *Deus in adjutorium*, the Psalm-tones, the tones of the versicle, &c. Then there are all the Vesper Psalms, marked according to Father Mohr's system. According to this system, as probably most of our readers know, the numbers 1-8 are placed over the syllables of the psalm verses, indicating on which particular syllable the mediation or ending of each of the eight Psalm-tones is to begin. This will prove useful to many choirs.

The book is not for students preparing for priesthood. But for choirs and schools we can recommend it.

H. B.

THE ROMAN MISSAL AND SUPPLEMENT, ADAPTED TO THE USE OF THE LAITY. London: R. Washbourne.

WE think it a loss that our people are not more frequently and earnestly encouraged to use the Roman missal at Mass. Such a practice would have the effect of uniting one more closely with the priest at the altar, and with the Church as she follows her saints from day to day with special feast and prayer. This loss is the greater in the case of the educated, who would gradually learn to admire the spirit of wisdom and love guiding the Church in her distribution of the ecclesiastical year, and who would be capable of appreciating and of profiting by the simple beauty and suggestiveness of her prayers. Is it not a pity that our intelligent, well-educated boys are not made familiar with the daily ritual of the Mass in so easy and attractive a way?

At all events, those who are anxious to avail themselves of this practice can have no difficulty in finding a complete Roman Missal in English at a moderate price, and in a most convenient form. Such is the Roman Missal just published by Washbourne, London.

OUR LADY'S GARDEN OF ROSES. Translated from the German by Rev. F. J. Levaux, S.J. Dublin: Duffy.

THE translator, Fr. Levaux, is a Belgian Jesuit, who has been staying for some time at Miltown Park, Dublin. He writes in his preface: "We offer *Our Lady's Garden of Roses* to the kind-hearted friends we have met in the Emerald Isle, whose chivalrous patriotism and deeply-rooted faith we appreciate, though we can never sufficiently praise. May our little offering betoken the warm feelings of sympathy and affection which the sight of that Irish patriotism and faith arouses in the heart of a Walloon Catholic."

Fr. Levaux could make no more acceptable offering to the people among whom he is sojourning; for they love, above all devotions, their Rosary. And *Our Lady's Garden of Roses* is a charming little book on the Rosary.

In the opening chapters we have a history of the origin and progress of this devotion, of the testimonies to its efficacy as a prayer borne by the words and practice of saints, and the commendations and favours of successive Pontiffs, and by the uninterrupted hold it has had on the hearts of all Catholic countries.

The second part of the little book instructs us how easy is to meditate on the mysteries of the Rosary ; and in the last part we have an explanation of the indulgences and the conditions to be observed for profiting by our Rosary. It is quite a charming little book.

ABRIDGED BIBLE HISTORY. THE CHILD'S BIBLE HISTORY.
Freiburg and St. Louis : Herder.

MESSE^{RS}. HERDER have published in English a little Bible history of about one hundred pages, specially suited to children. Indeed, either of the books mentioned above is a model child's book. The story is clearly and pithily told ; the type is bold and good ; and, instead of the usual daubs to be found in children's school-books, we have artistic wood-cuts that will interest the little reader, and help to cultivate the youthful taste. The little books have the approval of several bishops.

CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

MONTH after month this excellent society is adding to the number of its publications. Among those recently issued are the *Life of Blessed Juvenal Ancina*, by Fr. Morris, S.J. ; *Life of Tita, a Domestic Servant*, by Lady Herbert ; *Little Helpers of the Holy Souls* ; *School Savings Banks*, by Miss Agnes Lambert ; *Catholic Clubs*, by J. Britten ; *The Drink Traffic* ; *a Poor Man's Notion of the Church* ; *The Holy Coat of Treves*, by Canon Moyers (price one penny each) ; a bound volume containing a *Life of Archbishop Ullathorne*, and eight papers on practical Catholic topics ; and a little book of exceptional interest, being some of the catechetical instructions, translated into English, of St. Cyril of Alexandria.

If it be a good work—and who can doubt it?—to spread among the people a really Catholic literature, excellent in matter and form, and suitable to all classes in its variety—then we commend earnestly to our readers the diffusion of the Catholic Truth Society's publications.

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